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7. A.

HORÆ APOCALYPTICÆ,
OR,
A COMMENTARY ON THE APOCALYPSE,
CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL;
INCLUDING ALSO AN EXAMINATION OF
THE CHIEF PROPHECIES OF DANIEL.

ILLUSTRATED BY AN APOCALYPTIC CHART, AND ENGRAVINGS
FROM MEDALS AND OTHER EXTANT MONUMENTS
OF ANTIQUITY.

BY THE REV. E. B. ELLIOTT, A.M.
LATE VICAR OF TUXFORD, AND FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

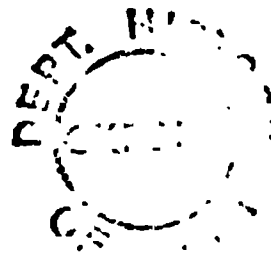
THIRD EDITION,
REVISED, CORRECTED, & IMPROVED;
WITH AN APPENDIX,
CONTAINING, BESIDES OTHER MATTER,
A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF APOCALYPTIC INTERPRETATION,
AND INDICES.

VOL. IV.

SEELEY, BURNSIDE, AND SEELEY;
FLEET STREET, LONDON.
MDCCCLVII.

"Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy, and keep those things that are written therein: for the time is at hand." Apoc. i. 3.

"The word of prophecy; whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn." 2 Peter i. 19.



*Leonard Seeley,
Thames Ditton, Surrey.*

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THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE.

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CHAPTER I.

REVIEW OF THE EVIDENCE IN THE PARTS PRECEDING ;
AND HIGH PROBABILITY OF OUR PRESENT
POSITION BEING UNDER THE LATTER
HALF OF THE SIXTH VIAL.

WE are now about to enter on the vith and last Part of this Commentary :—a Part to which, having mainly reference to *things future*, very much of a new character must of course attach : as we shall no longer (at least after the present and next chapters) have the verifying test to appeal to, point by point, of agreeing prophecy and history : but only from the prediction itself to infer, with more or less of the uncertainty of conjecture, the nature of the things predicted.—Preparatorily, however, to entering on this new field of inquiry, I have to request the reader to look back with me ; and to consider attentively (though as much as possible in brief) each principal step of the way we have travelled thus far, and the strength and *sufficiency of the evidence* that has guided us on it. It will be of infinite advantage towards a right commencement of the consideration of the *future*, if we enter on it with a deliberate and thorough conviction of our having been right all along on main points in our interpretation

of the *past* : and of our being *almost beyond a question* at that precise position in the Apocalyptic prophecy asserted at the head of this chapter ; from the which position it will be our next duty to commence our glancings into futurity.

On looking back, then, he will observe that on the simple *theatric scene*¹ (if I may so call it) of a *temple* like that of Jerusalem, in the foreground, with its court, and holy place, and holy of holies, to represent *the Church* in its various parts and characters,—and *a world* outstretched beneath and around, in miniature but living landscape, with its land and seas and rivers, to represent the world of the *Roman Empire*,—the FIRST ACT of the prefigurative drama (a drama written apparently on a scroll *within* and *without*, and divided into *septenaries of Seals, Trumpets, and Vials*, of which the Trumpets were all included in the 7th Seal, and Vials in the 7th Trumpet,²)—I say that the FIRST ACT of this drama began by the going forth, one after the other, on the successive openings of the four first Seals in the scroll of futurity, (and probably upon that Roman world in landscape,) of *four horses, white, red, black, and livid pale* : each bearing its own rider, marked by his proper badge ; and with brief explanatory words accompanying the exhibition. After which, on the opening of the fifth Seal, a voice, as from murdered ones beneath the great altar in the temple-court, was heard crying out, “ How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not avenge our blood against them that dwell on the earth : ”—and then presently, on the sixth Seal’s opening, a revolution sudden and universal appeared before the Evangelist to pass upon the symbolic earth, and its associated heaven and heavenly luminaries : a revolution whereby the *enemies of the LAMB*, it was declared, were overthrown ; and consequently, it might be inferred, *their* political supremacy

¹ See Vol. i. p. 100.

² The reader will have the goodness to refer to the Exposition, as well as to the Chart at the beginning of this Work ; in explanation, in all its various points, of the sketch of evidence following.

and system done away.—So ended the FIRST ACT of the drama.

And in explanation of the four earlier of these prefigurative visions it was supposed, as a first preliminary, that *the horse* in every case represented the *Roman people*, in their character of a martial military nation : this supposition being made not gratuitously, or merely because of the otherwise general fitness of the symbol ; but on various classical evidence of its propriety, especially when associated with a rider bearing such badges as in the first Seal.¹ Which premised,—forasmuch as the *colour* on the successive horses, interpreted agreeably with the Roman and Greek understanding of them, did conjunctively with certain explanatory words in each case accompanying, indicate states respectively of national *triumph, happiness, and prosperity, of bloody civil war, of impoverishment and want, and of extraordinary mortality*,—this last by the agencies of sword, famine, pestilence, and wild beasts, such as to cause in the horse the hue of a body in *dissolution*,—it was inferred that successive æras of prosperity, civil war, impoverishment, and mortality corresponding, were portended to the *Roman Empire* : the first to begin very soon, according to the revealing Angel's express pre-intimation,² after the time of St. John's banishment in Patmos ; the rest to follow in succession. Can we well have been wrong in these our inferences as to the meaning of the symbols ?—And what then the result of appeal to history, in verification of them ? It was found that Gibbon marked out four æras, or epochs, in the Roman imperial history, *precisely* agreeing with the pre-figurations :—the 1st one of both *early and later signal triumphs, and* moreover of a prolonged *general happiness and prosperity* unexampled, he says, in the world's history, beginning from Nerva's accession, *the very next year after St. John's seeing the vision in Patmos*, and lasting eighty years and more, to the death of the second Antonine :—the 2nd, one of *civil war and bloodshed*,

¹ See Vol. i. p. 122.

² Apoc. iv. 1.—See Vol. i. p. 110.

almost as remarkable, begun with the murder of Antonine's son and successor Commodus, near the end of the second century, and extended, with intervals of intermission, far onwards into the æras of the two next Seals :—the 3rd, one of *fiscal oppression, and consequent impoverishment and distress of the Roman people*, dated by Gibbon from a memorable edict of the Emperor Caracalla, issued towards the close of the first quarter of the third century, and noted by him as one of the permanent causes of the empire's decline :—the 4th, beginning about twenty years later, one of some twenty years and more of continued *mortality*, through three chiefly out of the four predicted agencies of destruction ; to an extent, such, he says, that we might suspect from certain statistical tables, “that war, pestilence, and famine had consumed in a few years a moiety of the human species ;” and with such effect on the empire as to make it seem as if “approaching to the last and fatal moment of its dissolution.”—Yet more, whereas it seemed reasonable to suppose that in *perfect* prefigurative pictures, such as all must be that have a divine original, not the mere nature only, but the *instrumental causes* also, of these states of prosperity or of suffering, might probably be revealed, and the *riders* of the horses, characterized by their respective badges in the vision, appeared to be the fit symbols to foreshow it,—a comparison was instituted in each vision between the prophecy and the history on this point also.—And on examination it appeared that whereas, according to Gibbon's declaration, the instrumental causes of the *white* of the first æra were the *five good emperors* from Nerva to the 2nd Antonine inclusive (a line united as one by successive adoptions, and, as traced up to Nerva its head, of *Cretic* original,)—of the *red* of the second æra those that had the power of the sword, i. e. the *military power*, including its *chief Generals* very specially,—and of the *black* of the third æra the *Provincial Governors*, in their several provinces of administration,—so 1st the *crown* (the *imperial crown*) given to the rider of the *white* horse did in fact mark

him out as the representative of *Emperors*, and the *bow* in his hand (strange as this might appear) as *the representative*, according to clear antiquarian evidence, of *persons of Cretan provincial origin* :—2nd the *sword given* to the rider of the *red* horse (the word *given*, where used and where omitted, should not be unnoticed)¹ marked *him* out as the representative of the soldiery generally, and more particularly of the *Prætorian Prefects* and *Imperial Lieutenants* ; these being at Rome and in the provinces respectively the only functionaries invested with the *judicial* power of the sword, over the soldiers, as well as *military* use of it against the enemy, and in token thereof solemnly presented with a sword, within or outside of the walls of Rome :—3rd, the holding of the *balance*, and the *words addressed to him* from the throne respecting the *corn, wine, and oil*, did as distinctively mark out the *rider* of the *black* horse to be the representative of Roman *Provincial Governors* : the *balance* being the emblem struck by them frequently on their own coins, in promise of equity of administration, upon their appointment to office, (on which, as on other points, medals were exhibited to the reader's eye in evidence,) and the words from the throne almost the very words addressed by the Roman law (as well as by that equity which is ascribed to God's throne in Scripture) to these provincial administrators.—As to the rider of the *fourth* horse, his name and appearance *Death*, might have been supposed sufficient of itself to indicate that he was the personifi-

¹ In the vision of the *first* Seal the rider, as first seen, *held a bow* : then a *crown* was given him. Agreeably with which, the badge of the *bow* attached to Nerva *from his birth*, as being of Cretan family ; and of course while yet a mere general in the Roman army, so as during St. John's imprisonment under Domitian. Then presently a *crown* was given him : he being not born to the empire, and so possessor of the crown, on Domitian's decease, by hereditary right ; but *presented* with it by the senate and army.

In the vision of the *second* Seal the sword was *given* to the rider ; so as, we have seen, the emperors gave it to the Imperial Lieutenants and Prætorian Prefects. The which *receiving* it was a distinctive by comparison with the emperors themselves : forasmuch as the latter had of course the power of the sword also ; only this not as presented them by another, but as attached to their imperial office.

Once more, in the vision of the *third* Seal the *balance* is spoken of as *held* by the rider, not *given* him :—this being a symbol assumed and held forth by the provincial governors themselves.

cation of every destroying power of human life. As if however to guard against the view of him as a mere destroyer of *political* life, *Hades*, or *the Grave*, was seen to follow as his badge ; the gaping recipient of the spoil of corpses.¹

Such was the *conclusive*, I may say the *extraordinary*, evidence, (with above twenty searching tests to try it,²) on which our interpretation of these first four Seals rested ; and by them we were brought down, in the Apocalyptic figuration of the fortunes of the Roman Empire, to within a very few years of *Diocletian's* accession :—of Diocletian, the restorer of the fallen and all but dissolved empire ; though with a new form of government thenceforward, and under a tetrarchy of emperors, not (as before) imperial monarchy. And still the same conclusive evidence from history attended us in our exposition of the visions of the two Seals remaining. For as, on the *fifth* prophetic Seal opening, the *cry of souls under the altar* betokened an *æra of martyrdom* and *bloody persecution of Christians*, to follow quickly after the mortality of the seal preceding, so we found from history that Diocletian's reign was famous (or rather infamous) for the most terrible, bloody, and effective of all the imperial *persecutions of Christianity* : insomuch that its *æra* was named and celebrated in after ages as the “ *æra of martyrs* ; ” and that imperial monuments of the day, still extant, boasted its success in the extermination of Christianity.—And whereas the vision of the *sixth* Seal prefigured, as next to follow, *a revolution in the Roman world*, whereby the enemies of Christ and their whole supremacy and polity would be swept away, so,

¹ Compare Apoc. xx. 13, “ Death and Hades gave up the dead that were in them.”

² Including the emblems of bow, crown, sword, balance,—the several colours of the four horses,—the various characteristic words, both as to the articles of food and the price, addressed to the rider of the black horse,—the different agencies of destruction noted under the fourth horse,—and order of succession of the four symbols.—What would mathematicians say of the probability, on the *doctrine of chances*, of such a series of things all falling out precisely according to the prediction ?

Mr. Arnold's partial attack on this evidence, since the publication of my 1st Edition, compared with my Reply, has I believe only shewn more strikingly in the result, its unimpeachableness and strength.

immediately after Diocletian's persecution, the ever-memorable revolution took place under Constantine :—a revolution sudden, and accomplished through fierce wars, in which the forces on either side were recognized as respectively the champions of Paganism and Christianity : the result of which was, that within some ten or fifteen years after, the whole power of Paganism was swept from its elevation in the political heavens ; and ere the lapse of a half century more, nearly the whole Roman Empire, in respect of religious profession, converted into a Christianized kingdom.

On the whole I can scarcely conceive any thing more perfect and complete than the *direct* evidence on which our interpretation of these six Seals, constituting the FIRST ACT of the Apocalyptic drama, was founded. And the proof *by exhaustions* will only appear in every way confirmatory and corroborative. For (not to speak of the *other* Seals) I will venture to say there can be found no *empire*, or *political body*, in the whole history of the world, to which the emblems of even the *one first Seal* can with strict propriety be applied but the *Roman* ; nor any one *æra* in Roman history, but that to which I have applied them. And if, turning aside from the *Roman* application, we consider the attempts made by some (in the want of a satisfactory Roman solution, heretofore unknown) to explain the visions of the six first Seals as prefigurations of the fortunes of *the Church*, there will be found in all the attempted solutions such disagreement with fact, such inconclusiveness of reasoning, such a perversion of the plain meaning of the symbols, such self-contradiction, and even, it may be added, such unsound and hazardous theology,—that a reasonable mind will only, I think, turn back the more deeply convinced from them, that the Roman solution which I have given is, and can alone be, the intended and true solution of the six first Seals of the Apocalypse.¹

¹ See my critical notice of this scheme of interpretation of the Seals in the Appendix. My respect for the expositors who have advocated it, while requiring that it should not be overlooked, might also have induced me to avoid any very

The evidence of our FIRST PART having appeared thus convincing, and the fulfilment of the Apocalyptic prefigurations been thus clearly traced down in history to the memorable epoch of Constantine and his successors overthrowing the before-dominant Paganism, and Christianity becoming established in the Roman Empire,—we were immediately after it called to consider another very different and most remarkable vision ; without the right understanding and constant recollection of which, it will be impossible to enter fully into the meaning, spirit, and (if I may so say) philosophy, of the series of prefigurations following. The *inhabitants of the Apocalyptic or Roman world* were now alluded to under the emblematic appellation of *the twelve tribes of Israel* ; (the one designation and the other being applied indifferently to the people marked out as the object of the coming judgments¹;) and at the same time the *Angels of the four winds* depicted before St. John, as agencies charged with a destroying commission (destruction from *abroad*, it might seem from the figure of *the winds*) against them :—of the *former* of which intimations the obvious explanation was seen in the historic fact of the Roman world having become Christianized in profession, in the course of the wonderful previously-depicted revolution : of the *latter* in the fact of a notable departure from the Christian life and faith occurring in the Church, soon after its establishment on the ruins of paganism in the Roman Empire ; such indeed as to constitute an incipient apostacy. —And then, ere the Angels could let loose their tempests, another and greater Angel, described as having the seal of the life-giving God, appeared rising from the East ; who, after charge to the destroyers to refrain till the sealing work was done, proceeded to seal a certain small, but perfect number, 144,000 ; as an election, not out of the heathen world, but out of the mass (so it was proved on grammatic evidence²) of the professing

searching examination into it. But a deep sense of the injury it has done, and still does, to Apocalyptic interpretation, has determined me to make it fully and at large.

¹ Vol. i. p. 233—237.

² Ibid, p. 237. .

Israel. Consequent on which there was added another evidently connected, and as evidently prospective or anticipative vision, respecting the ultimate salvation and introduction into paradisiacal blessedness of a certain *palm-bearing company*; depicted as a multitude innumerable, out of every nation and kindred and tongue, that had washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb: the which company, it was evident, was of the same class as *the sealed ones*; only made up, as would seem from its number, of their many successive generations, and gathered (in part at least) out of a world larger and more various in its population than the then world of vision. So the continuous preservation of this election of grace was foreshown to the Evangelist, through all the seductions of the apostacy within, and the desolating judgments from without, even to the final consummation:—it being further intimated however, that they would be thus preserved to blessedness, only as saved ones out of a great,—indeed *the great tribulation*; the same that had been predicted to the souls of the martyrs under the fifth Seal, and which was to be greater even than that experienced by those martyrs themselves.—These three points, viz. the early apostatizing of the Christianized Roman Empire,—the consequent issuing forth of Providential judgments against it,—and the preservation of a faithful remnant through them all, were facts, I conceive, hereby made as clear as they were important. And they constituted in fact, the triple heads of all that followed in the prophecy.

Besides which there was reflected back from the ecclesiastical history of the period, such a light on this vision, as to suggest its having a yet further meaning; and its furnishing hints on two other points of very great interest and importance, concerning both *the apostacy* and *the election* saved out of it.—Thus, *first*, there appeared evidence of its foreshowing the *very nature of the incipient apostacy*; as originating in an undue and unscriptural estimate of *external church privileges*, (especially of

the *opus operatum of baptism*,) and of the *priesthood* as the necessary and only channel of grace:—the proof arising out of a most remarkable parallelism,¹ in respect of some eight or ten particulars, between what is noted in the sealing and palm-bearing visions as effected by *Christ* and his *Divine Spirit* in the 144,000, *the election of grace*, or *true Israel*, distinctively and alone, and that which history reports to have been more and more regarded, in the current estimation of the age referred to, as effected through priestly agency in *all baptized Christians* by the *very baptismal ceremonial*, and the subsequent application of other sacraments in case of those Christians' correct observance of church ordinances. It was just such a parallelism of particulars, in the way of *allusive contrast*, (I beg the reader to mark the sufficiency of the test,) as at once convinces the student, in the absence of direct historic testimony, that the *Athanasian Creed* must have been drawn up with allusion to, and in condemnation of, the heresies of the Arians, Eutyches, and Nestorius; and would convince him also, if their history were wanting, (which it is not,) that the *Articles of the Church of England* were drawn up in opposition to those of Popery and Trent.—*Secondly*, the very *manner* and *means* seemed also hinted, by which Christ's remnant would be preserved, both then and thenceforward, from the infection and deadening influence of this ever-growing ritualist apostacy: viz. by *a discovery*, at that æra to be specially vouchsafed the true Church, *of the doctrines of grace*—of electing, enlightening, life-giving, justifying, saving grace, according to God the Father's choice, by God the Spirit's influence, and through God the Redeemer's blood and righteousness:—precisely such a revelation as the sealing and palm-bearing visions conjointly signified. For just as, at this point in the Apocalyptic prefigurations, the *electing and sealing vision* was pictured before *St. John*, so, at the corresponding historic period of which I speak, a revelation of precisely similar character was made, through

¹ Vol. i. p. 253—257.

the great *Augustine* principally, to the true Church of God : a revelation which is found to have furnished, for centuries after, the doctrine on which it fed, and through which mainly it was preserved alive, in the wilderness-state of a general surrounding apostacy.

Nor must I omit to add that, as the appended vision of the *palm-bearers* carried St. John's views far onward, when they looked into the probable future fortunes, duration, and extent of Christ's true Church, until its presentation before God, after perhaps a long time of tribulation, and entrance into blessedness,—so at the end of the fourth century, when the storms of invasion were on the point of sweeping over the Roman Empire, the views of Christians, which had before limited the earthly duration of the church, and its time of trial in the world, to that of the then Roman Empire, became enlarged, and looked far onward to the final blessed issue : still chiefly through the teaching of Augustine.¹

In the conclusions thus formed respecting the Apocalyptic visions shown to St. John, as not merely prefiguring facts, but facts *as they would be seen by the true Church of the time figured*, it was presumed that he saw these visions, not as a mere *individual*, but as a *symbolic man* ; i. e. as *the representative* of Christ's true Church, or of its chief ministers and seers of the true apostolic succession, in each successive age presignified. But this was no unwarranted presumption. It was one shown to be agreeable to the analogy of other prophecies,² above all (as afterwards strikingly illustrated³) to that of the Apocalyptic prophecy itself :—not to add that it accorded also with the belief and interpretation (however imperfectly carried out) of the earliest patristic, as well as of many of the more eminent later expositors.

And so (after a brief introductory notice of a vision of incense-offering in the Apocalyptic temple, which on

¹ See the second Section of the Sealing Vision.

² Vol. i. p. 267—270.

³ Viz. in the prefigurations of the Reformation. See the summary pp. 15, 16. *infra*.

the same principle of *allusive contrast* seemed to hint that, while *the saints* still approached God in prayer through *Christ* as their *Mediator*, the rest, though called Christians, would have forsaken and be neglecting his mediatorship,—an intimation verified in the sad and ever-increasing tendency of the professing church at the close of the fourth century to *saint-mediatorship*,¹)—I say, after this the prophecy was seen to proceed to the development in symbolic visions of the judgments of the seventh Seal, now at length opened:—judgments sevenfold in number, as marked in limine by the provision of seven trumpet-angels, to sound forth the appointed times, successively of their infliction; and in character judgments as of *tempests*, from the agency of the four tempest-angels charged, we before saw, with the fury of the four winds of heaven against apostate Christendom.—Those of the *first four trumpets* being depicted as judgments of desolation on the *third* of the *Apocalyptic* (or Roman) *earth*, the *third* of the *sea*, *third of the rivers*, and *third of the sun and stars*, corresponding,—in the which the *local scene of infliction* was the thing most strikingly marked in the prophetic description,—they were explained of the four several successive and not uncorrespondent *desolations of the Roman Western Empire*, by Goths, Vandals, Huns and Herulians, on its land territory, maritime colonies, frontier river vallies, and high authorities of state, respectively:—a celebrated *tripartition of the Roman world*, (elsewhere in the prophecy strikingly referred to,) the *Western third* of which embraced the provinces of what was afterwards the *Western Empire*,² furnishing a precise literal explanation of the Apocalyptic *third part*; and the principle of construing such territorial divisions, and the localities of land, sea, and rivers, *literally*,³ albeit in symbolic pre-

¹ See Vol. i. p. 306—313.

² It was shown that even after the *bipartition* of the Roman Empire, the Western Empire had in the first instance only part of the intermediate or Illyrian third: and at the time of the third Trumpet's desolation by Attila, only the European territory originally assigned it in the tripartition. See Vol. i. p. 335—340.

³ I mean *literally*, as fixing the *locality* intended. There may still attach a

dictions, being proved accordant with the general analogy of Scripture prophecy :—not to add that the truth of our interpretation was further corroborated by the equally successful application of the same principle of interpretation to prophecies very similarly expressed in the *four first Vials*.¹—Next came the judgment of the *fifth Trumpet*. And we had the test of its position in Apocalyptic chronology, the Arabian character of its prefigurative symbols,² its accompaniment by, and origination out of, some false religion from the pit of the abyss, as well as the general character of the plague, its well-defined period of intensity, and well-defined limits to its destroying power,—we had, I say, all these concurrent marks,—marks which I think cannot reasonably be mistaken,—whereby to identify it with the irruption and desolations in Roman Christendom of the *Mahometan Saracens*.—Nor was the evidence dissimilar or inferior on which we explained the *sixth Trumpet's* plague of the *Turks*. Its declared local origin from the Euphrates, its apparently implied connexion with the plague of the previous Trumpet, the several particulars of its composite symbol, some very remarkable,—as that which described sulphur, fire, and smoke to proceed from the *mouths*, and authority and power of injuring to attach to the *tails*, of the symbolic *horses* in vision,³—its destined office of destroying the third part of men, (the Eastern or Greek third, nearest Euphrates, it would seem) and the remarkable period of time that was to elapse from the commencement to the final accomplishment of its work,—all concurred to assure us that we could not be in error in interpreting this plague of the *Seljukian and Ottoman Turks*.

symbolic meaning to the term,—the *sea* or *river*, for example, as symbolizing the *people* on or near it. So the *frontier rivers* of the third Trumpet and Vial, and again the *Euphrates* of the sixth Trumpet and Vial, were expounded *literally* as to their *geographical position*, but figuratively as meaning the people near them. Which last has been done not by myself only, but by those who most carefully avoid the literal local principle of exposition in the three first Trumpets. And does it need to say that in so expounding the Apocalyptic *Euphrates*, they virtually acknowledge the correctness of the principle contended for?

¹ See Vol. iii. pp. 305, 327, 332, 340.

² See Vol. i. pp. 407—413.

³ See ib. 482—486.

On the sufficiency of the evidence of the **THIRD PART** of our Exposition, and certain reference of the prophecies it embraces to the **REFORMATION**, the reader, if satisfied thus far, will not, I think, long hesitate. The prophecy turns from speaking of the destruction of “the third part of the men,” or *Eastern Roman Empire*, to what it calls “the rest of the men,”¹ i. e. of the Roman world; which can only mean those of *Western* or *Papal Christendom*. And after briefly sketching their religious state as that of an awful apostacy, long before begun, and even yet unrepented of and persisted in,—an apostacy exhibiting itself chiefly in five several points, all and each of which were shown, on the fullest clearest evidence of history, to have characterized Papal Christendom, both during the 400 years (from 1057 to 1453) of the Turkman’s destroying progress from Euphrates to Constantinople, and also throughout the remainder of the 15th century, which followed after the fall of that Greek capital,—there was next after this, I say, a vision exhibited on the Apocalyptic scene,² as sudden as glorious, of Christ descending on the earth, revealed in light as the Angel of covenant-mercy and Sun of righteousness, with a book opened in his hand, as if for men to read it,—apparently the Bible or gospel part of the Bible :—a picture as fit, I think, as could have been devised, to depict the heaven-sent outbreak of gospel-light at the Reformation, on the opening of the 16th century. Then,—whereas the Angel’s planting his feet on land and sea, as if to claim them to himself, and his roaring like a lion, as if against some enemy, seemed to imply the fact of some usurper having at the time appropriated his rights and kingdom,—so we saw from history that not only did such a usurping *Antichrist* then exist and triumph : but that actually, at the exact epoch corresponding with the vision, he permitted himself to be represented before Europe in gorgeous paintings, on a high festival day at Rome, almost precisely as Christ was represented here ; *his* face radiant as the Sun of Righteousness, the

¹ Apoc. ix. 20.² Apoc. x. 1.

covenant-rainbow formed by the refraction of *his* solar light, *his* feet planted one on the land, the other on the sea, and *his* voice uttered as of a lion roaring, against all opposing enemies.¹ Can we conceive evidence, of the nature of *allusive contrast*, more extraordinary?—As to the sequel of the vision, we saw that it needed but the application of the expository principle before noted, of St. John's seeing and hearing what he did as *a symbolic character*, the representative of Christ's true Church, or more eminent ministers at the time figured,²—to solve all its difficulties, and trace in it, point by point, the chief successive steps and epochs of the Reformation. Just as *St. John* saw and hailed that vision of gospel-light, so *Luther* (and other servants of God after him) saw and hailed the similar revelation given in their time of Christ as the Sun of Righteousness. It was the first epoch of the Reformation.³—Just as *St. John* heard and re-echoed the cry of the Lion of the tribe of Judah, vindicating the world to himself, and when seven extraordinary thunders, with pretensions as from heaven, sounded in answer, though at first about to receive and write them, was presently taught to view and seal them up as of no heavenly origin,—so we saw most strikingly, that after *Luther* had sounded forth with lion-like cry Christ's rights and claims against the opposing Romish claims preached by Tetzels, when the Papal thunders from the seven hills pealed against him, he was in the first instance prepared to receive and submit to them as a voice from heaven, but was presently taught his error, and to recognize them as the voice of Antichrist:⁴—this being the second epoch of the Reformation.—Just as (after an animating intimation of the time of Christ's final coming and triumph being not so very far off, an intimation realized in the prophetic views of Antichrist's near destruction next given to the Reformers⁵) *St. John* was bidden to take the open book out of the Covenant-Angel's hand, and, after eating it, afresh commissioned

¹ See Vol. ii. p. 57, &c.² Ib. 112, 113.³ Ib. p. 90, &c.⁴ Ib. p. 114—121.⁵ Apoc. x. 6; Ib. 128, &c.

to fulfil the prophet's office,—so *Luther*, excommunicate and degraded from holy orders by the Pope and Papal prelates, was in the Wartburg castle monished from heaven to take the Bible in hand, digest, and translate it, as the only rule for Christ's ministers and people; and then, as under a new sufficient and special commission from his Master, to fulfil (together with others similarly excommunicate and interdicted from Papal orders) the functions of reformed preacher and evangelist.¹—Just as *St. John* had next a rod, the emblem of princely or ecclesiastical authority, given him, with command to rise and measure (or define) the mystical Apocalyptic Temple, and at the same time authoritatively to eject as heathen certain occupants of the outer court (together with the outer court itself) who, it was added, had been for some time before trampling down the Holy City, or Polity of the saints,—so we saw that, as the next step in the history of the Reformation, the rod of authority was, in Saxony, Hesse, Brandenburg, and other kingdoms, given into the hand of *Luther* and other anti-Papal ministers, with a view to the definition and constitution of Christ's orthodox Church,—its *re-formation* in fact,—and the casting out from its pale of the Papists and their religious system, as antichristian and heathenish.²—Once more, just as *St. John's* attention was next directed to the history of the two Witnesses, retrospectively narrated by the Covenant-Angel, as of those that had borne commission to testify for Him through the darkness and dangers of the 1260 predestined days (or years) of Gentile domination,—so, very quickly after the regular ecclesiastical constitution of the Reformed Church, *its doctors and ministers* were directed to explore, and at length to set forth in writing the history of a line of witnesses for Christ, from the early commencement of the apostacy, through all the dark succeeding ages of the domination of the Papal Antichrist.³

¹ Ib. 165, &c.² Ib. 183, &c.³ Ib. 194—196.

As to the fact of such a witness-line having existed, the evidence in proof, which detained us for a length of time, appeared sufficient ; though for the earlier centuries not perfect, or without lacunæ.¹ And on the rest of their history, figuratively given in the Angel's narrative, — viz. with respect to the *Beast from the abyss* (an antichristian enemy now first spoken of) making war upon the two symbolic Witnesses, so soon as they should have completed their testimony, and conquering, and at length killing them, and amidst a gathered concourse of its partizans triumphing over their dead corpses, and then, in just *three and a half days* after this, their reviving to the enemy's dismay in strength and vigour greater than before, — on all these points, turning to our line of actual evangelic witnesses, we found the historic parallel complete even to the minutest accuracy : persecuted as it appeared they were by the *Popes*, whom that Beast from the abyss (it was afterwards shown) figured, so soon as they had completed their protestation by denouncing Rome as Antichrist,² and at length exterminated or reduced to silence ; — of which last fact evidence having appeared at a very notable and well-defined epoch, the victory was then forthwith proclaimed and rejoiced over : viz. in the conclave of the celebrated 5th Lateran Council at Rome ; precisely *three and a half years*, even to a day, before Luther's protest, and the ever-memorable outbreking again of anti-Papal witnessing at the REFORMATION.³

At this point the Angel's retrospective narrative having been brought down so far, as to blend both in time and subject with that of his own previous figurative descent, revelation of Himself the Saviour, exposure of Rome's seven mock thunders, re-commissioning of the apostle John in his symbolic character to the prophetic office, and direction of his regard to the subject of the Witnesses, — the course of emblematic figurations was resumed.⁴ And whereas the resumed vision, combining

¹ Ib. 209, &c.² Ib. 373—375.³ Ib. 403.⁴ Ib. 407, &c.

the two subjects, did next represent the two *revived witnesses* as summoned to *rise up*, in the cloud which formed the Angel's mantling, to the firmamental heaven of vision,¹ and thereupon an *earthquake* occurring. and *a tenth of that great city falling* by it wherein the witnesses had been slain, and *seven chiliads* also being destroyed, apparently of the same great city,—so we saw, in the history of the times of the Reformation, that its next marked step of progress was in the *ascent of the PROTESTANTS*, (or, according to the word *Protestant's* etymological meaning, of *anti-Papal* WITNESSES,) to power and dignity in the political heavens of Western Christendom ; alike in Saxony, Hesse, Prussia, England :—connected with which last event was the Revolution in which *Papal England*, the tenth kingdom of the Popedom, fell ; followed by the loss to the Popedom of the *seven Dutch United Provinces*, presently after also : each state an ancient European tribal subdivision, analogous to the Jewish *Chiliad*.²

A chronological note was added at this close of the vision ; “ The second woe hath passed away : behold the third woe cometh quickly.” Just agreeably with which it appeared that the earthquake of the Reformation, and wars which rose out of it, did not end, nor the consolidation of the Reformation become complete, in Germany, Holland, and England, till the Peace of Westphalia, A.D. 1648, and accession of William the Third, A.D. 1688, to the English throne :—an æra immediately preceding those defeats of the Turks by Prince Eugene, after which they were never more a terror or woe to Christendom.³—By this chronological Note the conclusion of this division of the prophecy was distinctly defined, and its evidence too made complete. Nor, on reviewing the latter as a whole, do I fear that it will seem presumption if I confidently ask the reader, Is it *possible* that in our application of the prophecies so reviewed to the Reformation, (the chief subject of our second Volume,) we can have been mistaken ?

¹ Ib. 410, &c.² Ib. p. 418, &c.

Ib. 432, 433.

And so we were brought to the **FOURTH PART** of the prophecy : that whereof the great subject was the **BEAST FROM THE ABYSS** ; the same that had slain Christ's two Witnesses.—The Apocalyptic series of prefigurative visions, thus far (as explained by me) continuous, was broken off abruptly, we saw,¹ to introduce it : immediately after a passing mention of the seventh Trumpet's sounding on the scene of vision, and a certain significant opening of the temple-gate, and also certain attendant thunderings, lightnings, and voices, which together gave no equivocal anticipatory indication of what that Trumpet would include ; viz. destruction to Christ's enemies, and triumph to his Church. And in the *supplemental Part* now begun, containing the Beast's history, we saw evidence of chronological parallelism with the two Parts preceding, (especially from its including the same notable period of the 1260 days, or years, previously mentioned,) such as could not be mistaken : the which structure of the prophecy in *two parallel lines* would, it seemed, most exactly suit the form of the scroll whereon the prophecy was written, by supposing the former series of visions, with their sequel, to have been written on its *one* side, the present series on its *other* ; agreeably with the specification, otherwise almost meaningless, of the seven-sealed scroll being written both *within and without*.²

As to the *seven-headed ten-horned Beast* itself, or rather that which the Angel (by a common figure) used as its equivalent, and chiefly or altogether regarded in his description, I mean its *eighth* or *last ruling head*,³—the fact of its symbolizing the line of **ROMAN POPES**, from soon after the rise of the Romano-Gothic kingdoms of the 5th and 6th centuries, appeared on the following evidence :—1st. Their *throne* was locally the *seven-hilled city* ; so as was the Beast's.⁴—2nd. Their supremacy, like the Beast's, was chronologically the *eighth regularly*

¹ Vol. iii. 1.² Ib. 2.³ Apoc. xvii. 11 ; "The Wild Beast that was and is not, even he is the eighth." It is the figure of putting the *head* for the whole *body* : so as in Dan. ii. 38, *Nebuchadnezzar* is put for the *Babylonian empire* which he directed.⁴ Apoc. xvii. 9. See Vol. iii. p. 95.

constituted authority that held supremacy on those seven hills. The which notable fact appeared thus. *Kings, consuls, dictators, decemvirs, and military tribunes* made up the *first five*, reaching to the time of Augustus ;¹ and the *Imperial regime* then introduced, agreeably with the Angel's notice of it as the ruling head in St. John's time, the *sixth*.² Then the *seventh*,—a head which was to *come afterwards* and to *continue but a short time*,³—was shown to be the short-lived *imperial tetrarchical form of government* introduced by Diocletian :⁴ this being the next new form according to Gibbon ; and answering to the Apocalyptic type, not merely in the two above-noted points, but also in respect of two other most notable characteristics as follows. The *first* was that of being the *last ruling Pagan government* established in Rome, and the same that fought the imperial battle with Christianity : just as the Apocalyptic *Dragon*, the Beast's precursor, and symbol of Rome's *Pagan* rulers, fought the battle against the sun-clothed travelling woman in vision under his *last* or *seventh* head, for *he* had but seven heads *in all* : (a head identical evidently with the Beast's *original seventh*, which already on his first emergence appeared as that which had been cut down by a sword :—the *second* that of having the *diadem* for a badge, a badge assumed by Diocletian, in contravention of all the old Roman habits and feelings ; which selfsame badge the pictured Dragon wore in his conflict with the woman, and until his dejection from the symbolic heaven, presently following.⁵—After which,—this *seventh* head having been “wounded to death” by the Christian imperial sword, and a local interregnum, if I may so speak, having followed of some two centuries, during which, most remarkably, the ruling Christian power forsook, even as if it shunned, the seven-hilled city for the capital of its residency,⁶—after this, I say, an *eighth* head appeared on that same locality, in the *Bishops or Popes of Rome* : it being under

¹ According to the enumeration, it is to be remembered, of Tacitus.

² Ib. 99.

³ Apoc. xvii. 10.

⁴ Ib. 104—106.

⁵ Ib. 105, &c.

⁶ Ib. 110.

them (as Papal writers themselves represent it) that Rome again rose to supremacy, had its deadly wound healed, and became thenceforward a second time mistress of the western world.¹ So, I say, was the *second* point of parallel proved between the Popes and the Apocalyptic Beast.—3. The Popes received in the sixth century the allegiance of the *ten Romano-Gothic kingdoms* that had then risen in Western Europe, as their acknowledged spiritual head ; just as the *Beast's eighth*, or *new seventh* head, had *ten kingly horns* growing out of it.²—4. The Popes had even at that early time assumed the extraordinary title, and asserted pretensions to the extraordinary authority of, CHRIST'S VICAR :³ a title and character so precisely accordant with that of the predicted ANTICHRIST, (whose empire, it is allowed on all hands, the Apocalyptic Beast's signified,) that even men's imagination itself has failed of suggesting any other equally so.⁴—5. Their *character* answered to the Beast's, in respect both of their *speaking great things* (great such as no mortal man ever before presumed to speak) and *blasphemies* :⁵ and also of their oppressing, conquering, and destroying Christ's true saints.—6. With regard to the *time* of their religious supremacy, it continued *established* in Western Christendom, from its rise in the 6th century, before mentioned, to the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789, a period of just 1260 years :⁶ the very same that was declared to attach to the supremacy of the Beast in vision.

Besides all which evidence, there was the subsidiary proof of the Papal Antichrist having for his main-prop the allegiance of the long apostatized *Western Clergy*, regular and secular ; just as the Beast had the *two-horned lamb-like Beast*, or *False Prophet*, for its chief supporter ; and of their jointly recurring to the artifice

¹ Ib. 112, 113.² Ib. 114. &c.³ Ib. 124—133.⁴ See my observations on the word *Antichrist's* two peculiar meanings, Vol. i. pp. 67, 68 ; and also in the Appendix to this Volume my notice of the inappropriateness of the *Infidel Antichrist* imagined by some modern commentators.⁵ Vol. iii. 147, &c.⁶ The fact of a *day* meaning a *year* in these prophetic periods I believe to have been completely proved in Part iv. Chap. ix. § 1.

of *representative General Councils* of the Popedom, to strengthen it ; just as the Beast and False Prophet to the *Beast's Image* :—to which symbolic *Image* these *General Councils* were shown to answer, in all the six or seven particulars predicated of it in the prophecy ;¹ as also the *Papal Clergy* to the four or five predicated of the *Lamb-personating Beast*, or *False Prophet*.²—Finally, there was the evidence of the name *Lateinos* (*the Latin man*)—that which contains the enigmatic numeral 666, and was suggested by Irenæus as very probably the *Beast's* name intended in the prophecy,—being the very most appropriate appellation of these *Popes* of the Latin empire ; and a name, in solution of the Apocalyptic enigma, altogether as unobjectionable, it was shown, as appropriate.³

By this description of the *Beast* and *Beast's* kingdom and people, and a brief counter-sketch of the *Lamb* and his kingdom and people,—especially with reference to some joyful epoch, ecclesiastical and political, in their history, during the *Beast's* reign, just such as occurred at the *Reformation*, as well as to a period of religious lukewarmness and want of understanding, on the part of many of its professed supporters, following it, such as in the new Protestant churches too soon had its fulfilment,⁴—we were brought down *nearly* to that epoch of the *seventh Trumpet's sounding*, at which the former prophetic series some little time before, had broken off ; and by the vision next immediately following, viz. of an Angel flying through heaven with the gospel to preach to every nation and people, *into its very æra* :—one principal characteristic of the seventh Trumpet being that of a Trumpet of coming jubilee to the world, when the temple of his true Church would be wide opened to it ; and one principal vision, connected with the period of its judgment-vials outpouring on apostate Europe, that of harpers of the same class as the *Lamb's* followers,

¹ See Part iv. Ch. vii.

² Ib. Ch. viii.

³ See Part iv. Ch. vi.

⁴ Ib. Ch. x.

preserved and detached from the apostacy, singing songs of missionary spirit and jubilean anticipations.¹

As to the evidence on which we explained the earthquake of this Trumpet, and judgments of its *first five Vials*, of the French Revolution and desolating European wars that arose therefrom, it will be yet fresh in the reader's remembrance. Suffice it therefore to suggest how those judgments were shown to have fallen *geographically* on the *land, sea, old boundary rivers, symbolic sun, and seven-hilled throne* of Anti-Christendom, (very much as on corresponding localities under the corresponding Trumpets,) alike in the *order* of the prefigurative Vials, and with that *kind* of infliction that they respectively indicated: moreover how we were thereby brought down in European history to the very eve of the *drying up of the Turkman dominion*, which commenced A.D. 1820, in Europe; an event which so strikingly answers to the *sixth Vial's* symbol, (*the drying up of the flood from the Euphrates*,) as almost, even independent of the context, to force itself on the mind as that prophecy's fulfilment.²—Besides which, the whole æra was shown to have been one of revival of religion in Protestant Christendom, or at least Protestant England, resulting in an outburst of evangelic missions *unprecedented in history*; just such (I beg attention to this palpable coincidence) as we saw a moment since was also prefigured in the Apocalyptic prophecy as an accompaniment of the æra of the seventh Trumpet, and its constituent Vials.

So ends our review of evidence. And I trust the reader's conclusion, after testing each link of the chain, will like my own be this:—that, continuously from St. John's time to the present, the chain is unbroken; that the Apocalyptic visions are proved, in a double line of prophecy, to have depicted with the most wonderful accuracy the chief events, secular and ecclesiastical, in the history of Christendom; and that our position in

¹ Apoc. xi. 19, xv. 2—5. See Part v. Ch. vii.

² See Part v. Ch. vi. § 2.

the prophecy began from the year 1820 to be under the sixth Apocalyptic Vial, and its primary symbol of the drying up of the Euphrates, in the *one* series ; as we were also then, and had been for some thirty years previous, under that of the Angel flying abroad with the everlasting gospel, in the *other*.—The only question at this point seems to be, whether we may not in the course of the last ten or fifteen years have advanced a step further : viz. in the last-mentioned series to the vision of the *second Angel* crying against Babylon ; in the former to the notice, next following that respecting Euphrates, which describes *three unclean spirits like frogs* as appearing to issue out of the mouths of the Dragon, Beast, and False Prophet, towards the close of the same sixth Vial ; to the effect of gathering together the kings and people of the whole world to the war of the great day of God Almighty.—The consideration of this point, with a view to the more exact fixing of our precise present position in the prophecy, will be the fit sequel of the present chapter ; and fit preparation for looking into the future, in those that follow.

CHAPTER II.

PRESENT POSITION OF CHRISTENDOM UNDER THE THREE FROGS OF APOC. XVI, AND THE SECOND OF THE THREE ANGELS FLYING IN MID-HEAVEN OF APOC. XIV.

§ I. THE THREE FROGS.

“ And I saw come out of the mouth of the Dragon, and out of the mouth of the Beast, and out of the mouth of the False Prophet, three unclean spirits like frogs : for they are spirits of Dæmons, working miracles, (or *signs*¹) which go forth to the kings of the whole world,² to gather them together to the war³ of the great day of God Almighty.” Apoc. xvi. 13, 14.

¹ πνευματα δαιμονιων ποιοντα σημεια.

² So Scholz and Tregelles ; reading simply βασιλεις της οικουμενης ολης.

³ εις τον πολεμον. The idea of *continuity* may attach to this word πολεμος, or

By this very remarkable symbol, which I think it may be well to consider first in this Chapter, there seems evidently intended some most extraordinarily rapid, wide-spread, and influential diffusion, throughout the whole *Roman*, or perhaps rather the whole *habitable* world,¹ of three several unclean or unholy principles, suited in character to the Dragon, Beast, and False Prophet, from whom respectively they appeared to emanate : but all alike directed and speeded on their course by spirits of hell ;² and all alike, in respect of the earthly agencies employed to propagate them, resembling *frogs*, the well-known type of vain loquacious talkers and agitators, deluding and seducing the minds of men.³—Now by the *Dragon* we know to have been meant (for the Angel tells us so) that old Serpent *the Devil* ; in earlier days enthroned (in place of the heavenly rightful monarch) in the Paganism of ancient Rome : and thus, in a vision picturing it as at the opening of the fourth century, represented with the covering skin, characteristic of that Pagan Empire, of a seven-headed ten-horned Dragon : of which covering however, from after the time when he delivered up his seven-hilled throne and power to the Beast, we may probably suppose him to have appeared divested.⁴ Again, by the *Beast*, or rather

its literal English rendering *war* : which does not to the word *battle*, given in our authorized translation.

¹ From after the opening of the prefigurative visions in chapter vi. of the Apocalyptic Book, the word constantly, if not exclusively, used for the *Roman* earth is *γη*. The word *οικουμένη* is only used here, and in xii. 9, where the Dragon is described as deceiving *την οικουμένην ὅλην* —It was also used in chap. iii. 10, of a trial which was to fall *ἐπὶ τῆς οικουμένης ὅλης*. But this, whatever the meaning, was before the opening of the *prophetic* part of the Book.

² This is well illustrated both by what St. John says of *lying spirits*, that had gone forth in his day ; the reference being to certain antichristian and false theological doctrines and principles of the time, of which earthly teachers were the visible propagators, but evil spirits the real ones : and by the vision of Micaiah, in which it appeared that a lying spirit had gone forth, and spoken by the mouth of the lying prophets of King Ahab, to draw him to the battle of Ramoth Gilead. See 1 John iv. 1, &c, and 1 Kings xxii.

³ Daubuz cites the two following references to the symbol from ancient writers in illustration : 1st. Cicero ad Attic. xv. 15, saying *Ranæ ῥητορευουσι*, of certain vain prating demagogues of the day : 2. Artemidorus ii. 15, who expounds the figure thus ; *Βατραχοὶ δὲ ἀνδρας γοητας καὶ βωμολοχοὺς προσημαιοῦσι* “Frogs signify impostors and flatterers.”—To understand the force of the emblem, a person should have heard the frogs of *southern* Europe.

⁴ Compare Apoc. xii. 17, xiii. 2.—So, when again spoken of as seized and

(according to the Angel's definition of the thing intended in his description ¹) the Beast's *eighth ruling head*, we saw, on I think irrefragable evidence, that the *Popes of Rome* were meant, from and after the time of their occupying the Dragon's throne and empire in Western Christendom :—and, once more, by the *two-horned lamblike Beast*, or *False Prophet*, the apostate *Hierarchy and Clergy* of the Patriarchate of Western Europe, from and after the time of its subjection and official attachment to the Romish Popedom.²—What then (if this be correct) the *three spirits*, or *principles*, that may be considered most fitly characteristic of these three several actors on the scene ;—I mean the Devil abstractedly, the Papal Antichrist of Rome, and the Clerical corporate Body of the apostate Romish Church ? To myself, with reference to the *two first*, the answer seems simple and obvious :—viz. that the one from the *Dragon's* mouth is the principle of *infidelity*, with its proper accompaniments of *blasphemy* and *proud rebelliousness of spirit against rightful authority*, alike divine and human ; “ By which sin fell the angels : ”³—and the one from the *Beast* the pure direct principle of *Popery*, based on its fundamental antichristian dogma of the Roman Pope's being Christ's Vicegerent on earth. Nor again can I hesitate as to the *third* spirit intended. For, although at first sight there might seem some difficulty in assigning to it a sufficiently distinct character from the second, seeing that *the two-horned Beast* was before described

bound by the Angel, Apoc. xx. 2, I should incline to suppose that he did not appear with his old covering of the *dragon-skin*.

¹ Apoc. xvii. 11. See Vol. iii. Note ³ p. 93.

² It may be worth the reader's while again to consider, and satisfy himself on the exposition given to this effect, Part iv, Chap. vi.

³ Compare 1 Tim. iii. 6, “ Lest, being lifted up by *pride*, he fall into the condemnation of the devil ; ” and the notices of the fall of the lost spirits from their once high estate, given 2 Peter ii. 4, Jude 6.—So our Homily against Rebellion represents Satan as its first author ; and connects the sin of rebellion against *men* with that of rebellion against *God*. “ The first author of which rebellion was *Lucifer*, first God's most excellent creature and most bounden subject ; who, by rebelling against the majesty of God, of the brightest and most glorious angel is become the blackest and most foul fiend and devil.—Here you may see the first author and founder of rebellion ; here the grand captain and father of rebels.”—See the illustration given Note ¹ p. 32, *infra*.

as very much the organ, agent, and instrument, as well as chief supporter, of the *Beast*, its principal, yet I think that the new name now given to this agent on the prophetic scene itself suggests clearly enough the solution of the difficulty. For "*the False Prophet*" is the generic appellation of an *apostate Priesthood*¹ in the professing Church; and of an apostate Priesthood, what the most characteristic spirit but that of *priestcraft*? A spirit this which is distinct from and independent of that of direct Popery, though naturally its ally. Its essential acting in any Priesthood is traced in their exalting themselves and the church of *their* ministrations,—with its rites, sacraments, authority, dogmas, and traditions,—to the disparagement and even supercession of Christ's own word, work, and Spirit, in the things of salvation. It was thus in effect that it acted in the 4th and 5th centuries, long before its organization under the particular form of the two-horned lamb-like Beast of Apoc. xiii. But it thereby all the while *prepared the way* for a sacerdotal earthly Antichrist² in Christ's place; then acted naturally afterwards, under the particular organization that I spoke of, in devoting itself as *his chief support*.³ And what then more natural, than that after the loosening of the strong binding ties of the Papal authority by the events of the French Revolution, it might very possibly rise up and act again, with a measure of distinctness and independence, though still Romanist in its tendencies, on the theatre of Christendom?

Such, I say,—if the Dragon, Beast, and False Prophet mean what I think it is proved that they mean,⁴—appear to me to be the three principles or spirits in-

¹ So *Vitringa*, p. 1117; "Doctores illi falsi qui, in ipsâ Evangelii clarissimâ luce, non destiterint suâ eruditione, eloquentiâ, et auctoritate falsæ doctrinæ religionis patrocinari, et plebes credulas detinere in perniciosis erroribus."

² See Vol. i. pp. 384—386.

³ See Vol. iii. p. 164—172.

⁴ A different view of the Dragon, Beast, or False Prophet, will of course involve a different view of the spirits that proceed from them.—For example, they who explain the *Beast* of the *Secular Empire* of Western Christendom cannot explain the spirit that issues from its mouth of *Popery*. What however it may be, this class of commentators is not agreed. Mr. Cuninghame (who, by the way,

tended :—spirits in regard of which the prophecy intimates that they would act with unity of effect, if not of purpose ; viz. so as to gather the powers of the world, (just as Ahab¹ was seduced by a lying spirit to Ramoth Gilead,) whether altogether as antagonists against Christ and his cause, or in part as antagonists, in part spectators only,² to the coming great day of conflict.—And if these be the spirits intended,—spirits to go forth, let it never be forgotten, after a certain progress made in the drying up under the sixth Vial of the Turkman flood from the Euphrates,—can we well mistake in believing that within the last ten or fifteen years, *the precise period marked out in the prophecy*, there has been an outgoing of that which has remarkably answered to them ?

Let our retrospective sketch commence from about the year 1830 ; at which time, it may be remembered, the predicted drying up of the mystic Euphrates had exhibited itself alike in Greece, in the trans-Danubian Turkish provinces, and in Algiers. I commence from that epoch, although the risings of each of the three spirits might indeed be dated somewhat earlier, because

explains the *draconic spirit* as I do*) says that the *Spirit* from the *Beast* is *despotism*,—Mr. Bickersteth that it is *lawlessness*.

I trust the reader has long since made up his mind on the palpable incorrectness of this explanation of the Beast. The Beast was to last 1260 years in acknowledged supremacy : whereas the Holy Roman Empire from A.D. 800, the date of its establishment by Charlemagne, to 1806, the date of its termination, lasted at the utmost but 1006 years, and in the course of that period suffered an *interregnum* of above seventy years.—Further, the Beast was to be the object of wonder and worship to all the inhabitants of the Roman earth ; whereas during none of these 1006 years had the *secular empire* the worship of Western Christendom (though *the Popes* were the object of it strikingly) ; and during the greater part of its duration, it was not even the most eminent or powerful of the ten kingdoms.—Yet again, neither was the Frankish or Germanic empire the Beast's *eighth head*, nor was its throne on *the seven hills*. See the last paragraph in Vol. iii. Note¹, p. 160 ; and my observations *ibid.* p. 103. ¹ 1 Kings xxii.

² The kings gathered by the three spirits were to be the kings of the whole *οικουμένη* ; those engaged in conflict with the Lamb, the kings of the *γη*. If therefore the first term to be considered to have a larger meaning than the other, (See Note¹, p. 25 *suprà*) there may be some such distinction as that suggested in the text.

* His three spirits are, 1st, Atheism, or Anarchy and Infidelity, 2nd, Despotism, 3rd, Popery :—Mr. Bickersteth's three are, 1st, Infidelity, 2nd, Lawlessness, 3rd, Popery.

about that time there occurred certain momentous political changes in France and England, the two most influential powers of Western Christendom,—in France that of its second democratic Revolution,¹ in England those of the Roman Catholic Emancipation Act² and the Reform Bill,³—whereby the issuing forth of the three unclean spirits (already spawned) in that new relationship to each other of which I shall presently have to speak as indicated by the Apocalyptic prophecy, was eminently accelerated and helped forward.—And in our sketch let us more especially mark their actings in *our own country*: not merely because it is that about which we must ever nationally feel the greatest interest; but yet more because, it being the chief asylum of true religion, and central point whence the actings for the evangelization of the world had for some time previous been proceeding, we might almost à priori have expected that the Dragon would mark it out as, above all other countries, that in which it would need that he should exert his deepest subtlety and mightiest energies.

1. Thus then as to the *first* spirit,—that of *democratic infidel lawlessness and rebellion*,—when it had crossed the channel, after overthrowing the Bourbons in France, and the Dutch dynasty in Belgium, can we forget its sudden furious outbreak, as exhibited at the mootings and during the progress of the Reform Bill?—How the public mind in England was agitated and blindly impelled by it, almost like the herd that the legion of spirits impelled into the Lake of Gennesareth; and rank and property, church and state, alike endangered by it, till the Premier himself, the ostensible author of the Bill, quailed and fell before the tempest:—how the too frequent conjunction of the radical and the infidel (the joint characteristics, as I conceive, of the spirit from the Dragon) was both within Parliament and without it, under the falsely assumed appellation of *libe-*

¹ A.D. 1830.² A.D. 1829.³ A.D. 1832.

ral, marked prominently ;¹ and their incessant croaking cry, like that of the frogs from the Stygian pool of the Greek dramatist,² heard addressing itself to the masses, Agitate, Agitate !—how legislators, and even peers, as men infatuated, stood in their places in Parliament advising passive resistance to the law ; and others, with yet clearer token of the spirit speaking in them, suggested recourse to physical force, and even murder :—how our Church,—a Church in its scriptural Articles and Liturgy surely the very pillar and ground of the faith,—was marked as the special object of enmity and attack ; its property saved with difficulty, its prelates insulted, and even within the House of Lords itself admonished to set their house in order :—how the general mass of the dissenting body was infected with the spirit ;³ and many dissenting ministers (not of the Socinians only, but even of the more orthodox sects) instead of confining themselves, like the most illustrious of their predecessors, to the work of evangelists at home, and the promotion of evangelic missions abroad, became strangely known as political agitators : latitudinarianized in their religious associations, if not their religious profession, to an extent such as to make them seem partizans of infidelity ; and with language too often of the very gall of bitterness against the English Church. By many, I am persuaded, what was said and done was all under a temporary infatuation. But this only the more strikingly illustrates the influence on them of a mighty spirit of delusion. Nothing, but an hypothesis, like what the text suggests to us, of the outgoing of such a spirit over the land, can account for the phenomenon. “ I never said,” are the reported words of a late lamented man of genius,⁴ “ that the *vox populi* was of course the *vox Dei*. It may be. But it may with equal probabi-

¹ Of course I do not speak of all. I am fully aware of there being some eminent exceptions, and where even strong democratic political principles were united with sincere reverence for religion. ² In the *Βεργαῖοι* of Aristophanes.

³ The Wesleyans, at least their leaders, were an honourable exception ; and of other dissenters many most respectable individuals. I speak of the generality.

⁴ Coleridge.



lity be the *vox Diaboli*. That the voice of ten millions of men calling for the same thing is a *spirit*, I believe. But whether that be a *spirit of heaven* or of *hell*, I can only know by trying the thing called for by the prescript of reason and God's will." So the *Reform mania* was in his judgment a *spirit's voice*. And tried by his tests, (they are Scriptural tests) who can doubt whether it was a spirit from hell, or from heaven?

That fearful crisis may for the present seem to have passed: and through God's mercy a re-action has taken place, especially amongst the middle classes, in favour of order, of the constitution, and of the Church; whether altogether in favour of *true religion* is a different question, partially to be considered under another head in this section.—But the unclean spirit from the Dragon's mouth is not silenced. It is still well known to be active among the lower orders. Socialism and Chartism, the Political Unions, and other such-like revolutionary combinations, with their machinery of agitation and inflammatory haranguings,—harangues from which the more than half prompting has not been excluded, after the old radical-papistic models, even to *assassination* and *murder*,¹ suggest thoughts and recollections too clearly proving that the infidel revolutionary spirit is yet abroad in our land.—It is the age of *Journalism*; and the Draconic Spirit must have its journals and newspaper organs, as well as its mob orators.²

¹ What illustrations have we seen of the practical working of this spirit in the outbreak of the manufacturing population in the autumn of 1842, and in the more recent assassination of Mr. Drummond! The Manchester Courier, commenting on this last mentioned catastrophe, has justly observed that the stories of murderous plots against the Queen's ministers, told *approvingly* to their inflamed hearers by the agents and partizans of the Anti-Corn-Law-League, and other Associations of similarly questionable character, may most probably have been that which first suggested the idea to the wretched assassin. It mentions names of parties who have so spoken: and, sad to say, there figures that of one *dissenting minister* (I will not give the name) in the number.—In late debates Lord Brougham made indignant allusion to the same parties and principles in the House of Lords, and Mr. Roebuck in the House of Commons.

With regard to the Dissenters Mr. Bickersteth thus expresses himself. "This unclean spirit (of *lawlessness*) has found its more appropriate scene of temptation among the *dissenters*, as that (of *Popery*) has among us." Sermon before the Protestant Association, p. 26.

² I abstract, in what follows, very much from Mr. Bickersteth's Sermon before the Protestant Association.

There is one that calls itself *The Atheist and Republican*, as if to illustrate the fact of the two characters being one in spirit, so as I have represented it : ¹ a Journal which speaks of having thirty able contributors, and boasts of all Continental Christendom, and a large part of England as its own. There is another, a Sunday paper, called the *Weekly Dispatch*, of much the same irreligious democratic character, and of which the immense circulation is notorious : then the *Northern Star*, and other such like, the organs of the Chartists ; and again the *Oracle of Reason*, and other weekly penny publications : of which the character is such, that Mr. Bickersteth expresses his astonishment how Satan could have so dropped the veil, and openly manifested his spirit of lying and blasphemy.² Lord Ashley not long since told in Parliament of halls opened for factory operatives, including children, in which infidelity and sedition were, as a wild and satanic spirit, infused into them. And earlier in the period under review the publication of the *New Moral World* was the exponent and the infamous organ of the polluted sect of Socialists : the head of which sect, Robert Owen, was actually introduced (the fact, as *a sign of the times*, is not one to be forgotten) by England's Prime Minister to England's maiden Queen ; ³ and so this unclean spirit, like the Egyptian frogs, brought even into king's palaces.

It is needless to observe that, throughout the period I speak of, the same spirit has been abroad on the *Euro-*

¹ The following awful placard, taken from the shop of a miserable incendiary of this character, and exhibited before the magistrate in Bow-street, will too well illustrate my sketch of the spirit spoken of.

"What is God ? The Tyrant-Idea personified.—What is the God-Idea promulgated for ? To subjugate the many for the benefit of the few.—How is this contrived ? The God-Idea conveys the notion of superior and inferior ; produces worship, prostration of intellect, and subjugation."

² Ibid. p. 10. He observes that our Lord's *incarnation*, that highest act of God's love, is the constant subject of denial and ridicule, mockery and blasphemy.

³ The writer of an eloquent Article in the *Edinburgh Review*, headed "The Clapham Sect," objects to this notice of Lord Melbourne. But I really cannot see why. Supposing him to have known Mr. Owen's principles, (*and how could he have been ignorant of them ?*) the fact was surely a most extraordinary one : and, as one by no means insulated in character, but rather consistent with a political principle extensively followed out by the then rulers, of discarding all regard to religion and morals in politics, was characteristic as a sign of the times.

pean continent. In *France* the revolutionary secret societies, the spirit of its journals, and character of its most popular literature,—alike novels, romances, dramas, poetry,—all tell the tale too well. And the multiplied attempts made on the life of the French King, or of others of his family, have been but ebullitions of it.¹ The same in *Spain*, *Portugal* and *Italy*: intermixed with another spirit of which I shall have to speak presently. Of the *German* cognate school of neology the name of *Strauss* will suggest the horrid impieties; and *Switzerland* has been agitated, and in part revolutionized, by the infidel democratic, I may even say *Socialist* spirit within it.²—Nor this alone. The unclean spirit from out of the mouth of the Dragon, as well as the two other his companions, was apparently to have a wider range than the old Roman earth. It was to go forth to the kings of the *whole world*. And I must not conclude this head without observing on the manifestation of its speeding forth far away, even as far as India. On the renewal of the East Indian Charter in 1833, and when restrictions on the trade previously existing were removed, the opportunity was seized to send out thither bales of the works of Tom Paine, and other such-like infidel revolutionary publications. And with these Calcutta was inundated, as Dr. Duff proclaimed in 1837 with burning eloquence, to seduce and poison the youthful mind of India; just when intellectually awakened to see the falsehood and absurdity of Hindooism, and wooed by the

¹ Let me call attention to the following very striking declaration of the Procureur-General, on the trial of Quenisset before the French Chamber of Peers in December 1841, for shooting at the Duc D'Aumale;—striking especially from its use of the precise Apocalyptic symbol of the first Vial. "France has in her bosom two *corrosive and torturing sores*; and as long as they exist, we can never rely on a continuance of tranquillity: first, the *secret revolutionary societies*; next, the *inflammatory publications*, which incessantly incite anti-social passions, hatred against all that exists, and the wish to destroy."

² I may refer, for awful illustration of the latter statement, to a Pamphlet published at Lausanne, or Vevay, called *Le Communisme*; which I believe correctly represents the sentiments of a very considerable section of the now dominant party in the Pays de Vaud, and indeed generally speaking in Switzerland. At the time that I have been revising this Work for its 3rd Edition, a *Socialist Lecturer* from France has had the Hotel de Ville lent him by the government at Lausanne. [3rd Ed.]

according voices of the Christian missionary and the Book of the everlasting Gospel, to turn from vain idols to serve the living God.—Indeed from all the three Indian Presidencies the same report has been brought. In all of them,—and in other of our colonies also,—the same spirit is still rife from out of the mouth of the *Dragon*.¹

2. Nor *secondly*, has the spirit of *Popery*,—the spirit from the mouth of the *Beast*,—been within the last fourteen or fifteen years less active and stirring. I refer chiefly under this head to what has emanated directly from the *Popes* and *Papal Court* at Rome.

But let me first call attention to the *new association* in which this spirit was now apparently to go forth in revived wonder-working energy ; new as compared with the times of its more early power and rule. In those earlier times the Dragon seems represented as hidden and in the back ground :²—working indeed, and deceiving the so-called Christian world : but doing this indirectly, and through the medium of the Beast his creature ; which latter was the only *ostensible* power dominant. But here it is in ostensible conjunction with the *Dragon* that the Beast sends forth his spirit : as well as in conjunction with that of the *False Prophet*, his old ally and servant, though now bearing a distinctive character. Indeed the Dragon's spirit is mentioned first, as perhaps the most potent of the three.—It is, I say, *in this combination* that the spirit of Popery is prefigured as preparing to fight its last battle. And this, like the spirit first mentioned, after the symbol and acting of the *frog* : that is, not, as once, by the dictum of its will, and the sword of the subject civil power to give it effect ; but rather by agitation, and incessant appealings, inflammatory or seductive, to the ears, ignorance, prejudices, and passions of the multitude.

And thus, I conceive, what the Popes did after their

¹ For further evidence on this head, see Lord Ashley's speech of Feb. 28, 1843.

² Not a word is said of the Dragon coming ostensibly on the Apocalyptic scene of action, from after his giving to the Beast his throne, &c. Apoc. xiii. 2, till now.

restoration to the Romish See, before the outpouring of the sixth Vial, must be considered as but preparatory to the fulfilment of the part figured in the prophecy of the text. I refer to that which I have already noted,—their issuing, forthwith on their resettlement at Rome, of official *bulls, allocutions, and indulgences*, asserting or implying all their old pretensions, as those that bore the character of *Christ's Vicar*¹ (rather of *Antichrist*) ; and their reinstitution of the *Inquisition* and of the *Jesuits* : these latter such reckless agitators for the advancement of Popery, that Vitranga thought the three frog-like spirits might one and all be in his time discerned in them.² I say I regard this as but a preparatory step to their fulfilment of what concerns them in the prophecy of the text : the authority they then sought to exercise being after the old model, and without the co-ordinate and associated power of the spirit from the Dragon, in ostensible alliance.—Hence though alike in France under the Bourbons, Spain under Ferdinand, and Portugal under Don Miguel, (not to add also in Bavaria, Austria,³ Sardinia,⁴ Naples,) there was a marked revival of Popery, and in some cases even the Inquisition was again brought into active operation,⁵ yet, this being contrary to the spirit of the age, a popular re-action ensued, and the legitimists, its friends of the *old* regime, were driven from their kingdoms.—But, in the mean while, the unclean spirit from the mouth of the *Beast* had been essaying its strength, *conjunctively with that from the Dragon*, in two countries under Protestant government, viz. Ireland and Belgium : and the essay had been in either case crowned with success. After the agitation of Ireland to its very centre for years, chiefly by united Romish priests and revolutionary demagogues, the Roman Catholic Emancipation Bill was past in 1829, as a preferable alternative to civil war :⁶ and the next year, through the united

¹ See Vol. iii. p. 369, &c.² In Apocal. p. 975.³ See Vol. iii. p. 372.⁴ See Ibid.⁵ Ib. 366. Mr. Wilberforce notes in the year 1819 hearing from a gentleman from Spain, that the Inquisition had then begun to fulminate in that country against the damnable errors of Luther. Life, v. 77.⁶ So (if I remember right) the Duke of Wellington.

action of kindred spirits, the Dutch Protestant King was expelled from Belgium.—Whereupon,—notwithstanding the almost cotemporary expulsion from France of its friends the Bourbons by a similar but sole dominant democracy,—the Papal Court, after hesitating for a while what course to pursue in the new conjuncture, being brought to a conviction that democracy was in the ascendant in Western Europe, and finding that the French people, all democratic as they were, professed Catholicism as the religion of the great majority of the nation, and that its King of the Barricades himself every way courted the Papal Church and Hierarchy,—I say under these circumstances the resolution was taken by it to shape its policy conformably.¹ As the *Dragon*, having learnt from the results of the first and great French Revolution that he could not let loose on Christendom his democratic atheistic spirit, all unmodified and alone, without the danger of a re-action following, in favour of order and perhaps even of true religion,

¹ In the want of a direct account of the Conclave in which the matter was discussed, and the resolution taken, which I have seen, but forget where,—let me give the following extract from the Quarterly Review for June 1844, p. 165, on the point referred to, "There is an increasing disunion," it says, "in the Papal Councils. The doctrines of La Mennais have made great progress; and Padre Ventura, who was silenced because of the countenance he gave the French Abbé when at Rome, is again in favor, and preached the Quadragesimal sermons this year. Hence the O'Connellite faction in Rome, which has always been opposed by Father Routham, General of the Jesuits, as being against all government in Church and State, while assuming the mask of attacking only the supremacy of an *heretical* Church, has gained much support. That O'Connellite faction has, we grieve to say, been taken up by all the English Roman Catholics; and the admirers of La Mennais are talking more composedly of the possibility of their throwing off all connection with government every where, and placing themselves at the head of the revolutionists throughout Europe."

The writer adds; "Some such desperate plunge seems indeed the natural death of a system so mighty, and with so much vitality as the Papal system still possesses. It cannot die the way of all flesh, and expire like a candle burnt down into the socket, with a bright perhaps but momentary glare. It must die in a convulsion, and such a convulsion as will shake Europe to its foundation."—I add this Paragraph for comparison and contrast with what Scripture prophecy says of the end of Popedom.

It is observable that in the Pope's encyclical Letter of 1825, they who preached against the union of *Church and State* were represented as the authors of all mischief: but never more so since 1830.

In a Bull of the present just elected *liberal* Pope, on occasion of his Coronation, I am informed that an indulgence is accorded to such as shall visit the holy places, and pray, among other things, for the exaltation of the Holy Mother Church, and for *the extermination of heresies*.

(for religion, in some form or other the human soul craves after,¹) saw that an alliance was needed with his creature the Beast, and accordingly planned it in characteristic subtlety,—so the *Beast* perceived also its advantage, and accepted the alliance offered :—it being obvious that it was one intended to be open or more covert, according to circumstances ; not perhaps without temporary quarrels, such as the better to mask the combination :² and offering a double seduction from the truth and gospel of Jesus, according as either infidelity or a corrupt antichristian Christianity might best suit the character of the country, the times, or the individual.

It was after this that the unclean spirit from the mouth of the Beast, the Papal Antichrist, sped forth with that rapidity and power over the earth, that has of late years so astonished the minds of men.

In *England*, (where, as before, I wish particularly to trace its movement,) the Reform Bill having been past in 1832, through the conjunction of Romanists (now admitted into Parliament) and the several sections of self-styled liberals and democrats, results succeeded such as, in a manner and measure little anticipated, to strengthen the cause of Popery, alike in this country and abroad.—*At home*, through the near balance of parties, the turning of the scale of political power was found to be in the hands of the leader of the Irish Papal party : and thereby, substantially, very much of the power of the Government itself devolved on him. Hence in the

¹ So Homer, one of Nature's truest poets ;

Θεὸν χάριον' ἀνθρώποι.

² So lately, in France and Switzerland. [2nd Ed.] As I am passing my 3rd Edition through the press the progress of the revolutionary movement in Switzerland is furnishing striking confirmation to the view given in the Text. While the cry "*A bas les Jesuites*" has furnished the pretext to these movements, the result of the revolutions both at Lausanne and at Geneva has been, that the governments in either Canton, and the Roman Catholics there residing, associate and act on terms of friendship : a full toleration being given to the Roman Catholic worship, and the erection of new Roman Catholic Chapels permitted. Whereas the Helvetic Confession has been abolished by the popular Government of the Pays de Vaud, the mass of the faithful ministers driven to the necessity of quitting the National Church, and not only no Chapels allowed them, but no toleration even to their reunions in private houses.

House of Commons the deference paid to Romish principles, discouragement of all upholding of the true religious principles of Protestantism, and not infrequent assertion (amidst the applause alike of the Romish and the democratic delegates) of the obscurity of the Bible, the equal probability of truth in the most contrary views of its essential dogmas, Popish as much as Protestant, and propriety therefore of a man's following the way of his fathers : ¹—assertions directly insulting, we may surely say, to Him who gave the Bible,² and fitted to awaken feelings of the need of a surer guide to the interpretation of Scripture than Protestantism could offer ; that is, if the Bible were indeed the word of God. So alike in the Houses of Parliament, and throughout the country, while *Infidelity* was encouraged on the one hand, *Popery* with its sure rule of faith, was encouraged and strengthened on the other. And now Romish chapels and convents and colleges sprang up with increased rapidity over England.³ Conversions became frequent. The press gave its powerful aid to the cause. Roman Catholic reviews, magazines, and news-

¹ As a late example take the following from Lord Howick, in the Debate on the Irish Question, Feb. 19, 1844. "The Right Hon. gentleman (Mr. Shaw) said, 'We take our stand on the broad ground of *religious truth*.' If there were wanting one thing more than another to make the maintenance of an Established Church offensive to the Irish people, it would be the employment of this argument. It was as much as to say that the Catholics were wrong, and the Protestants right. What right had he to assume that the Catholic faith was false ? More than half the world adhered to it."

² In the case of a letter or document written by a parent to his child, on a matter avowedly most deeply affecting the child's well-being, would not that parent think it insulting, were a person to assert that he had deliberately so written the letter as that the child might take it as well the wrong way, as the right one ; and that even on occasion of the child's application to himself for explanation, he still, notwithstanding his direct promise to the contrary, left the child in doubt ?

³ The Reformation Society has published maps from time to time, in the course of the last fifteen years, illustrative of this their rapid and continued increase.—The *Catholic Directory* for 1843, in a list corrected up to that time, enumerates 571 Roman Catholic churches or chapels, 9 colleges, 22 convents and monasteries ; and states the number of the Romish missionary priests in Great Britain at 733. The splendour of some of the churches is made a matter of boast in it: especially of the new Metropolitan Popish Cathedral in St. George's Fields, which is to tower higher, when complete, than any London church but St. Paul's. To attract subscribers to the church-building, it promises in various cases that *monthly masses*, or an annual solemn *requiem*, shall be celebrated for the souls of the donors.

papers,—many characterized by exceeding subtlety of argument, and not a little display of learning,¹—as well as cheap religious controversial works,² and tracts fitted for the multitude, obtained, and have ever since continued to obtain, wide circulation among Protestants: and romances, and novels, and works on poetry, history, music, architecture,³ all of the same character, helped forward the movement.—Meanwhile in *Ireland*, Popery was rampant. And as the unclean spirit, speaking from the altars of the Popish chapels, swayed and infuriated the blind multitude that worshipped before them, the Protestant clergy, in respect of their property, and sometimes even of their lives, were almost treated as without the pale of the law: their institutions for educating the poor in gospel-truth forced too often to give place to the unclean teaching of Popery;⁴ and the death's

¹ Mr. Bickersteth, in his late Sermon, p. 13, enumerates the *Dublin Review*, the *Roman Magazine*, the *True Tablet*, the *Catholic* newspaper, *Lucas's Penny Reader*, the *Tracts* of the Catholic Institute, (a notice of which I see in the *Catholic Directory* for 1843, p. 184) and many others. He adds that the "*Catholic*" is published every week, having twelve quarto pages of close print, and containing reviews of modern books, Protestant journals, and Bishops' charges, &c. written with much subtle cunning and sarcasm; and that it is sent *gratis* to every Romish priest in Great Britain and Ireland, and to the heads of every Popish college and Institute for education in the United Kingdom.

In another place (p. 35) Mr. B. gives an extract from the *Phoenix* of April 10, 1840, an Edinburgh Romanist paper, very characteristic of the union of Popery and democracy against our venerable Church. "Is this the tenth year of emancipation, and do we yet endure tithes and church rates? But the system is to be extended:—16,000 churches of error and falsehood, supported by insolent robbery and oppression, are not enough. Hundreds, nay, thousands more wrung from the sufferings of the poor Catholic and Dissenter, for the dispensation of doctrines which he abhors! . . . It must not, shall not be. Above all iniquity is the Established Church of England, founded in fraud, cemented with blood, and prolonged by ignorance; existing through more than Carthaginian perfidy and cruelty. *Delenda est Carthago.*"

² E. g. the *Derby cheap Reprint of Standard Roman Catholic Works*: in which large works like *Milner's End of Controversy* are priced at but a shilling.

³ E. g. *The Broad Stone of Honour*, *Geraldine*, *Pugin's Ancient Cathedrals*, and other such works, in the various departments of literature.

⁴ How unclean the fountain at Maynooth, and in the Irish Church, the name of *Dens* may suffice to show. And if such the fountain, what the streams?—The Bishop of London in his late Charge, speaks of the *Jesuits* as "directing the education of a great part of the people of *Ireland*, as well as of many of the sons of the Roman Catholic nobility and gentry of *England*;" and adds a quotation from the Arrêt of the Parliament of Paris in 1762, characterizing them as a sect "*d'impies, fanatiques, corrupteurs.*" p. 75.*

* In Feuerbach's *Narrative of remarkable Crimes*, compiled from the official records of the Courts in Bavaria, and published in 1839, we are told of Father

head and cross-bones held out *in terrorem* against all who might attempt to withstand its political projects.— Yet again to the vast *English foreign colonies* the same spirit had now the opportunity of speeding forth in power ; to India, Australia, New Zealand, the Cape, Canada, Newfoundland : ¹—every where Romish bishops and priests, salaried by Government, though with instructions from the Pope, ² on their settlement organizing the Romish interests ; seizing if possible on the education, influencing newspapers, and, in case of popular institutions, agitating for political power, in conjunction (witness the late histories of Canada and of Newfoundland) with the democratic, perhaps too the *anti-English* ³ element.—Such has been our own experience of the actings and energy of this unclean spirit during the last ten years.

Nor has *France* less prominently in her sphere helped forward the unclean spirit from the Papal Antichrist :—

¹ In the *Catholic Directory* for 1843 I see a startling list of “ *Catholic Bishops and Vicars Apostolic*,” in the British colonies and possessions. The *sees* or *locations* enumerated are, Australia and Van Diemen’s land, Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, North India, the Western Oceanica and Cape of Good Hope, the two Canadas, Hudson’s Bay, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Jamaica, Trinidad, Guiana, Gibraltar, Malta, Zante.

² In a late paper, for example, I see a notice from the *Univers*, French journal, of M. Polding, *Archbishop of Sydney*, in Australia, visiting the Pope before departure from Rome, and receiving his final instructions. It is added that four Italian missionaries go with M. Polding, to be followed by several others of the same order of the *passion*.

³ In Governor Fitzroy’s despatch for New Zealand, printed by order of the House of Commons, and dated Sept. 16, 1844, there occurs the following notice respecting certain disturbances there, broken however by asterisks. “ The late disturbances at the Bay of Islands were caused chiefly by * * * exciting the natives to resist British authority. I should be sorry indeed to find that any of the *Roman Catholic missionaries* have contributed to excite such a feeling. * * * They have circulated small books in the native language, printed at their own press, the contents of which are considered to be very objectionable : and though confined, it may be said, to religious questions, there are passages which in my opinion have a direct tendency to cause a bad feeling to the *English* generally.”

Sattler’s *Ethica Christiana*, a large work, “ containing almost a caricature of the sort of morals and casuistry usually called *Jesuitical*, being a favorite *text-book* in many places of ecclesiastical education in the South of Germany.” I quote this from the *Edinburgh Review* for October 1845, p. 343 : where it occurs in the abstract from Feuerbach of the very remarkable case of Priest Riembauer, accused of and condemned for murder. So that the Romanist priesthood in Southern Germany have their counterpart to the Dens and Delahogue of the Irish Priesthood.—Let those who would see the natural working of such a system in the Priesthood, its searing of the conscience, and training it to strong delusion, read that awful but most instructive narrative.

at home admitting indeed conjointly more of the counter-element of infidelity resisting and opposing ;¹ but abroad helping the cause heartily even more than England : the English Government under the Reform Bill having only forwarded its interests in conjunction, and on the same footing, with those of the Protestant Church and Protestant Sects of this kingdom ; but France furthering them distinctively and alone. I refer not so much to what it has done in more distant parts of the world ;² as, for example, in its Indian factories, in China,³ in the Sandwich Islands, and just lately in the Marquesas ;⁴ sending out Romish missionaries, and establishing and forcibly protecting Romish missions :⁵ —but more especially to the manner in which it has supported the Papal interest, and professed itself its pro-

¹ Michelet, in his late work, "*Des Jesuites*," thus applies the Apocalyptic figure of the first Seal to the corrupt workings of the revived *Jesuit* system in France. "If God mean to strike us again, I pray that it may be with the *sword*. The wounds of the sword are frank and clean, which bleed but heal. But what can a nation do with disgraceful concealed sores, which grow old, and gain upon the system daily? From such corruption the worst to fear is the spirit of police in religion, of pious intrigue, the spirit of the Jesuits. Rather may God lay upon us ten times all forms of tyranny political and military, than suffer such a tyranny to pollute beloved France. A tyranny has this at least of good in it, that it often rouses the national sentiment : and they break it, or it breaks itself. But if this sentiment be extinguished, *if the gangrene gets into our flesh and bones*, how then will you get rid of it? Now an outward tyranny contents itself with the outward man, the actions. But the police attacks *the thoughts*. The habits of thought become gradually changed under it, and the soul is injured in its depths."

² On which compare Buonaparte's Institution for Romish Missions under French protection, noticed in the Note ² p. 364, Vol. iii.

³ Thus I read in some of the late papers (Evening Mail, Jan. 9, 1843) that eight clergy from the Seminary of Foreign Missions, (the *Parisian Seminary*, I presume, of which more in the Note p. 44) had arrived at Bourdeaux, to sail by a French merchantman for India, en route to China.

⁴ The King's Speech states that the *Marquesas* islands were to be fully garrisoned by the French ; and, the papers add, with a sufficient number of Romish *priests* accompanying, for the conversion of those groups of islands.

⁵ The Appendix to the Report of the American Board of Missions for 1841 gives account of the Sandwich Islands' affair. Some Roman Catholic priests had been banished from them. In July 1839 Captain Laplace arrived in a French frigate, to demand satisfaction on the part of his Government ; threatening hostilities unless the king consented to a treaty, guaranteeing the freedom of Catholic worship to natives as well as foreigners, and assigning a piece of land at Honolulu for the erection of a chapel. The king was compelled to make the treaty, and to give Capt. Laplace a deposit of 25,000 dollars, to be retained until the satisfactory fulfilment of the treaty.

Since this was first written, the history of Tahiti, and of the French Protectorate, with its Roman Catholic missionaries, has become too notorious. [2nd Ed.

protectress, in the countries nearer home bordering on the *Mediterranean*. Alike in Algeria, now a new Papal Episcopate,¹ and Abyssinia, in Syria and in Egypt, indeed throughout the territories of the Turkish empire generally, the unclean spirit from the mouth of the Beast has, under these auspices, made its voice to be heard with long unwonted power.² The French flag waves over the Roman Catholic churches and convents of Syria.³ *Democratic France* boasts to be the protectress of *Catholicism*.

It does not need that I speak of the activity and progress of Popery in *other* countries, during this same period. Suffice it to say that other *European* Roman Catholic States have not been wanting in giving their support and aid to the movement;⁴ and that the *United*

¹ Late accounts relate the journey of the French Bishop of Algiers to Pavia for a bone of St. Augustin; the verification of the precious relic in the presence of a Papal envoy; its reception on his return at Toulon by the troops under arms; and conveyance with the Bishop to Algeria, there to be deposited in a church building, or to be built, at Hippo.

² "During the last two years," writes Dr Crawford, "the Church of Rome has been continually sending missionaries of both sexes, and adapted to all classes of society, into Syria, Egypt, Persia, Abyssinia, and every accessible district of Asia. A society of *Jesuits from France* purchased a few years ago a house and premises near Beyrout, to found a college for the general education of the natives of Syria; and it was lately announced that they had already above 120 pupils, and that their college was daily increasing. The *Univers* of February 1842 contained the following announcement. 'Alexandria, as well as Constantinople and Smyrna, is about to possess establishments of Lazarists and Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul, from France. The French Government has purchased from Mehemet Ali an extensive piece of ground, for the purpose of erecting a building in which the Lazarists and Sisters of Charity may give instruction to the youth of both sexes.'"

³ This was officially stated by M. Guizot, in a late Debate on the Address in the French Chamber of Deputies: in reply to M. David and others; who had charged the French Ministry with the abandonment of the Protectorate of the Catholic subjects of the Porte, assigned to France by the concessions of various Sultans, some of a remote age.

⁴ As I revise my Work for the 2nd Edition, I have forced on my notice the restoration of the unsold property of the Romish Church under Narvaez and the Queen Mother in *Spain*; and the case of Dr. Kalley, as considered and decided on in the Portuguese Courts at Madeira and Lisbon, showing that intolerance of Protestantism, if preaching or speaking openly, is still regarded and acted on as a law of *Portugal*.—Moreover, as regards *Austria*, I see in the Record of April 25, 1844, an extract from the *Gazette des Tribunaux*, announcing that the Emperor of Austria has published an ordinance interdicting, under the severest penalties of fine and imprisonment, any Austrian Catholic subject from embracing Protestantism, without having previously obtained express permission from the Government; which permission will not be granted, except in serious circumstances, and until the competent authorities shall have admitted the necessity for such a change. The banishment of the Zillerthal Protestants from Austria dates a little earlier.

States of North America may be mentioned as very prominently one of the *foreign* local scenes on which it has been exhibited.¹—Let me only further add, that, to mar the work of evangelic Protestant missions, and stop the progress of the everlasting Gospel, has been proved in every case one primary object of this spirit from the Beast's mouth issuing forth.² And, on the whole, such has been its support,—funds to the amount of near £1,000,000 sterling a-year being now, it is said,³ the

¹ Bishop Macilvaine, when in this country four or five years since, gave some interesting information on this point; mentioning, among other illustrative facts, and as from personal knowledge, the circumstances of 30,000 dollars having been lodged in one of the States' banks, (a sum furnished, he believed, principally by the *Austrian* Propaganda,) for the purpose of assisting the building of Romish Churches there, and otherwise promoting the Papal interests.—Since then the political influence of Popery in the States has greatly increased; almost uniformly, I believe, in alliance with the extreme democracy.

Mr. Bickersteth, in a Note to p. 19 of his Protestant Association Sermon, illustrates the same fact from an account, given him by the Rev. H. Caswell, of the Jesuit Establishment at *St. Louis*, the capital of Missouri, on the Mississippi in the far West. This cathedral, which cost 80,000 dollars, is crowded to excess, Mr. C. states, every Sunday six times during the day; both Matins and Vespers being performed to three different congregations, German, French, and English. The *University* is greatly in advance of the Protestant Kemper College; one of the Jesuits attached almost constantly traversing Papal Europe to obtain donations: and, he adds that, out of 30,000 in *St. Louis*, 14,000 are Papists.

² There is scarce a Protestant evangelic Mission, I believe, which has not felt this. The Sandwich Mission is but one example among many. Australia, New Zealand, India, North America, Newfoundland, have all experienced it. In Abyssinia the Jesuits succeeded in expelling for a while the Church Missionary Society's missionaries. In Alexandria and Syria they were, as above mentioned, seeking to supersede the Protestant missionary's work: and, once more, with reference to the Anglo-Prussian bishopric at Jerusalem, the French and Russians jointly,—the one as protectress to the Romish religion, the other to the Greek,—prevented the Porte from agreeing to its establishment, except on condition of the Bishop confining himself to the care of those over whom the other churches of the East cannot rightly claim jurisdiction. Indeed Sir R. Peel, Feb. 28, 1843, stated that the Porte had formerly sanctioned neither our bishop nor our church building there. See the Letter of *Viator*, Record, No. 1579.

Since this was written the British Ambassador at Constantinople is said to have succeeded in obtaining the Firman required. [2nd Ed.]

³ So *Viator* *ibid.* "Provided with *one million sterling* annually for the propagation of the Romish faith, and assisted with the political influence of all the Roman Catholic countries of Europe, especially of France," &c. In this, *Viator* subsequently states, (see Record, No. 1585) that he includes the surplus revenue derived to the Pope from both the taxes and ecclesiastical lands of the Papal States, (applicable, and in great measure applied to Propaganda objects,) as well as the proceeds of the *Propaganda* Societies, now immensely increased through the efforts of the Jesuits. In his statement of £1,000,000 being the annual sum applied, he was guided, he says, by the opinion of a person who, during a long residence at Rome, had the best possible opportunity of obtaining accurate information on such subjects: adding, however, that there are no well authenticated *documents* from which to learn the income; those published by the Papal Government being notoriously untrustworthy.

Papal revenue in aid of Propaganda objects,—and such in different foreign countries its prospects of success,¹—that both at Rome and elsewhere the expectation has been avowed, and with almost the sanguine hopes of the olden and palmy days of Popery, that the prophecies of the latter day are about being fulfilled in its favour; when all nations shall submit to the *Pope*, all people do him homage, from the river even to the world's end.

Mr. Bickersteth thus estimates the revenue, and speaks of the formation of *one* Propaganda Association. "In 1822 the Society for the Propagation of the Faith was formed to counteract Protestant missions. It has adopted our plans. It raised in 1841 £110,000, and has stated its expectation of raising its income to £600,000. Ibid. p. 12.

He means that of Paris and Lyons (with an English Branch formed in 1838) which was in 1822 established, or rather I presume *re-established*, after temporary suspension during the French revolutionary wars. (See the Note Vol. iii. p. 364, a little while since referred to.) The reader is doubtless aware that the great *Roman* Association, or rather Congregation *De Propagandâ Fide*, dates its formation about two centuries back. It was founded in 1622, and richly endowed by Gregory XVI, its *Committee* (or *Congregation*) of *management* being thirteen cardinals, two priests, one monk, and a secretary; its object the propagation and maintenance of the Romish religion in all parts of the world. Its riches and possessions were prodigiously augmented by the munificence of Urban VIII., a little after, and the liberality of an incredible number of donors: "so as that its funds," says Mosheim, speaking of its state a little before the French Revolution, (Cent. xvii. § 1,) "are at this day adequate to the most expensive and magnificent undertakings." A *College*, or *Seminary for the Propagation of the Faith*, was attached and subordinated in 1627 and 1641 by Popes Urban VIII and Gregory XV, its object being the instruction and education of those who are designed for the foreign missions.—Moreover in the same century several institutions of the same nature and object were founded in *France*: as, by royal authority, the *Congregation of Priests of Foreign Missions*, and by an association of bishops and other ecclesiastics, the *Parisian Seminary for Foreign Missions*; the latter like that at Rome, designed for the education of intended missionaries. "From hence," says Mosheim, "apostolical vicars are still sent to Siam, Tonquin, Cochin China, Persia," &c: adding, that altogether the congregations and colleges of Rome and France conjointly, sent forth *legions* of missionaries in the 17th century, so as "to cover almost the face of the globe."

¹ *Naples* appears as an assistant in the Romish Propagandist proceedings. A letter from Naples, of the date of Jan, 12, 1843, states that there had just set out thence ten priests of the Foreign Missionary Society: two to be Directors of the General Missionary College at Penang, two to Cochin China, one to Siam, one to Macao to join the Chinese Mission.

In regard to China, a country just now of peculiar interest, the *Univers* (of Paris) states, Feb. 12, 1843, that news had come to Rome ("*the Eternal City*") from its missionaries in China, to the effect that the Emperor had accorded them full toleration and liberty, and had expressed a wish for more Romish missionaries: whereupon forty religious had been selected for the mission, (besides others previously sent and an Apostolic Vicar:)—it being regarded at Rome as an indication of the Emperor, and so his empire, embracing the Catholic faith.—The miracle of an *apparition of Christ crucified* was also, according to the *Gazette du Simplon*, reported by the Chinese missionaries.

Since the above was written, the Chinese Emperor has formally repealed the law against Christianity. [2nd. Ed.]

3. I was next to speak of the unclean spirit from the mouth of the *False Prophet*, or *Clergy of the Romish apostacy*.—Now I have under the last head anticipated much of what might perhaps have been stated under this. For if Rome and its Popes have sent forth in their bulls and ordinances, their vicars apostolic and bishops, and the missions and money of the Propaganda, *their voice of Popery*,—the *Romish Clergy* have, as a body, taken it up: and themselves, even as if with personal interest and ambition in the matter, adopted the cry, and urged the cause forward. The distinctness, however, of this Apocalyptic symbol,—the distinctness I mean of its voice in the trio—seems rather to require (as I have before said) that we should seek its fulfilment in the voice of the priesthood of the Apostacy, in so far as, while mainly supporting the Popery of Rome,¹ it may yet have had a certain political independency, if not religious peculiarity. And such independency does in fact now attach, more or less, to the *Spanish, Portuguese, and French* clergy:—to the latter more especially, as members of the *Gallican Church*; a Church proud of its liberties, and not *ultramontane* in principle, but rather regarding *General Councils* as the seat of the infallibility of the Church, not individual *Popes*.² Yet do they all so hold, like as at Constance, to the *superstitions* and *false dogmas* of the Apostacy, as to speak but one of

¹ It appears from Apoc. xix. 20, that the False Prophet, even to the last, is associated with, and supports the Beast.

² See Note ⁴ p. 314, Vol. iii, on the possible distinction of the cismontane and ultramontane divisions in the Romish Church, in an earlier passage of the Apocalypse.—On the constitution of the Gallican Church under Napoleon, see ib. p. 364 Note ³.

In the Catholic Directory for 1843, p. 2. there is given a *Formula* to be subscribed by all clergymen of the *Gallican Church*, before permission being given them by the London Vicar Apostolic to officiate in the Papal churches in England. It is a Formula of recognition of the *Pope* as the alone *Head of the Church*. “Ego profiteor et declaro me summo Pontifici Gregorio XVI, utpote Ecclesiæ capiti, subesse; et communicare illis omnibus, tanquam Ecclesiæ membris, qui jam cum Pio VII, quem quamdiu post suam ad Pontificatum assumptionem vixit fuisse Ecclesiæ caput confiteor, communionem usque ad ipsius mortem servârunt, et nunc Gregorio Papæ XVI communione conjunguntur.”—Thus it seems that the *French* clergy are viewed by the Pope, as in a certain sense distinct, i. e. since the great Revolution of 1789, from the other Roman Catholic clergy. And so too, I conceive, the *Spanish and Portuguese*.

the tones of the Western *False Prophet*;—the voice of a *modified Papacy*.

But we are forced, ere we quit this head, to look *nearer home*; and to ask whether, since *independency* to a certain degree, and *distinctness of voice*, is thus apparently required, in order precisely to satisfy the emblematic intimations respecting this spirit in the text, we may not among *ourselves* too have seen that which has answered to it. The warning cry of a watchman of our Israel, as well known for his spirit of love and benevolence as even for his zeal in the Christian cause, has been lately heard to denounce the modern *Oxford Tractarianism* as, in part, the very voice of the False Prophet in the text.¹ Can this be the case? Is it really the voice of the unclean spirit, apocalyptically prefigured as issuing like a frog out of the mouth of the False Prophet, that has been resounding these last eight or ten years from the banks of the Isis? This is a grave question.

Certainly, if at the first there was much in it that to a discerning ear and eye seemed suspicious,² there were indications also apparently of an opposite character. When the *infidel revolutionary spirit* swept like a flood across our land, and the *Popish spirit*, combining and fraternizing therewith, swelled the torrent, the Oxford primary movement was against,—not for it. And hence in fact much of its early strength. It was looked on by the friends of order, religion, and the church, in times of fearful peril and agitation, as an ally of *conservatism*. And doubtless of its early supporters there were not a few that at the time so intended it, and foresaw not whither it would lead them.³ When a spirit of delusion goes abroad, its plans are not at once

¹ Viz. Mr. Bickersteth, in his late Sermon before the Protestant Association, on the Text we are now discussing.

² I do not except from this charge even Keble's *Christian Year*, beautiful as is much of its sentiment, as well as poetry: and which was about the first as well as most influential pioneer to the Oxford movement.

³ See especially Mr. Perceval's account of the first origin and originators of the Oxford movement, in his Letter to the Editor of the Irish Ecclesiastical Journal.

fully developed; and thus its agents and instruments are often at the first led blindfold. Satan may come in, we know from Scripture, even as an Angel of light. But the development has now at length been sufficiently clear and unequivocal. And painful as it is to me to write on the subject,—especially considering how much there is of what is eminent and estimable in many who have more or less *appeared* to favour the doctrine,—I dare not shrink from avowing my conviction that Mr. Bickersteth is warranted in the warning-cry he has sent forth; and that the *Oxford Tractarianism* bears with it evidence of being in very truth one form of *the voice of the False Prophet*, prefigured to St. John under the sixth Vial in the Apocalypse.

It does not need that I should here at length set forth or illustrate the doctrines or spirit of the Tractarianism referred to. The following brief summary may suffice, sketched by one who has drawn the picture from the writings of its chief heads and authors.¹ It appears, he says,² that it is their avowed desire and object, “to *re-appropriate* from Popery the doctrines which our Reformers rejected,—to set up a *Popish rule of faith*, a Popish doctrine of *apostolical succession*, a Popish view of the *Church and Sacraments*, a Popish doctrine of *sacrifice in the Eucharist*, available for the quick and dead for remission of sins, a doctrine on *Transubstantiation*, *Purgatory*, *invocation of Saints*, &c, &c,—aye and even on the *Papal supremacy*,—which, if not Popish, is at least so near it, that it is like splitting hairs to draw a distinction between them: nay, which is admitted to be in most of these instances consistent with the *Tridentine statements*; and only not Popish, because it does not reach all the extravagances *practised* in the Romish communion.” This is an awful, but I fear too palpably true statement. Sad³ that the moral sense should be so

¹ I need hardly say that I refer to Mr. Goode. His most valuable Tract, *The Case as it is*, ought to be in the hands of every one who would wish rightly to estimate the real character of the new theological school at Oxford.

² “*Case as it is* ;” pp. 53, 54.

³ So the Rev. T. F. Dibdin, in a late Letter to the Editor of the *Morning Chronicle*.

perverted with individuals who hold these sentiments, and who thus advocate the very doctrines which our reformed Church was framed to protest against, as to allow notwithstanding of their retaining its professorships, and eating its bread !—Strange that while, as in the notable case of *Lady Hewley's charity*, the Civil Courts have adjudged¹ that *dissenting ministers*, professing a religious creed essentially at variance with that of the founder, are by that profession ipso facto excluded from the benefit of the religious endowment,—our ecclesiastical law should have failed to define, or to enforce the acting upon the same rule,—a rule which reason and common equity cannot but approve of : to the effect of excluding from within its pale of these avowed enemies of our beloved English Protestant Church !

It is the business, however, of an Apocalyptic Expositor to confine himself to the *Apocalyptic* bearing of the subject. And most assuredly, if the interpretation of this prophetic book hitherto given be correct, (and I trust that the reader is well satisfied with the evidence of its correctness,) it may be shown that there is not a single token wanting, whereby to recognize the acts and spirit of the present Oxford religious school, as but an antitype and fulfilment of that which appeared in symbol to issue from the mouth of the False Prophet, so as described in the text. Let us trace the parallel, *first*, in *respect of its theological character and doctrine*; *secondly*, in respect of the *time, manner, circumstances, and associations*, that have marked its movement and promulgation.

As to its *theological character and doctrine*, the first thing which strikes us (and it is indeed a most striking one) is that it notoriously takes for its model, in respect of doctrine and practice, not the *primitive age*,² so

¹ And this by repeated and most solemn decisions.

² The appeal to "*primitive*" practice, &c, occurs perpetually, as any one at all acquainted with the Tractarian School must be well aware of : although in nine cases out of ten, perhaps ninety-nine out of a hundred, where this word is used, the reference is not to the *first* century, and comparatively seldom to the

as is often most strangely and untruly asserted by its teachers, but that of the *fourth and fifth centuries*; an æra when the Church was greatly corrupted,¹ and which the Apocalyptic visions designate as that of the *first marked development of the apostacy* —nor this alone, but that it has selected for the primary and fundamental doctrines of its movement, that very dogma respecting the *sacraments* as the only, and in the case of *baptism*, the necessarily effectual, means of communicating divine life to man, as well as that respecting the *priesthood* of *their* apostolic succession, as its only and its *ex opere operato* conveyancers,³ (to the destruction of personal spiritual religion, and supercession of the grace and Spirit of Christ, Himself directly and individually the illuminator and quickener of each dead soul,) which in the same prefigurative visions of Patmos were noted with the silent reprobation of the divine inditing Spirit, as the primary and fundamental doctrines of the then incipient apostacy.⁴—2. It appears that one of its next advances, still in close imitation of the early *false teachers*, (that

second century, or even the *third*, but rather to the fourth, fifth, and perhaps sixth centuries.

¹ So the Bishop of London in his late Charge, p. 60: "Not the *primitive* Church, but the Church of the *fourth or fifth century*; infected as it was with the remains of Gnostic superstition, and the inventions of enthusiastic or ambitious men."

² See my first Section on the Sealing Vision, Vol. i. p. 238, 257, &c.

³ Mr. Perceval states that, at the commencement of the labours of the Tractators, the leading principle selected to be put forward by them was the doctrine of the *apostolic succession*, as a rule of practice:—that is, 1st, that the participation of the body and blood of Christ is *essential* to the maintenance of Christian life and hope in each individual; 2. that it is conveyed to individual Christians *only* by the hands of the successors of the apostles and their delegates; 3. that the successors of the apostles are those who are derived in a direct line from them by the imposition of hands, and that the delegates of these are the respective presbyters whom each has commissioned."—So Mr. Keble, Pref. to Hooker, p. 77, speaks of "the necessity of the apostolic commission to the derivation of sacramental grace, and to our mystical communion with Christ." Goode, 16.

Dr. Pusey's well-known Tracts on *Baptism* show how early and prominently the doctrines of the fourth and fifth centuries concerning *that* sacrament were urged by the Tractarian School.

"I call all this *Judaizing* a direct idolatry. It is exalting the Church and the sacraments *into the place of Christ*; as others have exalted his mother, and others in the same spirit exalted circumcision." So Dr. Arnold in 1837. *Life*, Vol. ii. p. 74.—How exactly agreeable with what I have written of the germinating apostacy in the fourth century.

⁴ See my Vol. i. p. 250, &c. At page 259 I there previously cited the above extract from Dr. Arnold.

germ of the False Prophet,) apocalyptically noted also, in the same and another picture¹ of that primary age of apostasy, has been to doctrines of *reserve* on the *atonement*,² and doctrines concerning *justification*,³ through which Christ was and is virtually superseded in his character of our atonement: as also to doctrines concerning the *mediation of living priests*,⁴ and of *departed saints*,⁵ through which He is equally superseded in his character of the mediator for sinful men.—3. It refuses to receive as *the one rule of faith and practice* the written word and commandments of God; a firm adherence to which is one constant mark of the *true prophets*, and witnesses for Christ, in the Apocalyptic prophecy: ⁶ making them

¹ Viz. the incense vision of Apoc. viii. 2.

² So in the famous Tracts 80 and 87. The doctrine is one which has been condemned by the Bishops generally. See especially the Bishop of London's most just and strong reprobation of it, at pp. 27—29 of his late Charge.

³ See Mr. Newman's *Treatise on Justification*, and the first of the Sermons for the Times entitled *Nehushtan*.—Compare my Vol. i. p. 264.

⁴ The following is a quotation on the point referred to, from Tract No. 10. p. 4. "This is *faith*, to look at things not as seen, but as unseen: to be as sure that the bishop is Christ's appointed representative as if we actually saw him work miracles as St. Peter and St. Paul did." And then; "The *ministering-priest* is by the same *faith* to be looked on by the congregation as the bishop's representative:—irrespective of course of doctrine.—Let me again refer the reader to the weighty and important observations of the Bishop of London in his late Charge, pp. 9—12, on the dangerous and unscriptural character of Levitical views of the Christian ministry.

⁵ The following is Mr. Newman's remark in the famous Tract No. 90, on our Anglican Article against the Invocation of Saints; that "not every doctrine on this matter is a 'fond' thing, but the *Romish* doctrine. Accordingly the *primitive* doctrine is not condemned in it. Now there was a primitive doctrine on these points." He adds elsewhere (Letter to the Bishop of Oxford, p. 18) that "the *Ora pro nobis*, (or Prayer to the Virgin Mary,) was not necessarily included in the invocation of saints which the Article condemns."—It is also said in Tract 71, p. 27: "The Tridentine Decree declares that it is good and useful suppliantly to invoke the saints; and that the images of Christ, and the blessed Virgin, and the other saints, should receive *due honour and veneration*; words which themselves go to the very verge of what could be received by the cautious Christian, *though possibly admitting of an honest interpretation*." See other quotations in the "*Case as it is*," p. 29.—Compare with this and the Note preceding my Vol. i. pp. 306—315, 381.

The Bishop of London (Charge, p. 57,) speaks of it as a subject of deep concern that any of the English clergy should recommend or justify, under any qualification, prayers or addresses to saints; a practice, he says, "which ended in *idolatry*;" and at p. 49, he reprobates the practice adopted by a few of the clergy [of this Oxford School] of decorating the communion-table with flowers on saints' days, as "worse than frivolous, and approaching very nearly to the honours paid by the Church of Rome to deified sinners."

⁶ So of the children of Christ's true Church, Apoc. xii. 17, "them that keep the *commandments of God*, and preserve the testimony of Jesus Christ;" and of

void, as did both the Pharisees of old, and the apostatizing teachers (or *germinating False Prophet*) of the fourth and fifth centuries,¹ by the addition of another rule of faith and conduct; viz. that of its own traditions and the commandments of men.²—4. It supports in no equivocal manner the *Papal pretensions and authority*, just as the full-grown Apocalyptic False Prophet did those of the Beast, from soon after the rise of the Beast's empire in the West:³—inculcating the reverence due to the Pope of Rome, admitting his universal primacy,⁴ deploring the schism from him made at the Reformation,⁵ longing for reconciliation with him, even

the Church's faithful martyrs, vi. 9, "those that were slain for *the word of God*;" &c, and xx. 4, "them that had been beheaded for *the word of God*, and the testimony of Jesus;"—where that "the word and commandments of God" mean only *the written word and written commandments*, appear sufficiently from Christ's saying that the Pharisees had made God's words and commandments void by their traditions. Matt xv. 6.

¹ See my Vol. i. p. 264.

² "Scripture is not the only ground of the faith." "Catholic tradition is a divine informant in religious matters." "We agree with the Romanist in appealing to antiquity as our great teacher." "These two [the Bible and Catholic Tradition] together make up a joint rule of faith." "When the sense of Scripture, as interpreted by reason, is contrary to the sense given of it by Catholic antiquity, we ought to side with the latter." "Such tradition is infallible." Such are some of the quotations given on this head by Mr. Goode in his *Case as it is*, p. 9; taken from Newman's Lectures on Romanism, pp. 369, 329, 355, 47, 327, 160, and Keble's Sermons, 146;—with many others to the same effect. Add the famous rule, *Quod semper, quod ubique*, &c.

The equal authority of catholic Tradition and the written Scripture, was the first point determined on at *Trent*: and in this, says Ranke, i. 204, half the business was justly regarded to be settled.

³ See on the earlier history of the apostate priesthood of professing Christendom, Vol. iii. p. 164, &c; and on its causing the world, after the Beast's rise, to worship it in Western Europe, ib. 182.

⁴ "Among the Catholic verities impressed on the surface of Scripture are the following;—baptismal regeneration, the sacred presence in the Eucharist, the oneness of the visible Church, the *primacy of St. Peter*." "The supremacy of the Pope is an event in Providence. We find ourselves as a Church under the King now, and we obey him. We were under the Pope formerly, and we obeyed him. Of course the union of the whole Church under one visible Government is abstractedly the most perfect state." So the British Critic for July 1841, and Tract No. 90, quoted by Mr. Goode, ibid. p. 33: who adds from the British Critic another quotation, to the effect of their "having no sympathy with the *Gallican* party, so far as it is at issue with the *ultra-montane*;—regarding national theories as involving a subtle Erastianism, and betokening an *inadequate estimate of the fulness and freeness of Gospel privileges*:" i. e. as derived from the Pope.

⁵ "That deplorable schism." Brit. Crit. for July 1841, p. 2. So Mr. Newman in his Preface to the *Hymni Ecclesiæ*, 2nd vol., speaking of the *Reformation* and Reformers, says, "*Cæco quodam reformationis (quam vocant) æstu in ecclesiâ passim fervente*."—Again, in his last volume of Sermons: "We cannot hope for the recovery of Dissenting bodies whilst we are ourselves alienated from the great body of Christendom. We cannot hope for unity of faith, if we of our

though it might have to be effected in the garb of penitence,¹ speaking of his See as the Saviour's Holy Home,² lauding its ritual and its missal, in contrast with the formularies and rites of the English Church, as the very spirit of devotion,³ and warding off from it and him, with the earnest and blind partiality of filial devotedness, all application to them of those too applicable prophecies of the Beast Antichrist, and his Harlot Church on the seven hills.⁴—5. It lays claim, just like the False Prophet, to the power of *working miracles* on the souls of men :⁵ in such manner indeed as actually to furnish a comment, not only on the text now before us,⁶ but on a previous Apocalyptic statement also about the False Prophet's working miracles ; in that case "before," or under authority from, the Papal Beast his principal.⁷—

own private wills make a faith for ourselves, in this our small corner of the earth. We cannot have the success among the heathen of St. Boniface or St. Augustine, unless like them we go forth with the *apostolical* benediction," i. e. the *Pope's* blessing.

¹ So Palmer's Aids to Reflection : " I should like to see the Patriarch of Constantinople and our Archbishop of Canterbury go barefoot to Rome, and fall upon the Pope's neck, and kiss him, and never let him go till they had persuaded him to be reasonable." Quoted by Goode, p. 33.

² So in the poetry of the Tractators.—And the prose rivals the poetry. "Rome is your mother," says Dr. Pusey, "through whom you were born to Christ." "We trust that active and visible union with the See of Rome is not of the *essence* of a Church : at the same time we are deeply conscious that in lacking it, far from asserting a right, we forego a great privilege. Rome has imperishable claims on our gratitude ; and, were it so ordered, on our deference.—We are estranged from him in presence, not in heart." Contrast the Bishop of London's statements respecting the Romish Church in his Charge, pp. 19, 59 : "that idolatrous Church, in a state of schism, if not apostacy ; defiled with superstition and idolatry ; and which has framed a system that deserves to be described as having embodied the very mystery of iniquity."

³ "The Church of Rome alone has given free scope to the feelings of awe, mystery, tenderness, reverence, devotedness, and other feelings which may especially be called Catholic." Newman's Letter to Jelf ; quoted by Goode, 38. Again ; "Our Reformers in not adopting the *Canon of the Mass*, which is a sacred and most precious monument of the apostles, mutilated the tradition of 1500 years." "I can see no claim which the Prayer Book has on a layman's deference, as the teaching of the Church, which the Breviary and the Missal have not in a far greater degree." Froude ap. Goode, 35, 36.—See the Bishop of London's observations on this point ; Charge, p. 50.

⁴ See my Analysis of the Tract on Antichrist, in a Paper on the Futurist System of Apocalyptic interpretation given in my Appendix.

⁵ "If *baptism* be the cleansing and quickening of the dead soul, to say nothing of the Lord's Supper, they, Christ's ministers, *do work miracles*." Tract 85, p. 95 : quoted by Goode, p. 23.

⁶ "These are the spirits of *dæmons working miracles*."

⁷ Apoc. xiii. 14. See my Vol. iii. p. 179.—It is really curiously confirmatory

6. It avows its allegiance to *Œcumenic General Councils*, (not exclusively of that of *Trent*,)¹ even as to that which speaks the voice of God's Spirit, and possesses the Spirit's infallibility,—wresting the words of the Article of our Church, which was drawn up expressly against it, in order to force on them a sense not necessarily unaccordant with this doctrine;² just as the False Prophet was the prime and firm adherent to the *Image of the Beast*:³—nay, and both excusing, and expressing desire for the re-enactment of, those *penalties of excommunication and death*, with a view to the enforcement of the Church's decrees,⁴ which the False Prophet, described

of the explanation there given of the prophetic verse: given, I need not say, without any thought of the passage in the Tract above quoted. Add the *Pro-methean creative* view of *fire from heaven* to that in the comment referred to; and it will give a complete notion of the Tractator's priestly miracles.

¹ At least, not *now*. Originally Mr. N. made this Council to mark the time of the Popes becoming Antichrist. See p. 54, Note 7 *infra*.

² The 21st Article of our Church says; "Forasmuch as they (General Councils) be an assembly of men, whereof all be not governed with the Spirit and word of God, they may err, and sometimes have erred, in things pertaining to God." Against this Mr. Newman says; "The words only mean that General Councils may err *as such*; may err, unless in any case it is promised, as a matter of express supernatural privilege, they may not err. And such a promise *does* exist, where General Councils are not only gathered together according to the commandment and will of princes, but in *the name of Christ*, according to our Lord's promise." When they are a thing of *heaven*, their deliberations are overruled, and their decrees authoritative; and, as he adds also, infallible. "In such cases they are *Catholic* Councils. Thus Catholic, or Œcumenical Councils, are General Councils, and something more."—Tract No. 90, p. 21.

³ See my Part iv, Chap. vii; Vol. iii. p. 190, &c.

⁴ So Mr. Faber (not the *Rev. G. S. Faber*, but one who less worthily bears the name)* in his 'Sights and Thoughts' advocates "the most dire weapon of the Church, *excommunication*; whereby she cuts off the offender from the fountains of life in this world, and makes him over from her own judgment to that of heaven in the world to come. Surely it is the duty of Christian States to deprive such an excommunicate person of every social right and privilege; to lay on him such pains and penalties as may seem good to the wisdom of the law; or even, if they so judge, to sweep him from the earth; in other words, to put him to death." In a similar spirit Gregory VII, Innocent III, and Beckett are extolled as the lights of the Church in the middle ages, and ranked in the same class with Elijah and St. John the Baptist:—Innocent (not to speak of the others) being the bloody ruthless persecutor and murderer of the excommunicate Waldenses.—Bickersteth, *ib.* p. 27. See my Vol. ii. p. 19, &c; also the Bishop of London's indignant notice of this point in his late Charge, p. 57.—Mr. Marks in his animated Pamphlet or Protest lately published, says, not without reason, p. 21, that the *Star-Chamber*, with its old deeds of cruelty, is what the Tractarians would fain call again into existence, had they the power: and he refers to Milford Malvoisin, declaring that the reign of *Queen Mary* was a great and positive

* He has since joined the Romish Church. 3rd Edition.

in Apoc. xiii, inspired the Beast's Image to enact against all recusants or disobedient, in enforcement of *its* dogmas.¹—7. It professes its bitter enmity against the anti-Papal witnessing of Protestantism, and the Reformation of the 16th century ;²—that act which, in a manner too clear to be mistaken, the Apocalyptic vision notes as done with Christ's direction and blessing, to the horror of the Beast's adherents,³ specially of his False Prophet : avows “ the *unprotestantizing* of the national Church to be its object, and one worthy of all hazards, as a matter of life and death :⁴ unchurches the foreign Protestant Churches : and, as to the *new song* of the Reformation,—the holy and glorious doctrine of *justification by faith alone*,—shews that it not only does not understand,⁵ but above all things abhors and rejects it ; counting it (awful to say) as a *Nehushtan*,—an idol of the evangelic doctrinists, worthy only of being broken to pieces.⁶

In all these points the character and theological doctrine of the new Oxford School agrees, we see, as at present developed, very completely with that of the False Prophet of the Apocalypse. In truth the remarkable history of its ten short years of progress to its present doctrinal position,⁷ is on main points very much a recapitulation in brief of that of the False Prophet of the

advantage to the Church of England, p. 8. Has not even Archdeacon Robert Wilberforce referred to her as not the bloody but the blessed Queen Mary ?

¹ Apoc. xiii. 14, 15. See Vol. iii. pp. 192, 200.

² See quotations on the point in Mr. Goode, p. 37. For example Mr. Froude ; “ I hate the Reformation and the Reformers more and more.” And the British Critic for July 1841 ; “ Protestantism in its essence, and in all its bearings, is characteristically the religion of corrupt human nature :” and again ; “ The Protestant tone of doctrine and thought is essentially *Antichrist*.”

³ Apoc. xi. 11. See Vol. ii. p. 404.

⁴ So the British Critic for July 1841, p. 44, quoted by Goode, p. 38.

⁵ “ And no man could understand that new song but the 144,000 that were redeemed from the earth.” Apoc. xiv. 3.

⁶ I have already referred to the first of the Tractarian Sermons for the Times, bearing that title. In the same spirit the British Critic of April 1842, p. 446, (quoted by Goode, p. 24) writes : “ To speak as if this latter scheme of doctrine (viz. of Lutheran doctrine of justification) were in itself otherwise than radically and fundamentally monstrous, immoral, heretical, and antichristian, shows but an inadequate grasp of its antagonist truth.” Mr. Goode adds, in proof how the Tractators identify the *Lutheran* doctrine and that of *our Reformers* on this point, that the author of Tract No. 86 says, It was “ the object ” of the *latter* “ to *Lutheranize our Church*, to introduce *justification without works*,” &c.

⁷ i. e. from 1833 to 1843. Compare Mr. Perceval's account of the beginning

Apostacy, from its early youth in the 4th century, to its preparedness in the West ere the end of the 6th century for spiritual subjection to Rome.¹ As to the fact of the Tractarian body having not yet formally joined Rome, or assumed the same covering-dress which in Apoc. xiii. 11 is assigned to the False Prophet,—viz. the sheep-skin *with its two horns*, signifying (we saw reason to conclude) the Romish hierarchy *regular* as well as *secular*,²—it arises from no want of complacency in the same: Rome's *monastic institutions* and *clerical celibacy*, as well as Rome herself, being the theme of its praise;³ and the principles even of the worst of those monastic orders, the *Jesuits*, rather, I fear, the object of its imitation than abhorrence.⁴ Meanwhile it serves to mark to us

of the movement, with the progress indicated in the Tractarian extracts that I have given, in the series of Notes on the five or six pages preceding.

With regard to one point, the *movement towards Rome*, there was this difference between the early apostatizing Church and the Oxford School,—that the latter, as professed members of the Anglican Church, had to deal with (which the former had not) a notorious hostility of their Church to Rome and the Papacy. And for some time this hostility was expressed by its writers: and it did the movement good service; as evidence open to all against the charge urged against them of Popish predilections. Mr. Newman especially, its chief head, in Tracts 15, 20, 38, &c. and other writings, published from 1833 to 1838, called the Romish Church lost, heretical, blasphemous, apostate, at least from the time of the Trent Council, &c. In 1834 a friend remonstrated against statements like these as grossly uncharitable: saying, “How mistaken may we be ourselves, *on many points that are only gradually opening on us.*” And on this monition he withdrew, he tells us, some statements; but still spoke of the Church of Rome, or at least Rome itself, as a *dæmoniac* possessed with an evil spirit,—the same that had previously *animated* Rome Pagan. He has since, however, in a very remarkable Letter, published in the Oxford Herald of Feb. 18, 1843, retracted these reprobatory statements: saying that he followed but the *consensus* of Anglican divines in so writing; (how anti-Anglican does he thereby confess his present views!) and published the same as deeming it *requisite to the Tractarians' then position*, and to repel the charge of Romanism!!

¹ See my Vol. i. pp. 384—386.

² See Vol. iii. pp. 172, 173.

³ Marks, *Danger and Duty*, p. 7.—Among other desires expressed by the Tractarians is that for the revival of the *seven canonical hours*, and their monastic septenary of services, instead of the daily service which they celebrate in our Church. I beg to refer on this subject to my observations, Vol. ii. p. 154.

On clerical celibacy Mr. Newman, in Tract No. 90, rules that the Convocation would have the right at any time to oblige the clergy to it. Auricular confession is also inculcated. So the *fornications*, as well as sorceries, idolatries, and murders, noted in Apoc. ix. 18, would be soon revived by the Tractarians, if dominant. See Vol. ii. pp. 12, 13, 27.

⁴ I must say that Mr. Newman's Tract No. 90 seems to me, as to Mr. Bickersteth (Homily Sermon, p. 20, Protestant Sermon, p. 26), to have the very spirit of Jesuitism in it. And, as the consequence of his teaching, Mr. Golightly in one of his letters quoted by Mr. Marks, p. 10, has drawn a fearful picture of the multitudes of Jesuitical young men sent forth each year from Oxford, to enter,

more clearly than otherwise could have been done, agreeably with the prophecy of the text, the distinct spirit of the False Prophet of the Apostacy, *in its own proper and generic peculiarity of character*:—I mean as distinct from the spirit of that, which it yet strongly affects as its friend and head, the Beast, or Papal Antichrist.¹

But we were also to compare the *circumstantials* of the late *issuing forth* of the *spirit of Oxford Tractarianism*, with those of the *issuing forth* of the *spirit from the mouth of the False Prophet*, as described in the text.

And 1st, the correspondence in respect of *time* is on the face of the thing most exact. It was when the drying up of the mystic Euphrates had made a certain progress, that the spirit from the False Prophet was in the Apocalyptic figurations seen to issue forth. It was in the year 1833, after the Turkman power had dried up in Greece, Moldavia, Wallachia, Algiers, and other countries for years overflowed by it, that the first of the Oxford Tracts issued from the press.—2nd. The correspondence in respect of a *certain accompaniment of other spirits* is obviously as exact. The emission of the False Prophet's spirit in the Apocalypse was cotemporary with that of spirits also from the mouths of the Dragon and of the Beast:—that of Oxford Tractarianism has been

though with more than semi-Popish predilections, into the English Church.—Strange to say, Dr. Pusey seems to approve the Tract; and even Mr. Gladstone appears to have spoken without reprobation of a person so acting, and, though of anti-Protestant principles, remaining officially in the English Protestant Church;—I allude to his notice of *Bishop Goodman*. (Goode, 65)—It has been stated in a late number of the *Midland Monitor*, and the statement confirmed on good authority, that in the contemplated probability of many cases occurring of English clergymen becoming *avowed* Papists, a legal opinion has been taken as to the power of the law to eject such persons from their livings, and the answers given in the negative. Can this be so?

It is refreshing to see the Bishop of London's indignant remarks on the system of so construing the Articles; pp. 16, 17, 19 of his late Charge. Both he (p. 19) and Mr. Bickersteth (*ubi supra*) note the fact of Papists (as Davenport, and the one mentioned by Bishop Stillingfleet) having in other times advised or acted on Mr. Newman's very plan. Compare the well-known case of the Jesuit Commin, in 1568. Strype's *Elizabeth*, p. 484.

¹ Mr. Bickersteth at the Protestant Association Meeting, 1843, said that the then reigning Pope had thus accurately described the Tractarians, "That they wanted Popery *without the Pope*." How well answering to the separate yet associated Apocalyptic Symbol of the *False Prophet*!

accompanied, as we have seen, with a most remarkable and almost simultaneous outbreak from the spirit of *infidel democracy*, and the revived spirit of *direct avowed Popery*.—3. Its mode of speech and action has well answered to the symbol of a *frog*, under which the spirit of the False Prophet appeared to go forth in the prefiguration before us. While, on the one hand, its unceasing emission of voice in conversational or more formal discussions—from the pulpit and from the press,—in tracts, sermons, essays, reviews, romances, novels, poems, children's books, newspapers,—in music too, and paintings, and church decoration and architecture,¹—with what is unsound in doctrine for the most part skilfully mystified, the false mixed up with the true, and burlesques and false picturings of evangelical religion intermingled with as false but fair-drawn picturings of the religion of the apostacy, if not of that of Rome,—while I say, on the one hand, these incessant but delusive appeals made alike to the better and the worse feelings of our nature, to our taste, imagination, affections, ignorance, prejudices, and even right feelings and desires,² whereby it has been carrying on its avowed plan of *ecclesiastical agitation*,³ exhibit no inexact counterpart to the incessant and resounding *coaxatio* of the prophetic symbol,—the “high swelling words of vanity” that ever and anon break out from it, in unscriptural exaltation of the writer's supposed *sacerdotal* office and apostolic descent and powers,⁴ may also well recal to the calm and Chris-

¹ E. g. the Camden Architectural Society at Cambridge.—Kilndown church has become famous as a specimen: in the west window of which one prominent figure is *Pope Gregory the First*, in Papal robes, with the triple crown on his head, the Patriarchal staff or triple cross on the left hand, and his right raised to bless the people.

² Especially the desire for *order*, and yet more for *unity*, in the Church: which *unity* however is not to be, and will not be, till *He* has come that shall come; and, in respect of the members of his *true Church*, fulfilled his own prayer “that they all may be one.”

³ Mr. Goode (p. 6), quoting the words of the influential Review of the Tractarian Party, says, They avow themselves, “conspirators,” “ecclesiastical agitators,” ready “to set the father against the son, the mother against the daughter,” to accomplish their purposes.

⁴ By their doctrine of the apostolic succession, says the late lamented Dr. Arnold, “they preach not Christ, but *the Church*; not the Church, but *themselves*.”

tian observer (fully as much as in the case of the other two spirits associated) a thought of the *vain inflation* of the Apocalyptic prototype.—4. The *rapidity and extent of its diffusion* suggests,—indeed forces on us,—the idea of some *supernatural influence or spirit* having been at work in promoting it :—the rather as it is a diffusion as well among the laity as the clergy in England, in the country as in the town ; and not in England only, but in England's wide-spread colonial possessions ;—in Canada, Australia, and above all, in India.¹ Dr. Pusey (sad that such a man should be identified with such a system) has himself strikingly sketched this its rapidity of diffusion, the wonder of its human originators at the fact, and their conviction of some higher power assisting it :²—not however reflecting, whether this might

Sermons on the Christian Life, Introd. p. xxvi.—See too what I have said on the *miracles* wrought by them in a previous Note ^b p. 52.

¹ In Calcutta, Bishop Wilson has stated and lamented over this, in one of his Charges, in the strongest terms. And painful it is to hear that its Indian headquarters are there in *Bishop's College*, among the Professors sent out by the *Society for Propagating the Gospel*.—See a further notice of this in p. 61, Note ¹, last Paragraph.

In the Madras Presidency one at least of the Church Missionary Society's missionaries has been so infected by it, as to make his separation from the Society necessary.—And, as regards others of the clergy of the English Church there, strange reports have arrived :—to the effect, for example, that one has been to visit the Romish Bishop at Pondicherry, a “ Puseyite to the soul,” writes the bishop ; expressing his desire for the union of the Roman Catholic and the Anglican Catholic Churches : that another has actually been in his surplice to the Romish chapel at Madras, and there and so communicated ; yet not been suspended by our Bishop.—Record, No. 1573.

With reference to another quarter I may mention the case of Mr. Badger, sent out to the Nestorians in Coordistan, and then, I believe, to Syria, in the missionary character, under the Christian Knowledge Society : but who, on the way to his mission, when at Malta, preached such palpably Romish doctrines, as to be actually animadverted on by the Malta public press.

² “ From the very first, these views spread with a rapidity that startled us. The light seemed to spread like watch-fire from mountain-top to top ; each who received it carrying it on to another, so that they who struck the first faint spark knew not how, or to whom it was borne onward.—And now it has been reflected from hill-top to valley ; has penetrated into recesses ; abroad, at home, within, without, in palace* or cottage. It has past from continent to continent : we see it spread daily : everywhere opposed, yet finding the more entrance.—One may reverently say, firmly believing whose work it is, ‘ It bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound, but canst not tell whence it cometh,’ ” &c.

So too Mr. Gresley on the same subject. “ In spite of all opposition, appearances plainly indicate that a *spirit* has spread through the land which no force or power can curb.” He adds : “ Evangelicalism has had its sway for the last half century, and see what its accompaniments. Schism at such a height as was

* So *this* frog too has entered into king's palaces.

not be a bad spirit, rather than a good ;¹ and so only illustrate the fulfilment of our text. Its thus rapid diffusion will appear of course abundantly the more remarkable, from the palpable and exceeding questionableness of those views on which the Tractators have based their system : viz. 1st, that of the *apostolic succession* of the *priesthood*, as *essential to the efficacy of the sacraments*, and so, they say, to the life and salvation of men's souls ; —a doctrine, observes Dr. Arnold, destitute alike of all internal and external evidence ;² and in regard to which had but the public with common caution called for the Tractator's own *credentials*, I will venture to say, these would *on their own principles* never have been forthcoming :³ 2ndly, that principle put forth by them as the

never known in the Church ; such that infidelity is scarce less formidable !" Bernard Leslie, p. 353.

Let me add the following too from the English Churchman, Nov. 8, 1844, in illustration of the *independent* acting of this spirit. "Not only is the Catholic movement so simultaneously going on amongst Anglicans in Great Britain, Ireland, United States, North American Colonies, West Indies, East Indies, Australia, and elsewhere, *self-originated*, so to speak, but its progress hereafter must be kept free from foreign influence. Our *independent* testimony to Catholic truth, after our partial aberration, would not so visibly appear before the world, if either Romanists or Byzantines were thus early to stretch out a helping hand."

¹ "Did not *Arianism* spread as rapidly," says Mr. Bickersteth most justly, after quoting the above, "and *Mahomedanism* too?" Homily Sermon, p. 4.

² See his admirable Introduction to Sermons on the Christian Life.

³ Says Dr. Hook, in one of his Sermons on the Church and the Establishment, "There is not a bishop, priest, or deacon among us, who cannot, if he please, trace his own *spiritual descent* from St. Peter or St. Paul." With all respect I will beg to express my doubt whether Dr. Hook himself can do so. "There is not a minister in all Christendom," says Archbishop Whately, "who is able to trace up, with any approach to certainty, his own spiritual pedigree." Kingdom of Christ, p. 176. The Archbishop refers to many irregularities of consecration, which, especially in the dark ages, could not have been wholly excluded, except by a perpetual miracle. I will venture to narrow the question and make it more definite. And I will here ask, not Dr. Hook only, but the whole clerical section of the Tractarian body, to show that there is not the *chorepiscopal flaw* in their own succession : a flaw fatal to it *on their principles* ; seeing that they require, in order to its perpetuation, a line unbroken even from primitive times of bishops consecrated according to the canons of General Councils,* (these being as much, they say,† the voice of God, as Scripture itself,) i. e. by the imposition of the hands of *three previously and duly consecrated bishops*. Now if this flaw exist,—or, to vary the metaphor, if this *nonconductor* be found at some point or other to have interposed, to stop the transmission of the ethereal fluid,‡

* So the 1st Apostolical Canon, and the 4th Canon of the Nicene Council ; "Ordnained by *at least* three bishops." Hard. i. 10, 323.

† See Note 7 p. 52 *supra*.

‡ In the Paris previous Council, A.D. 839, the custom was reprobated, and (the past being left to itself) a resolution agreed on that nothing of the kind

test of *religious truth*, “*Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus:*” a rule which, construed practically and by common sense, means, and can only mean, *the doctrine which has the sanction of us Tractarians*; to the supercession of private judgment, individual conscience, and personal responsibility.¹ Can the rapid and wide-spread reception and popularity of doctrines so startling, so dangerous, so unwarranted, be accounted for on any principle but that of an assistant spirit of infatuation? The hypothesis of some such supernatural agency helping it seems positively requisite.

As to the nature of the supernatural agency assisting, I speak of it as not a *good* but an *evil* spirit, or *spirit of a dæmon*, so as in the prefiguration of the text: this being an inference following necessarily from the fact, if it has been proved, of the unscriptural nature of the doctrine; its inconformity (to use Coleridge’s expression)² with the will and mind of God. Nor is the cor-

—it must leave them at this very time *simple laymen*; and consequently, in any future vaunting of their priestly life-giving powers, (still on *their principles*, not those of our Church, or of Scripture) *impostors*.—See my Vol. ii. p. 175, and p. 172, Note ¹. The reader may see more on the subject of the *Chorepiscopi*, all confirmatory of what I have there written, in the Councils, Hard. i. 471, 597, 768. iii. 339, iv. 1314, vi. 412.—Mr. Perceval has indeed, if I remember right, somewhere written, as if *one* bishop’s hands only were necessary. But, if so, it must have been by oversight. For this is to deny the authority of the *Apostolical Canons* and early *Œcumenic Councils*; and therewith do nothing less than renounce the whole Tractarian system itself.

¹ “*Quod semper, quod ubique,*” &c. Was there ever any important Christian truth on which heresies and heretics did not exist even in the first six centuries? So all *heretics* must first be put aside.—Then, as regards the members of the orthodox Church, where is he who knows all they ever wrote on theological subjects? and whence then the knowledge of what was believed *ab omnibus*? For this the *Œcumenic Councils* are referred to. But did these, though so called, really represent all Christendom? Not so; but only Roman Christendom. So we narrow the voice again. Then, as regards these Councils, who is to decide in the many controverted cases, which are *Œcumenic*, which not? Hence another important difficulty. And what if the Councils have sometimes contradicted each other?—So questions arise which where is the clergyman, not to say layman, that can solve? He must ultimately, if he take this rule of faith, leave it to some human authority to decide what the Rule enjoins; i. e. to *Oxford*, if not to *Rome*. But will Mr. Newman take on him the responsibility of the salvation of the souls that receive his dictum, as Gregory I. did? or will men trust them with him?

² Cited p. 30 *suprà*.—On the present subject Dr. Arnold has quoted Cole-

should be done afterwards. In the Concil. Metens. of A.D. 888, it was said about their *Chorepiscopi*; “*Juxta decreta Damassæ Papæ, Innocentii, et Leonis, vacuum est atque inane quidquid in summi sacerdotii χορηγιστικοι egerunt ministerio.*”

roborative evidence of evil fruit wanting. For example, if the evangelic revival in England, and evangelic missions abroad, begun half a century ago, were agreeable with that mind and will of God, then the palpable effect of the Oxford system to impede and injure them,¹ must be viewed as one notable proof of the same.—Similar is the inference from the testimony alike of approving friends and of opposers. While the priesthood of the Papacy (the Apocalyptic False Prophet) have been hailing and sympathizing with the Oxford movement, as of a spirit and character essentially cognate with their own, and tending full surely to the re-union of the Anglican Church with Rome,² the judgments not of other high

ridge's judgment from his *Literary Remains*, Vol. iii. p. 386. The doctrine of *the Church* meaning the *clergy* (a doctrine practically, though not professedly, involved in the Oxford Tractarian view of apostolic succession) constituted, it seems, according to his conviction, the first and fundamental apostacy.

¹ In the *Record*, No. 1565, there is a communication from India which gives some painful details on this point. After stating that the Indian head-quarters of Oxford Tractarianism are in Bishop's College, it adds that the evil had begun to extend to *natives*; and that one Tract had been already published and circulated in Bengali, advocating the regenerating and justifying efficacy of the sacraments, as ministered by *men that have the apostolic succession*, and denouncing all others as intruders. It states further that a new Periodical had been projected by some of the S. P. G. missionaries, called the *Church Herald*: the first number of which says that the *Prayer Book* itself is the guide to the truth in religion; all the prayers in it being as ancient as the Christian religion, and having been selected from books of prayer composed by the Apostles: also that though some branches of the Church Universal have fallen into some errors, as the Roman Catholics, yet it is consoling to reflect that they are regenerated and justified by holy baptism, &c.

In the London Missionary Society's last Report it is stated from India that a new opposition to the missionaries in Calcutta had arisen from Episcopalian missionaries laying claim to exclusive apostolical succession; and, together with Popery, seducing the infant native Christians from the simplicity of the Gospel, and confidence in their fathers in Christ.—Further, it has been said (but I believe without reason) that the Rev. Krishna Mohana Banergia, formerly a Brahmin, and one of the most respected converts to Christianity, had been converted to "Puseyism," by Professor Street.

[But on this important point I may now refer to Bishop Wilson's Address to the Gospel Propagation Society, since his return to England; a testimony the most authoritative, and above all suspicion.—Sept. 1845.—2nd Ed.]

² The *Catholic Magazine* of March 1832, p. 133, says; "Thanks to the theologians of Oxford, . . . our liturgy and its venerable usages, invocation of saints, purgatory, the councils, confession, absolution, veneration of the blessed Virgin Mary, the mysteries of the Eucharist, the authority of the Church, the abandonment of the Protestant principle, and of the doctrine unheard of till the sixteenth century of justification by faith alone,—all these are now granted," &c: adding that the Romanists have now only to press the Tractarians with their own weapons, and show that they are in delusion while lingering out of the pale of the Romish Church.

Mr. Bickersteth in his Protestant Association Sermon, p. 13, illustrates the

authorities only,¹ but of many of our most learned and respected prelates, have been pronounced in no equivocal terms against it. Especially I must beg to particularize one of more than common authority and discernment, I mean the Bishop of Chester: who, irrespective altogether of prophecy, and evidently without a thought of it, has ascribed the movement to precisely such an agency as the symbol in the text signified. He has avowed his belief of its being the work of a *spirit of evil*; ² acting to stop and mar the good that was before in progress.

So the parallel between the spirit of the *modern Oxford Tractarianism*, (I pray the reader to consider me here speaking just as in the case of the two other symbolic spirits, of the *doctrinal system*, not of *individuals* more or less holding it,) and the spirit prefigured to St. John as *going forth like a frog*, towards the close of the 6th Vial, *from the mouth of the False Prophet*, has been made out, as I think, clearly and completely.

The question under the present extraordinary circumstances of the Christian world and Church, especially in England, cannot but recur solemnly to many a mind; What is to be the end of these things? And while the hopes are high, as of the infidel-democrats,³ so too of the Papists,⁴ and of the Tractarians,—and the latter es-

same fact from a passage in the Paris Protestant newspaper, which will be given in a note on the next page. The same complacency at the progress of Oxford doctrine is expressed in the Romish journals in Ireland.

¹ I cannot but particularly refer again to Dr. Arnold's admirable essay on the subject. He denounces the doctrine as *antichristian*, and of wholly *immoral* character, as well as wholly wanting in external evidence. "Scripture disclaims it: Christ himself condemns it. This is my *deliberate judgment*." p. lxvi. It comes with all the weight of a voice from the deathbed of that lamented man.

² Charge for 1841, p. 20; referring to the parable of the tares and the wheat,—the tares sown by the devil. Dr. Pusey alludes to this in his Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

³ See p. 32, *suprà*.

⁴ See the extracts Note ², p. 61. In another place the Protestant Journal *L'Espérance* thus writes. "The Journals of the Romish Church are elated with joy at the progress of Puseyism in England. They proclaim with delight the conversions to Catholicism for which Puseyism had prepared the way. They already see England again attached to the See of Rome." And so *L'Ami de la Religion*, referred to generally by the Bishop of London, p. 69. Let me give one extract from the Number for Oct. 8, 1841. In detailing a conference of a Romish priest with one of the Tractarians, who expressed the intention of the Anglican Catholics to effect a re-union with Rome, it says; 'But what if your bishops refuse to allow it?' was the priest's question. "Nous les contraindrons," was

pecially boast of their progress, and anticipate triumph,¹—there are not a few of a very different spirit, (I may specify Mr. Bickersteth in particular,²) who fear that these anticipations will prove too true, and England again become a kingdom of the Papacy. I must confess, were I to judge from present appearances and outward probabilities alone, I might *almost* be inclined to adopt the same anticipations. Yet, on considering the word of prophecy, I am led to a more hopeful view. For I do not see in what follows of the Apocalypse any notice of the reunion of *that tenth part of the great city* which was separated at the Reformation: the only further prophecy concerning the Papal Babylon being its tripartition, under some great earthquake or revolution,³ previous to its final destruction by fire.—Thus, on the whole, my trust is that England and its beloved Church may be saved from the deadly plot laid against them; a greater discernment and decision of action on the side of truth and religion be given to our rulers in Church and State; and the extraordinary delusion pass away that has led aside many much-respected and eminent individuals to sanction Oxford in appearance, who have in heart all the while been of a spirit quite alien from that of Oxford.⁴—In which case not *England*, but rather *France*, may be expected to prove the chief secular power employed by the three spirits, to head their project of gathering the kings of the earth to the battle of

the reply, “*par une force exterieure.*”—I see it elsewhere stated that the authorities at Rome have had it in contemplation *to allow of the English clergy retaining their wives*, on their expected conforming to the Romish Church: but I know not with what truth.

¹ Mr. Newman says, “They aspire, and by God’s blessing intend to have a *successful fight* ;” Dr. Pusey, “that if human frailty or impatience precipitates not the issue, *all will be well* ; and the *Catholic* (as the full) *truth of God*, unless violently cast out, in time *leaven and absorb into itself whatever is partial and defective.*”—And so the British Critic; “Our movement must be surely *onward.*” —Goode, p. 54.

² Protestant Sermon, p. 34.

³ Apoc. xvi. 19. The notice of Babylon as a commercial mart of nations, Apoc. xviii, may be explained, I think, without involving England.

⁴ Since the publication of my 1st Edition, the hope here expressed as regards the Oxford Tractarianism, has been in considerable measure realized. The Bishops have so generally pronounced against Tract No. 90, and the grosser dogmas of Tractarianism, that Mr. Ward has felt compelled, he tells us, to abandon the English Church for Romanism; and as all know, Mr. Newman and others have followed.

the great day of God Almighty. Signs are not wanting even now, as I have in part before observed, which show the active tendencies of France towards such a position in its foreign policy and proceedings.¹ Nor indeed are signs wanting in its ecclesiastical policy at home.²—There is further a curious heraldic fact, confirmatory of this view, which (considering how frequently such national emblems have been had in view in the Apocalyptic figurations) I cannot permit myself to pass over in silence; viz. that *three frogs are the old arms of France*.³

¹ The Evening Mail of Jan. 30, 1843 says, with reference to this point; "M. Guizot is stepping into the position which they (the Legitimists) are leaving. He (or the King through him) is resuming for France her old position as *Patroness or Defender of Roman Catholicism* throughout christian and heathen countries. The change is great," &c :—that is from ten years ago.*

² The attempts of the French Courts of Law at nullifying the full toleration and recognition given to French Protestants by the Code of Napoleon and Charter, as in the late case of the Pasteur Roussel, constitute a striking sign of the times.

M. Gaussen of Geneva, in his Letter to Dr. Burgess, says; "It is not Italy, nor Spain, nor Austria, but *France*, that is the grand supporter of Popery."

³ The engravings given in my Plate exhibit the consenting testimonies of France itself, England, and Germany to this curious fact.

1. The banner with the *three frogs* is from ancient tapestry in the Cathedral of Rheims, representing battle-scenes of Clovis; who is said to have been baptized there after his conversion to Christianity.

2. The second engraving is from Pynson's Edition of Fabian's Chronicle. At the beginning of his account of *Pharamond*, the first king of the Franks, who reigned at Treves about A.D. 420. p. 57, Ellis' Edit.

3. The other engraving is from the Franciscan Church of Innspruck; where is a row of tall bronze figures, twenty-three in number, representing principally the most distinguished personages of the House of Austria; the armour and costumes being those chiefly of the 16th century, and the workmanship excellent. Among them is *Clovis*, King of France, and on his shield *three fleurs de lis* and *three frogs*; with the words underneath: *Clodoveus der i Christenlich Künig von Frankreich*.

A few illustrative notices from different writers may be interesting. And, passing over Montfaucon's statement of a *frog medal* having been found in Childeric's tomb, A.D. 1623, at St. Brice near Tournay, (a Frank King this Childeric preceding Clovis,) inasmuch as Montfaucon considers it to have been an Egyptian medal,—I may give the following.

1. *Uptonus*, De Militari Officio, p. 155, like Fabian, simply states *three frogs* to have been the old arms of the kings of France; without specifying what race of kings.

2. *Professor Schott* supposes the *three frogs* to have been distinctively the original arms of the *Bourbons*: *bourbe* signifying *mud*.

3. *Typotius*, p. 75, gives as the device on a coin of Louis VI, the last French king before Hugh Capet, (the head of the Bourbons) a *frog* with the inscription *Mihi terra lacusque*. It is the only instance of that device in his work.

* I am assured, on excellent authority, that *M. Thiers*, though professedly, I believe, a sceptic in regard of revealed religion, has openly in conversation declared this support of Popery to be the policy France must follow, in contradistinction to the favouring of Protestantism. So that on this point the former professedly *infidel* French Minister of State unites with the present professedly *Protestant* Minister, *M. Guizot*.

**FRENCH BANNER FROM THE
WARS OF CLOVIS IN THE TAPESTRY OF RHEIMS.**

"This is the olde Armyes of Fraunce"



From Fabians Chronicle

Armorial Shield of Clovis

From Maximilian's Mansoleum at Innsbruck

However this may be, the time is most critical, the subject heart-stirring : and it calls aloud on each individual for self-examination, watchfulness, and prayer. In the very fact of there being now brought upon the scene all together, visibly before the eyes of men, those three spirits of the *Dragon*, the *False Prophet*, and the *Beast Antichrist*, that for eighteen centuries have successively or together withstood the Gospel, an *intellectual* interest is given to the times we live in very extraordinary. How much greater their *spiritual* interest ! The solemn warning voice which follows the text, “ Behold I come as a thief ; blessed is he that keepeth his garments, that he may not walk naked and his shame appear,”—suitable as it is to every age of the Church, appears now doubly so : when the spirits of delusion are thus abroad, the night thus far spent, and the cry raised by so many, as almost to answer to the voice in the prophetic text, that the day,—the day of Christ’s coming,—is at hand.¹ Watch, it says, especially to his ministers

4. In the “ *Monde Primitif comparé avec le Monde Moderne*,” by *M. Court de Gebelin*, Paris, 1781, the author thus writes, p. 181. “ Nous venons de voir que les Armoires de la Guyenne sont un *leopard*, celles des Celtes (surtout les Beligues) étoient un *lion*, et celles des *Francs* un *crapaud*. Le crapaud designe les marais dont sortirent les Francs.” And again, p. 195 : “ La Cosmographie de Munster (Liv. ii.) nous a transmis un fait très remarquable dans ce genre. Marcomir, roi des Francs, ayant pénétré de la Westphalie dans le Tongre, vit en songe une figure à trois têtes, l’une de *lion*, l’autre d’*aigle*, la troisième de *crapaud*. Il consulta là dessus, ajoute on, un célèbre Druide de la contrée, appelé Al Runus : et celui-ci l’assura que cette figure designoit les trois puissances qui auroient régné successivement sur les Gaules : les Celtes dont le symbole étoit le lion, les Romains désignés par l’aigle, et les *Francs* par le *crapaud*, à cause de leurs marais.”

5. In the 6th century, xlvi, of the Prophecies of *Nostra Domus* (p. 251) translated by *Garencières*, (London, 1672,) there occurs the following verse :

Un juste sera un exil envoyé
Par pestilence aux confins de non seigle ;
Response au rouge le fera desvoyé,
Roi retirant à la *rane* et à l’aigle.

On which De Garencières observes ; “ By the *eagle* he meaneth the Emperor ; by the *frog* the King of France : for before he took the *flower de luce* the French bore *three frogs*.”

6. I may add that in the article on Heraldry in the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*, there occurs the following : “ Paulus Æmilius blazons the arms of France, Argent three Diadems Gules. Others say they bear *three toads* sable in a field vert (ap. Gwyllim, c. 1.) : which if ever they did, it must have been before the existence of the present rules.”

¹ Rom. xiii. 12. 14.—I here wish so to take the expression *Christ’s coming* in a certain latitude of meaning, as to include the voice of many who may yet

and watchmen of the temple :¹ for his coming is near ; and he expects his servants to be awake at their posts, and looking out for his appearing !² Watch, that thou put not off, like the slothful indecorous slumberer,³ or one drugged into sleep by the poison-draught of some spirit of delusion, thy garments of righteousness and salvation :⁴ those garments which, as Christ first gave them,⁵ so He requires that He find thee never stripped of them :—lest, perceiving thee naked, He shut thee out from his heavenly temple and kingdom ;⁶ and thy spiritual nakedness and shame be exposed before the world !⁷

not be expecting his *personal* manifestation, or the great judgment of quick and dead. So, for example, *Dr. Arnold*. Christ, he says, is to come again after his resurrection in *three* different senses :—1st, and in the highest sense, when this world shall end, and we shall rise to judgment ; 2ndly, when individually we each receive Christ's call at death ; 3rdly, when He comes to bring on the whole earth, or on some one or more nations, (as on Jerusalem at the time of its destruction by the Romans,) a great season of suffering and judgment. And then he adds, that to all of us now living it may be said that both in the 1st sense He *may* come *in this generation*, as we know not the times and seasons which the Father hath in his own power ; and also that in the 3rd He *may* come to us *in this generation* ; " *there not being wanting signs which make it probable that He will so come.*"—So too Archdeacon (now Bishop) S. Wilberforce in a late Charge.

¹ I thus particularize, because many expositors, with Vitranga, think there is an allusion in the text to the Jewish custom of the *Prefect of the Temple* going his rounds at night, to see that the watchmen there were awake at their posts.

² Compare Luke xii. 35 ; " Let your loins be girded, and your lights burning ; and ye yourselves like men waiting for their lord : " 2 Peter iii. 12 ; " looking for, and hasting unto, the coming of the day of God : " &c.

³ Though the Eastern habits are in many respects different from our own, yet they have very much the European custom of putting off *day-clothes* on lying down to sleep at night, and putting on the loose and exposed night-dress. This is alluded to figuratively in Rom. xiii. 12 ; " It is high time to awake out of sleep. . . The night is far spent, the day is at hand ; let us therefore cast off the works of darkness, and put on the armour of light : "—or as he says verse 14, " Put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ." Again 1 Thess v. 8 : " Let us who are of the day be sober ; (and *watch*, verse 6 ;) putting on the breastplate of faith and hope, and for a helmet the hope of salvation."

The need of attention to the avoidance of *spiritual* self-exposure, was strikingly symbolized to the Israelites in the charges given about *outward* decency : as Deut. xxiii. 14 ; " The Lord God walketh in the midst of the camp ; therefore shall thy camp be holy ; that He see no nakedness (so the Hebrew) in thee." Also Exod. xxviii. 42 ; a passage referred to by Daubuz. ⁴ Isa. xli. 10.

⁵ Apoc. iii. 18 ; Because thou knowest not that thou art poor and naked, I counsel thee to buy of me white raiment that thou mayest be clothed, and that the shame of thy nakedness do not appear."

⁶ As the slumbering watchman of the Temple would be excluded ; or as the man that wanted the wedding garment.

⁷ So in the case of the watchman of the temple thrust out in his night-clothes.—I might add, that in case of detected unfaithfulness in the *wife*, *exposure* was one of the punishments sometimes inflicted. So Hosea ii. 3 : " Let her put away her whoredoms ; lest I strip her naked, and set her as in the day that she was born," &c. But the idea of the marriage relation does not seem to be referred to in the verse before us.

§ 2.—THE SECOND FLYING ANGEL.

“ And there followed another angel, saying, Babylon is fallen, is fallen, that great city, because she made all nations drink of the wine of the spirit¹ of her fornication.” Apoc. xiv. 8.

We have been hitherto directing our attention to the progressive fulfilment of the prefigurations on the Part *within-written* of the Apocalyptic scroll; a Part containing the main stream of its prophecy. With regard to those of the *supplemental Part without-written*, it does not need any lengthened observations of mine to prove that during the last twelve or fifteen years we have advanced from the fulfilment of its visions of the *first* herald Angel, flying in mid-heaven *with the everlasting Gospel* (or rather from the *beginning* of its fulfilment, as the subsequent Angels must be regarded as not superseding, but only following in the wake of their predecessors,)—I say from the vision of this *first* herald Angel to that of the *second*: which second Angel next appeared to St. John flying through mid-heaven, with a cry partially at least *anticipative* (such the context proves it)² of the doomed and near impending utter fall of the mystic Babylon;—of Babylon “ which had made all the nations to drink of the wine of its fornication.” The fact of such a voice having been raised very powerfully and influentially of late years amongst us is notorious; as well as the occasion and proximate cause which led to it. Just as the apparently irresistible outbreak of *infidelity* at the first French Revolution, was the occasion

¹ θυμου.—Daubuz conceives the word θυμου to mean *poison*: as the Septuagint renders the Hebrew נִדְּוֹן not only by words signifying *wrath*, but *poison*; e. g. in Deut. xxxii. 24, 33, Job xx. 16, vi. 4, Psalm lviii. 4:—because an animal’s anger and his poison are both in the gall; and moreover when he is angry the poison is discharged.

² For a prefiguration of the harvest and vintage *follow* in the same series, presently after; of which one or both are by almost all interpreters, I believe, explained as judgments connected with the destruction of Babylon.—In the same way, “Babylon is fallen, is fallen,” is said in Isaiah xxi. 9 *anticipatively* of the fall of the ancient Babylon.

of the lifting up of the standard of *the everlasting Gospel* under the Holy Spirit's direction to oppose it, so, on that extraordinary revival of *Papal* energy and influence among us, which in 1829 brought about the concession of the Roman Catholic claims, just a little while since observed on by me, and which has ever since continued rampant, the thoughts, inquiries, and protesting voice and energies of many of God's servants were aroused to denounce the abominations, and expose the true character and doom of Rome, the mystic Babylon, so as laid down in sacred Scripture. And thus both in 1827 the *Reformation Society* arose, with this distinct object in view, and afterwards the *Protestant Association*: and men of true Christian self-devotedness gave themselves to the work ;¹ with admirable effect in enlightening the previous exceeding ignorance, and stirring up the previous exceeding apathy, of their Protestant fellow-countrymen on the subject.—Besides which the study of *prophecy* from nearly about the same time began to be taken up more generally and earnestly than before ; and its representations respecting Babylon and its harlot Church, in regard both of the past and the future, increasingly discussed and understood: even the *day-day* Popedom-favouring views of Apocalyptic prophecy, urged by certain Expositors during the period spoken of, only serving, as I am persuaded, to make the fitness of the application to *Papal Rome* of its descriptions and denunciations of *Babylon* stand out ultimately in broader daylight.—Moreover, the circumstance of Papal priests and emissaries having in the meanwhile almost dogged the steps of our Protestant missionaries, in every country and district whither these latter might previously have carried the everlasting Gospel,² has necessarily forced a protesting cry against Rome and the Papacy there also: a cry that, from the nature of things, and the signs

¹ Need I specify names? To these persons, as well as to those who have united to act out the vision of the *first* Angel flying abroad with the everlasting Gospel, Christendom owes, I conceive, a large debt of gratitude.

² The missions of the Church Missionary Society, for example, can testify to this fact.

already visible of a coming conflict, is sure to wax louder and louder.

So that, on the whole, the fulfilment,—at least the *commencing* fulfilment,—of this vision must be allowed, I think, to have become now clearly marked.—And to myself, let me be permitted to add, the fulfilment appears the more remarkable, from the circumstance of my having, some twenty years ago, on the first direction of my mind to prophetic studies, been led to doubt the intended application of the vision of the *first* flying Angel to the *evangelic missions and Bible diffusion* then in progress, (striking beyond all former precedent, as the parallel of this era of missions and the prefigurative vision otherwise appeared,)¹ by the exceeding improbability, as I deemed it, if not impossibility, of any thing subsequently occurring to answer to the vision of the second Angel ;—that is, of any such solemn earnest cry of protestation as it prefigured being raised against Rome and Popery, either in England or among the heathen, under the circumstance of the fallen, hopelessly-fallen state, as it then appeared, of the Popedom.² As it is, the progressing fulfilment of this vision at the present time does but add striking confirmation to the interpretation above alluded to of that which precedes it :—and just the very confirmation that it needed.

I have only to suggest, in conclusion, how, while the mingling voices are heard on the one hand of these *two angels*,³ or of the *gospel-preaching* and the *anti-papal*

¹ Compare the historical applications of this primary Angel given by *Daubuz*, *Bishop Newton*, and *Vitringa* :—*Daubuz* explaining it of the evangelical preachers of the end of the 4th century, especially *Augustine* and *Vigilantius*, who both urged Pagans, he says, to come into the Church, and protested against the corruptions commencing within it; *Newton* of the preachings and protest of the Frankfort Council and doctors of the time of *Charlemagne* (his object being to make *Waldo's* and the *Waldensians'* protest the *second* angel) ; *Vitringa* of the preaching of the earliest Doctors of the Reformation, especially *Luther*.—Even in the case of *Vitringa's* interpretation, (which *Mr. Bickersteth* follows) how comparatively inapt as a fulfilment of the prefiguration, “ I saw an angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting Gospel to preach to them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people,” &c.

² *Luther* however had expected it. In his *Colloq. Mensal.* p. 89, he says : “ The world will help the Popedom up again, through neglect and despising of its privileges : then will follow soon the day of judgment.”

³ I might now (Oct. 1845) perhaps say, of the *three* Angels. See Note ¹, p. 73. 2nd Ed.

protestation that they respectively prefigure, and, on the other, of those of the *three evil spirits like frogs*,—the spirits of *infidelity*, *popery*, and *priestcraft*,—the result of the whole is to be preparing the world the better to understand the Lord's controversy with professing Christendom; and so to recognize the reason and justice of his actings, in the quickly coming battle of what is called presently after by God's own Spirit¹ the great day of God Almighty.

CHAPTER III.

A GENERAL SKETCH OF THE COMING FUTURE, AS GIVEN IN THE APOCALYPTIC PROPHECY, DOWN TO THE BEGINNING OF THE MILLENNIUM.—Apoc. xiv. 9—20, and xvi. 16—xix. 21.

I propose in the present Chapter giving a brief general sketch of the future, as set forth in the Apocalyptic pre-figurations of either series, down to the *winepress-treading* (the event immediately preceding the Millennium), noted alike (for there can be but *one* wine-press treading) in xiv. 18—20 of the one and xix. 15—20 of the other:² which common figure of the wine-press treading constitutes a notable closing mark of chronological parallelism at that point between the two series. I shall consider in Apocalyptic order the briefer first. A running comment will be added, with a view to illustrate the symbols, to direct attention to certain important points in the prophecies that might possibly otherwise be overlooked, and to show what we may probably expect as their fulfilment.—I purpose adding, in a separate Chap-

¹ Apoc. xvi. 14.—I say this in contradistinction to certain *human impressions* as to its advent, foreshown as what would be previously entertained, alike by the enemies of the Church and the Church itself, in Apoc. vi. 17, xii. 10.

² So nearly all commentators.—Daubuz is the only one I know to differ. But few will, I conceive, agree with him. And the incorrectness of the historical interpretation of the Vials connected with his singular theory of a double vintage is too obvious, I think, to need refutation.

ter, a notice of the latter part of the *prophecy of Daniel xi, xii*, the only other continuous and chronological prediction in Scripture relating to the same period: seeing that without this my exposition, which in its concluding conjectural chronology is chiefly based on Dan. xii,¹ might be deemed unsatisfactory and incomplete.

§ 1.—THE PRIMARY AND BRIEFER SERIES OF PREFIGURATIONS OF THE FUTURE, DOWN TO THE WINE-PRESS-TREADING BEFORE THE MILLENNIUM.

In the *primary* and *briefer* sketch of the progress of events towards the consummation,—the same that I suppose to have been inscribed on the *Part without-written* of the Apocalyptic scroll,—there occur the four several symbolic pictures, or notices following.²

1st then,—and next after that *second* flying Angel, whose voice, as I observed shortly since, we seem already to have heard begun in the Church, with its warning against Papal Rome, and denunciation of its corruptions and impending fall,—St. John beheld in vision a *third Angel* flying abroad in mid-heaven, in the wake of the former two; with not only a warning voice against worshipping the Beast and his image, but a declaration

¹ I mean with regard to the idea of seventy-five years intervening between the incipient or primary ending of the 1260 years of prophecy, and their final and complete termination:—seventy-five years being the interval between Daniel's 1260 and 1335 years. See Vol. iii. p. 257.

² The passage containing the two first of these notices is as follows.

9. "And a third angel followed them, saying with a loud voice, If any man worship the beast and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead, or in his hand, 10. He too * shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which is poured out without mixture † into the cup of his indignation; and he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone, in the presence of the holy angels, and in the presence of the Lamb: 11. and the smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever: and they have no rest day nor night; who worship the Beast and his image, and whosoever receiveth the mark of his name.

12. Here is the patience of the saints: here are they that keep the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus.

13. And I heard a voice from heaven saying unto me, Write, Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth: Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours; and their works do follow them."

* καὶ αὐτὸς πίνεται.

† τοῦ κεκρασμένου ἀκρατοῦ.

also of the impending end of such worshippers, as doomed to drink of the bitter wine¹ of the wrath of God, and to be tormented with fire and sulphur before the holy angels and the Lamb; the smoke of which torment would ascend up for ever.—A prefiguration which seems to me to require, in order to its fulfilment, 1st, a general agreement among Christ's faithful Protestant servants of what is meant both by the *Beast* and the *Beast's Image*; 2ndly, a general and strong impression among them, as to the punishment of such as might worship or obey the one or the other being a punishment by *fire*, and that as imminent as terrible; 3dly, a public, notorious, and general outcry of warning to this effect throughout Christendom,—Protestant Christendom at least,—with its vast colonial dependencies.—And thus I consider the symbol to be as yet unfulfilled.² While there has been for some three centuries a very general agreement among Protestants on the sense of the Apocalyptic Babylon, as signifying Papal Rome, and of the Beast, as *in some way or other* (though here opinions more vary) signifying the Popedom,³—on the meaning of the *Beast's Image* opinions have not only greatly varied, but its popularly known solutions been one and all thus far most unsatisfactory.⁴ The reader will

¹ *κεκρασμενου ακρατου* literally *mixt unmixt*:—*unmixt* in the sense (as Isa. i. 22) of *undiluted*; *mixed*, as the wine sometimes given to criminals before execution, with sundry bitter ingredients. So Daubuz: who compares (as does also Mede) Psalm lxxv. 8; "In the Lord's hand is a cup, and the wine is red: it is full of mixture, and He poureth out of the same: as to the dregs thereof all the wicked of the earth shall wring them out, and drink them." Compare too Isa. xxix. 9, "They are drunken, but not with wine:" Isa. li. 21; "Hear, thou drunken, but not with wine; I have taken out of thine hand the cup of trembling, even the dregs of the cup of my fury," &c: and finally Jer. xxv. 15; "Take the wine-cup of this fury at my hand, and cause all the nations to whom I send thee to drink it."

² [So written in my first Edition, published Jan. 1844. But see Note ¹ on the next page.]

³ From the time of the Reformation. Indeed the Waldenses so explained it before.

Even they who explain the Beast of the *secular Roman empire*, as Faber, Cuninghame, and Bickersteth, do yet so view that empire as animated and directed by the Papacy, that their interpretation virtually, and to all practical purposes, tends to the same point as that of those who with myself explain it, or its ruling head, of the line of popes.

⁴ See my Note ², p. 183, Vol. iii. The solution offered by Mr. Fysh and myself has not, I imagine, been yet at all generally known.

long ere this have become acquainted with, and judged respecting my own view of it, as signifying the *General Councils of Papal Christendom*, very chiefly the *Council of Trent*. Should this (or any other) impress itself on the mind of the Christian public as clearly true, and, together therewith, a sense of the imminent danger of deferring to Pope or Councils, as authorities co-ordinate with God's own written word, such as to force a loud and general outcry of warning against it, then we may consider the fulfilment of the vision begun.¹—I suspect that a chronological parallelism will prove in the event to exist between this vision and the conclusion of that of *the three frogs* in the other series. It is in *the Councils* especially that the living antitype to the Apocalyptic False Prophet (the third of those three unclean spirits) seeks its countervail to the authority of the word of God. After then that this spirit has come in like a flood, may we not expect that a standard of opposing truth, perhaps drawn in part from the very prophecy before us, will be raised against it, so that all that *will* see shall see.

2. After this *a voice from heaven* was heard by St. John to follow, saying, "Write, Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth;" &c. In which voice the words *from henceforth blessed*, or, as they may be rendered, *from time near at hand*,² referred to, I conceive, and indicated the *near approach* of the grand epoch of blessedness predicated in Scripture of departed saints: I mean the blessedness of their reward and joy at Christ's coming. For it is the imminent nearness of a *judgment according to works* (in this case of *reward*) that Apocalyptic analogy suggests as the in-

¹ [Since the publication of my first edition I believe that my interpretation of the Beast's Image has made decisive progress. I have received strong testimonies respecting it; and, so far as I know, no argument of any weight has been brought against it. The futility of Mr. Arnold's attack on it may be mentioned in proof. 2nd Edit. Oct. 1845.]

² So Mede: comparing Matt. xxiii. 39; 'From henceforth (*απ' αρι*) ye shall not see me,' &c: i. e. *not* from the precise moment of his speaking, *but* from a time near it. There is, however, a certain difference in the senses of *απ' αρι*. Compare Matt. xxvi. 29, 64, John i. 51, xiii. 19, xiv. 7.

tent of the accompanying phrase, “ Their works follow them:”¹—even though the “ rest” spoken of be construed to mean that of the grave or the separate state; and not (as *it* too might be) that which at present *remains* for the people of God,² and which they are to enter on not until Christ’s “ revelation in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God.”³ On which cheering truth the injunction, *Write this*, implies⁴ that there will be some deep and stirring impression in the true Church of Christ, at the time answering to the vision.—Such I believe with Mede to be the sense of the vision; a belief grounded on its own evidence, and confirmed by that of the context immediately following. It cannot surely figure a revelation of the peaceful rest of Christ’s saints *from immediately after death*, in opposition to the Romish *purgatorial* doctrine, so as some have explained it.⁵ In that case the phrase would rather have been *from after death*, so as to include *all* the dead saints; not *from henceforth*, so as only to apply to those whose death was yet future. Nor can it well mean simply that persecution would be at the time figured so severe, or coming judgments so fearful, as to make death a happy refuge from them.⁶ Where then the distinctiveness of the vision? For, although doubtless another notice, just previously given, did intimate that it is to be eminently an æra of trial both to the faith and the patience of Christ’s true saints: and one to show very notably whether they will keep, as their one rule of *action*, “ the commands of God,” and of *doctrine*, “ the faith of Jesus,” yet many such times of trial had been

¹ So in the case of Babylon, xviii. 5, it is said, “ Her sins (*ηκολουθησαν*) have followed up to heaven,” at an epoch when her destruction was imminent. Compare too Acts x. 4. “ Thy prayers and alms have come up as a memorial before God;” said of Cornelius at the time when the answer of blessing was immediately about to be given.

² Heb. iv. 9, &c: where the word *σαββατισμος* is used, as one parallel to *καταπαυσις* used ib. iv. 1, 3, &c.

³ 2 Thess. i. 7; “ To you that are troubled *rest* (*αρεσιν*) with us when,” &c.

⁴ See Apoc. x. 4, and my comment.

⁵ Newton, Scott, &c. See Brooks, page 64.

⁶ So Vitranga, comparing Jer. xxii. 10; “ Weep not for the dead, neither bemoan him; but weep sore for him that goeth away; for he shall return no more, nor see his native country.”

before.—I cannot but add that the intimation seems to me to imply a settlement of the great *premillennial question*. For how could the saints' blessedness and reward be viewed as imminent, if a millennium of the spiritual evangelization of the world were expected to precede it?

3. Next appeared a symbolization¹ of what is called *the harvest of the earth*: a harvest followed immediately by what is designated as its *vintage*. So the type of things natural is here used, as often elsewhere also, in the figuration of things spiritual:—the same succession and order characterizing these providential ingatherings of the mystical earth's fruits, which characterized the natural ingatherings in the land of Israel.²

But what the nature of the harvest figured? Was it one of *mercy*, or of *judgment*? of the *good*, or of the *bad*? On this point commentators differ: the majority of the best-known living expositors taking it, I believe, in the *former* view,³ the majority of their predecessors in the *latter*.⁴ The symbol, we must observe, is *of itself*

¹ The passage is as follows:

xiv. 14. "And I looked, and behold a white cloud: and upon the cloud one sate like unto a son of man;* having on his head a golden crown,† and in his hand a sharp sickle. 15. And another angel came out of the temple, crying with a loud voice to him that sate on the cloud, Thrust in‡ thy sickle, and reap: for the time is come for thee to reap: for the harvest of the earth is ripe.§ 16. And he that sate on the cloud thrust in || his sickle on the earth: and the earth was reaped."

² The *barley* harvest was finished at the Passover, when the sanctifying homer was presented; the *wheat* harvest at the Pentecost, when the first-fruits were offered; the *vintage* not until the *Feast of Tabernacles*, at the end of the ecclesiastical year, and of the crops.

³ E. g. Mr. Cuninghame and Mr. Bickersteth. The *former* considers it as the gathering of such of his saints to Christ, on his coming in the air, as answer to the palm-bearers of chap. vii: for, if I rightly understand him, he has adopted the singular theory of two distinct translations of the saints alive at his advent. See his Work, pp. 322, 323. The *latter* (on Prophecy, p. 363) calls it, "The harvest of *mercy*," in contradistinction to "the vintage of *wrath*." Mr. Cuninghame refers to Sir I. Newton and Bishop Horsley as agreeing in this view. Bishop Jebb too adopts it. On verses 15 to 18, he says: "Put in thy sickle to the *corn of the just*, and the *vine of the unjust*." And so again Mr. Brooks.—Mr. Faber is an exception.

⁴ E. g. Mede, Vitringa, Bishop Newton: and long before them Victorinus; who construes it, as well as the vintage, "de gentibus perituris in adventu

* ὁμοιον υἱῷ ἀνθρώπου without the article. So in all the manuscripts.

† σέφανον χρυσοῦν.

‡ πέμψον literally send.

§ ἐξηραθῆ, dried.

|| Or, threw his sickle; ἐβάλεν.

indeterminate. In our Lord's notable parable,—which ends with the explanatory statement, “The harvest is the end of the world (*αιωνος*, *age*), the reapers are the angels,”¹—there is described a two-fold produce, of *wheat* and of *tares*, as alike grown up in the harvest-field; and a two-fold reaping correspondent, of judgment and of reward,—the former, it seems, to precede the latter: “Gather ye together *first* the tares, and bind them in bundles to burn them; but gather the wheat into my barn.” Similarly St. Paul speaks of men reaping at the last what they sow, in two different kinds of harvest: “He that soweth to the flesh shall of the flesh reap destruction; but he that soweth to the Spirit shall of the Spirit reap life everlasting.”² Thus the circumstance of our Lord's having on one occasion spoken, in altogether a *good* sense, of “the fields being white unto harvest,”³—with reference, however, not to men's preparedness for gathering into his heavenly kingdom, but only into the kingdom of grace in its preparatory earthly state,—and again in St. Mark having said of the *good* seed of the kingdom, “When the fruit is brought forth, immediately he putteth in the sickle, because the harvest is come,”⁴ cannot decide the present question. In these two passages it is *the context* which determines the nature of the seed, and of the harvest. And it is similarly from the context of the present passage that we must decide the nature of the harvest *here* intended.

And, after considering this, I find myself forced to view the harvest as one of *judgment*. 1st. The circumstance of its being called *the harvest of the earth*⁵ strikingly points to this conclusion: the term *earth* being always, as Jerome observes, used in the Apocalypse in a *bad* sense;⁶ and the saints noted in it as not of an earthly citizenship, but heavenly.⁷—2. To the same effect is the designation of the reaping sickle as a *sharp* one. For the

Domini.” Daubuz advances the singular theory of the symbol signifying the separation of the good (i. e. good in profession) from the bad, at the Reformation.

¹ Matt. xiii. 39.

² Gal. vi. 8.

³ John iv. 35.

⁴ Mark iv. 29.

⁵ ὁ θερισμος τῆς γῆς.

⁶ See my Note ² at p. 390 of Vol. i.

⁷ So Apoc. xiii. 6, &c.—Compare Phil. iii. 20.

Apocalypse is a book peculiarly select in its epithets : and surely this would be a strange epithet to designate a gathering painless and most blessed, such as Enoch's and Elijah's, of the then living saints to their heavenly home.¹—3. The *dried* state of the produce at the time when the sickle is put in to cut it, “Thrust in thy sickle and reap ; for the time is come for thee to reap, for the harvest of the earth is *dried up*,” (so it is in the original,) ²—forbids the idea of its being a harvest of *wheat*, or other good produce. Does the agriculturist wait his *corn* being *dried up* before reaping it? Alike Scripture and profane writers, the ancient and the modern husbandry, rule the thing otherwise.³ Thus the lexicographer infers from the simple word *ἐξηρανθη* that a harvest of judgment is here intended.⁴—4. Nor is such a use of the harvest-emblem unknown in other prophecies.⁵ Especially in the only parallel one where the symbols of *harvest* and *vintage* are *conjointly* used, in symbolization of the events of the great consummation, viz. in Joel iii. 13, there cannot be a doubt, I conceive, as to the *one*, as well as the *other*, being symbols of *judgment*. “Let the heathen be awakened, and come up to the valley of Jehoshaphat : for there will I sit to judge all the heathen round about. *Put ye in the sickle, for the harvest is ripe* : come, get you down, for the press

¹ To the same effect the epithet *sharp* is applied to the instrument used presently after in the *vintage*, as a sickle of *judgment*. Daubuz (p. 646) allows that this its designation implies something *violent* and *painful* in the act done by it ; and so explains it of the *Wars* of the Reformation.

² *ἐξηρανθη*.

³ The *Scriptural* view of the time for cutting the corn, is given in two passages a little while since referred to :—the one, John iv. 35, where the fields are said to have been “*white* unto the harvest ;” the other, Mark iv. 29, where the harvest-time is said to have come, and the sickle to be immediately put in, *ὅταν παραδῶ ὁ καρπὸς*, i. e. when the fruit hath put itself forth, as come to maturity. See Schleusner on *παραδίδωμι*.—Compare what is said of the *dried* state of a plant as *dead*, Matt. xiii. 6, James i. 11, 1 Peter i. 24.

Of classic writers I shall quote with Daubuz from *Virgil* and *Columella*. The *former* (Eclog. iv) notes the time to be when “*Molli paulatim flavescent campus aristæ* :” where mark the *molli*, as well as the *flavescent*. The *latter* writes ; “*Æqualiter flavescentibus jam satis, antequam ex toto grana indurescant, cūm rubicundum colorem traxerint, messis facienda est.*”—And *Pliny*, “*Oraculum biduo celerius messem facere, potius quàm biduo serius.*” Nat. Hist. xviii. 30.

⁴ “*Ex multorum interpretum sententiâ per metaphoram innuitur ad pœnam maturuisse adversarios religionis Christianæ, mensurâ peccatorum impletâ: quod magis verisimile est,*” &c. Schleusner on *Ἐρημω*.

⁵ E. g. Isa. xvii. 5, 11, (cited by Mede) spoken of a harvest of sorrow.

is full, the fats overflow ; for their wickedness is great." In fact it is scarcely possible to read this passage without an impression of its being the actual *original* of the Apocalyptic imagery of the harvest and the vintage ; relating to the same events, and marking their character.

Thus, on the whole, we may, I think, confidently conclude on the *harvest of the earth* here figured depicting the first grand act of the judgments of the consummation on Antichristendom ; as the *vintage* was meant to signify the second. And, judging from what we find stated in the other series of Apocalyptic prophecy, and its two-fold distinction of the judgments of the consummation into one *by fire on Babylon*, and a second by fire and the sword *on the Beast and his followers*, I can scarcely hesitate at identifying this *harvest of the earth* with the first-mentioned *judgment of burning*.¹ I am confirmed in this by the *ξηρανθη*, the *dried up* state of the figured harvest. For the dry and noxious weed is fit only for *burning*.² So Tichonius, "Aruit messis terræ, id est *ad combustionem parata est*."³ Let me add a very unintended comment from the cyclical Letter of a *Roman Pope* ; where he speaks of the harvest-field of Christendom appearing, like a field grown over with weeds, "rather *dried up* in preparation for *burning*, than *white* in preparation for harvest."⁴—If the earth itself have to suffer, as in the time of Noah, with its evil produce ; what wonder ? "The earth which drinketh in the rain that cometh oft upon it, and bringeth forth herbs meet for them by whom it is dressed, receiveth blessing from God ; but that which beareth

¹ Such is very much the view of Mede and Vitranga.

² Compare the Jewish proverb, "If they do these things in a green tree, what shall be done in the dry?" Luke xxiii. 31 : also John xv. 6, "It is cast forth as a branch, and is withered (*ξηρανθη*) ; and men gather them, and cast them into the fire, and they are burned. Compare too the burning of "all that grew on the ground," in the case of Sodom. Gen. xix. 25. ³ Hom. xii. ad fin.

⁴ "Agerque potius arescere videatur ad ignem, quàm albescere inveniatur ad messem." Pope Gregory X's Letter. Hard. vii. 669.

So too, I see, *Bernard*, in his Letter to Pope Eugenius, ii. 6, De Consideratione ; "Leva oculos, et vide regiones, si non sunt magis *siccæ ad ignem*, quàm albæ ad messem."—And somewhat similarly also *Hermas*, of old, in his 3rd and 4th Similitudes.

thorns and briars is rejected, and is nigh unto cursing ; whose end is to be burned.”¹

This main point of the vision settled, we need not to be long detained by its details.—It was one *like a son of man, sitting on a white cloud*, that appeared holding the sharp sickle of execution, and to whom the charge was transmitted from the inner temple, “Thrust in thy sickle, for the harvest is ripe.” And both his likeness to a son of man,² and the white lightning-cloud³ his chariot,⁴ concurred to point out the *God-man*, Christ Jesus, as the person intended.—Yet not so as to indicate this being the occasion of his great predicted second advent with the clouds of heaven, when every eye shall see him. We must remember that the visibility of Christ to the Evangelist here in vision, no more shows that he would be personally visible at the time and in the events so foreshown, than his appearance in an earlier part of the Apocalyptic visions robed in a cloud, and with his face shining as the sun ;⁵ which, we saw reason to believe, symbolized the spiritual discovery of his gospel-grace and salvation at the Reformation. I conceive it was intended to designate Christ as the great *initiator* of the final judgments, just as the subsequent notice of his treading the wine-press⁶ marked him out as their *completor* : agreeably with his declaration ; “The Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son.”⁷—The *golden crown* that he wore, implied his having come forth in the character of a conquering warrior over his enemies :⁸—so is each symbol of power,

¹ Heb. vi. 7, 8.

² Compare John v. 27, Apoc. i. 13, where the *article* before *son* is also wanting.

³ λευκη νεφελη. Compare the λευκος εξαστραπτων of Luke ix. 29.

⁴ “He maketh the clouds his chariot.” Psalm civ. 3. Vitringa compares Isa. xix. 1, where the Lord is said to ride on a swift cloud to execute judgment on Egypt.—See too Vol. ii. p. 40, Note ¹. ⁵ Apoc. x. 1. ⁶ Apoc. xix. 15.

⁷ John v. 22. It is possible that this vision may also have allusion to Christ’s statement, in his memorable prophecy of the end of the world, Matt. xxiv. 30, “And then shall appear the *sign* of the Son of man in heaven ; and then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn :”—i. e. if, as some think, the sign of his coming be something distinct from, and the immediate precursor of, his coming itself.

⁸ Compare Isa. ix. 5 ; “For every battle of the warrior is with confused noise, and garments rolled in blood ; but this shall be with *burning* and *fuel of fire*. For unto us a child is born, &c. And the government shall be on his shoulder :” &c.

at first attached to the world's potentates, now transferred in the figuration to their rightful owner.¹—As to the Angel's cry to him from out the sanctuary of the divine presence, declaring the time of the harvest-judgment to have fully come,² it well illustrates another of Christ's sayings, in his prophecy of the judgments attendant on the second advent. "Of that day and hour knoweth no one; no not the angels that are in heaven, *nor the Son*:" (i. e. not in his human character, as a *Son of Man*;) "but the Father only." (Mark xiii. 32.)

So He that sat on the cloud cast down his sharp sickle upon the earth; and the earth was reaped.

4thly,—and finally, as depicted (if my view be correct) on the *outside* of the Apocalyptic scroll,—there followed a vision of the earth's *vintage* and *winepress-treading*:³ in figuration of judgment unto blood, as all allow, very dreadful; the last judgment visible upon this earthly scene (as the vintage was the last natural gathering) against apostate Christendom.⁴

The *vine* to be gathered was called "*the vine of the earth*," and designated, I imagine, first and chiefly, the

¹ See Vol. i. p. 106. So too in the other prophetic series, to be considered in the next Section of this Chapter.

² The circumstance of the harvest of wickedness having grown more than ripe, as the word *ἐξηπαύθη* seems to indicate, marks the prolonged forbearance of God.

³ 17. "And another angel came out of the temple which is in heaven, he also having a sharp sickle. 18. And another angel came out from the altar, which had power over the fire: and cried with a loud voice to him that had the sickle, saying, Thrust in thy sharp sickle, and gather the clusters of the vine of the earth; for her grapes are fully ripe. 19. And the angel thrust in his sickle into the earth, and gathered the vine of the earth, and cast it into the great wine-press of the wrath of God. 20. And the wine-press was trodden without the city; and blood came out of the wine-press, even unto the horses' bridles, by the space of a thousand and six hundred furlongs."

⁴ With these two great judgments of the consummation,—that of the harvest and that of the vintage, against apostate *Christendom*, we may compare the two consummatory acts of judgment against the *Jews*, whereby their total subversion as a nation was effected: viz. 1st, the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus; 2nd, the tremendous slaughter of their armies and people, fifty years after, by Hadrian. In which latter, after the battle of Bittera, the Magistri in the *Codex Tuanith* of the *Jerusalem Targum*, adopting, very remarkably, the Apocalyptic language here used, say that "blood flowed up to the horses' noses for 1600 stadia." Vitranga, p. 902, quotes this from Lightfoot.

Ecclesiastical Body and Church of Anti-Christendom ; inclusive, however, of its chief secular supporters also.¹ Like as of ancient Judah, so of Christendom it might have been said, “ I planted thee a noble vine, wholly a right seed ; how then art thou turned into the degenerate plant of a strange vine unto me ? ”² For too soon, notwithstanding all its privileges, the Christian Church and people apostatized ; “ their vine degenerating into the vine of Sodom, their grapes becoming grapes of gall, their clusters bitter, and their wine the poison of dragons.”³ For a greatly-protracted period the long-suffering of God was foreshown as bearing with it. But now that period was over : its clusters were more than ripe ; and its fated time of punishment, like that of the Jewish vine long before it,⁴ fully come.—The *agent* in the preliminary act of gathering the vine’s clusters, appeared in the vision to be an Angel with a sharp sickle or pruning-hook in hand, issuing forth from the inner temple in heaven. By his egress thence the divine origin of the coming judgment was intimated, just as in the previous cases of the judgments under the Trumpets and the Vials ;⁵ by the sharpness of the sickle, the severity of the judgment intended.⁶—As to the *Angel* that had to announce to the one just mentioned the precise moment for his putting in the sickle of execution, (such is the division of offices among the angelic hosts in God’s providential government,) his description is remarkable both

¹ So the Jewish vine signified, I conceive, the Jewish nation as a *church*, and with church privileges. See the figure in Isa. v.

² Jer. ii. 21.—Just before, Judah had been represented by the prophet as an *unfaithful wife*. So that there is a similar variety of images to figure Judah’s apostacy there, with what we find to figure Christendom’s apostacy here ;—in one place as a *harlot*, in another as a *corrupt vine*.

³ Deut. xxxii. 32.—Compare one of the Apocalyptic designations of Anti-christendom as “ the great city which is spiritually called *Sodom* ; ” Apoc. xi. 8. Another represented it as the nominal but *apostate Israel* ; Apoc. vii.—See too A. Clarke on Isa. v. 2.

⁴ Isa. v. 5, 6.—In Matt. xxi. 33 the figure is varied. ⁵ Apoc. viii. 2, xv. 6.

⁶ See what I have said on the *reaper’s* sharp sickle just before.—The word *δρεπανον* is used in ancient authors as well for the instrument of pruning or cutting shrubs, as for reaping. See Daubuz ad loc. p. 652 ; who quotes Aristides Quintilianus saying, *ὡς κλημα δρεπανῳ τεμεν*. Also Virgil Bucol. iv. “ Non rastros patietur humus, non vinea falcem : ” and Horace, Od. i. 31, “ Premam Calenâ falce quibus dedit Fortuna vitem : ” &c.

as being the one “that had authority over the fire,”¹ (that is, the altar-fire,) and as appearing to come forth “from out of the altar.”² He answered evidently in the heavenly temple of vision to those Levitical priests of the Jewish earthly temple, whose office it was to keep the sacred fire ever burning on the altar, in order to the consumption of the daily holocausts and of the voluntary burnt-offerings and peace-offerings; as well as also to look to the ashes left from the burning, and take charge of them as sacred things.³ Thus his bearing part in the prefigured judgment might seem to indicate two things respecting it. 1st. It indicated that it was as a *sacrifice to the divine justice* that the vine was to be gathered, and its clusters trod in the wine-press; (very much as in a famous, and I believe not uncorrespondent prophecy of Ezekiel,⁴ as well as in that of Apoc. xix. 17, and others also: ⁵)—the heaven-derived altar-fire⁶ being the perpetual visible symbol among the Jews of God’s justice; and of its preparedness to consume all except those that might have made a covenant with Him in his own appointed way by sacrifice,⁷ and, through faith in the substituted offering of the Lamb of God, saved themselves. 2. It pointed to one special cause of God’s wrath against the earth’s inhabitants,—namely, *their slaughter of the*

¹ ἔχων ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ τοῦ πυρός.

² ἐξηλθεν ἐκ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου. Observe ἐκ, not ἀπο.

³ Lev. vi. 9—13.—With regard to the *altar-fire*, he had to supply it with wood every morning. With regard to the *ashes*, consumed with the burnt-offering, it was his direction first, and while in his linen garments, to put them beside the altar; then in other garments to carry them away to a clean place without the camp.—This was quite a different office from that alluded to in Apoc. viii. 3 (I beg attention to this point) of receiving and offering incense.

⁴ Ezek. xxxix. 17.

⁵ E. g. Isa. xxxiv. 6. In Apoc. xix. 17, the image is that of a *supper*. But the *banquet* and the *sacrifice* were, as is well known, continually united; both under the Jewish religion, and under those too of the heathen.—Daubuz observes on the frequent application of *sacrificial* words, such as *θύω*, *mactō*, &c, to the slaughter of enemies: e. g. by Virgil, “Pallas te hoc vulnere, Pallas *immolat* :” also how in some cases, as that of the slaughter of the Midianite by Phinehas (Numb. xxv. 13), it was accepted as a propitiatory offering.

Let me add in illustration, Jer. xxv. 30, where after notice of the wine-cup of God’s fury being given to the nations, it is said, “The Lord shall roar for his holy habitation; he shall give a shout, as they that tread the grapes, against all the inhabitants of the earth.”

⁶ See my observations, including Note ³, at p. 179 of my 3rd Volume.

⁷ Psalm l. 5.

martyrs: whose ashes, as of acceptable self-devoted holocausts, mixed with those of the great propitiatory burnt-offering, had long been accumulating (under this Angel's charge, it is to be supposed) beside the Apocalyptic altar. Already early in the drama a voice had been heard by St. John from the souls of witnesses slain for Christ beneath the altar, "Lord, how long dost thou not avenge our blood on those that dwell on the earth:" and it was then said that they were to wait for this avenging, till a second and additional band of martyrs had been completed in number, besides themselves.¹ As late as the third Vial a cry from the same point indicated, that not the full predicted vengeance, but only a preliminary judgment, had then begun.² Now however, (and perhaps with some last notable act of martyrdom marking the epoch,) the cry of this Angel issuing forth from the interior of, or hollow beneath the altar, proclaimed that their number was completed,—their moment of full avenging come;—the asserted power of the two witnesses to bring down fire from heaven against their injurers to consume them,³ about to be fearfully illustrated before the world;—and the earth to disclose her blood, and no more cover her slain.⁴

As to the remaining particulars of the figuration, we may observe in passing, that the *gathering* of the vine's clusters by the Angel's sharp pruning-hook, and the *casting* them into the wine-press of the wrath of God, seemed to indicate acts preparatory to the *winepress-treading*; ⁵ the former, perhaps, meaning some signal separation, by sharp judgments, of Antichrist's members from those of Christ; the latter, the over-ruling of their own wicked wills,⁶ and of the plans of the evil spirits⁷

¹ Apoc. vi. 11. See Vol. i. p. 200, &c.

² Apoc. xvi. 7: where the text of Scholz and Griesbach is remarkable, *ἡκαστα τε θυσιαστηρις λεγοντες*, implying a voice from within or underneath the altar; especially as compared with the phraseology here used of the angel, *εξηλθεν εκ τε θυσιαστηριου*.

³ Apoc. xi. 5. See Vol. ii. p. 205.

⁴ Isa. xxvi. 21.

⁵ So Daubuz and others.

⁶ Compare Acts ii. 23; Him, being delivered by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God, ye have taken; &c.

⁷ I mean the three spirits like frogs, that gathered the kings of the earth to Armageddon. Apoc. xvi. 14, 16.

possessing them, to accomplish the gathering of the anti-christian body to the fated field of vengeance.—What *the locality* of that field we may perhaps better conjecture after comparing some other prophecies ; so as will be done at the end of the Chapter on Daniel next following. Two things seem clear about it :—1st, that the treading-floor, as all admit, can scarce be different from the *Armageddon* of the other series of Apocalyptic prophecy :—2nd, that its description here as “ *without the city*,” (a figure in itself very appropriate, let me observe, as both the king’s and other wine-presses of old were actually situated outside the walls of Jerusalem,¹) is a characteristic that agrees well with that prediction in Apoc. xix, which represents the Beast and his adherents as slain by Christ *after* the destruction of Babylon, the great city, and consequently *away from it*.—As to the inference drawn by many commentators, from the circumstance of blood being said to flow out from this wine-press for 1600 furlongs, up to the horses’ bridles, and 1600 furlongs being also about the length of the Holy Land, from Dan to Beersheba,²—I say as to their inference from these premises to the effect of the whole length of that Holy Land being the destined field of slaughter,³ it seems to me hardly warranted by the prophetic language. For the number 1600 is, as sundry patristic as well as other expositors have observed, *a square number*.⁴ And both the circumstance of *wine-fats*,—square it might be, or of other shape,—dug in the earth or rock, being a constant appendage of the natural *wine-press*,⁵

¹ So Daubuz. In Zechariah’s prophetic description of the re-habitation of Jerusalem in its *fullest* ancient extent, it is said, “The land shall be inhabited from the tower of Hananeel to the *king’s wine-presses*.” Zech. xiv. 10. On which phrase Kimchi says, “The *threshing-floor and the wine-press*.”

² Noted by Jerome ad Dardan.—Pliny makes the length of Palestine to be 189 miles. Nat. Hist. v. 13.

³ So Fuller in his Pisgah, *literally*, and others after him.—Daubuz adopts their view as to its being the measure of Palestine ; but applies it *figuratively*, as signifying the length of the *mystical* apostate Israel ; i. e. the whole territorial extent of Antichristendom.—Mede suggests the fact of 1600 stadia being the length also of the *States of the Church* in Italy, from Rome to Verona ; and so Faber.

⁴ “Quadratum satis amplum.” Vitranga, after the old interpreters Victorinus, Tichonius, Primasius.

⁵ See A. Clarke on Isa. v. 2, “He made a *wine-press* in it,” or rather *wine-*

and that of their being expressly mentioned in the parallel figurative prophecy of Joel, ("Come, get you down, for the *press*¹ is full, the *fats*² overflow, for their wickedness is great,") concur to make it probable that in the Apocalyptic picture this appendage of the *wine-fat* was not wanting, and that the 1600 furlongs expressed its *square*. Supposing which to be the case, the depth of blood mentioned might be that in the wine-fat ;—a uniform depth, and one guaged easily, and as usual : whereas, on the hypothesis of a *stream* of 1600 furlongs in length, it is hard to conceive how the depth should not vary, but be still up to the horses' bridles throughout the length of the 1600 furlongs. Indeed I doubt the words admitting that sense.³—What the *square* intended, if such it be, is a little dubious. If we take the number 1600 as the square of 40, then the area will be one of 5 miles to a side, equal to 25 square miles.⁴ If, on the other hand, the 1600 furlongs be explained to give the circuit of the square, 400 to each side,⁵—then the square area will be vastly greater, being one, not of 5 miles to each side, but 50. Even on the smaller scale the figure

fat ; Hebr. בִּקְיָה. The Septuagint rendering of the word is here *προληνιον*, but in four other places more properly *εποληνιον* ; viz. Isa. xvi. 10, Joel iii. 13, Hag. ii. 16, and Zech. xiv. 10. The *wine-press* itself, Clarke observes, (in Latin the *torcular* or *calcatorium*) is in Hebr. called בִּקְיָה, or בִּקְיָה. Near it was the *lacus* ; (Columella xii. 18. 3, Ovid. Fast. iv. 888 ;) a large open place, or vessel, which by a conduit received the *sweet* (or *blood of the grape*) from the wine-press ; and which in hot countries was often dug under ground, or out of the rock, for coolness, that the heat might not cause too great a fermentation in it.—The Greek word *ληνος* is used alike for either. See Schleusner on the word.

¹ בִּקְיָה

² תִּבְבִּים

³ The expression in the original is *εξηλθεν αιμα εκ της ληνου αχρι των χαλινων των ιππων απο σταδιων χιλίων εξακοσίων*. And the parallel passage adduced to justify this use of the *απο*, is John xi. 18, "Bethany was nigh Jerusalem, *ως απο σταδιων δεκαπεντε*, about fifteen furlongs off." To which we may add John xxi. 8 ; and also Arrian ; "Υπερκειται δε αυτης απο τριων ημερων πολις Ξανη, και μετ' αλλας εννεα ημερας Αφαρ. But this is the distance of an extreme point. And were the analogy of these passages followed, the rendering here would be, "At the distance of 1600 stadia from the wine-press the blood was up to the horses' bridles :"—in which case how infinitely deeper must it have been at the wine-press itself !

⁴ This idea of the square I have not seen elsewhere. And I ought to offer some parallel passage to justify it :—some one where a numeral of measure, without the word *square* added, does yet mean square measure : which however I cannot recollect.

⁵ So the old expositors mentioned, as before observed, by Vitringa. "Quater enim quadrigenti," says Tichonius, "sunt 1600."

would indicate tremendous slaughter.¹—Its *executor* we are told in another Apocalyptic prophecy is to be the WORD OF GOD, the LORD JESUS.² For he it is that is there described as treading the wine-press of the wrath of God ; being the Omega, as well as Alpha, of the judgments of the consummation. With which other description of the great winepress-treading the present is connected not otherwise only, and by general resemblance of the main subject, but also by that singular standard of measure, “*up to the horses’ bridles.*” For it indicates *horses* and *horsemen* to be present on the scene of slaughter ; the same fact that appears prominently also in the picture of the winepress-treading described in Apoc. xix : this latter being executed on “*them that sate on horses,*” among others in the Beast’s army,³ by Him that *sat on the white horse* ; and with his saints, —themselves *on white horses* likewise,—following him.⁴

So ends the *briefer* sketch first given to St. John in the rapid concluding evolution of the *writing without* on the Apocalyptic scroll : the same of which the chief object was a *supplementary* prefigurative description of the BEAST FROM THE ABYSS. In resuming however the original and fuller series of prefigurations, a much fuller revelation was made of its deeply interesting subjects ; to the which we must now turn.

§ 2.—THE FULLER APOCALYPTIC PREFIGURATION OF THINGS YET FUTURE, DOWN TO THE WINEPRESS-TREADING BEFORE THE MILLENNIUM.

In the *Part within-written* of the Apocalyptic scroll,⁵

¹ It would be a *winevat* of the size of ancient Rome or modern London.

² Apoc. xix. 15.

³ Ib. 18 ; “that ye may eat the flesh of kings, and of captains, and of *horses*, and of *them that sit on them.*”

⁴ Ib. 11, 14.

⁵ I subjoin the Apocalyptic passage about to be commented on, Apoc. xvi. 17—21.

containing its chief and fullest series of visions, the pre-figurations, up to the end of chap. xvi, were thus seen to proceed.

1. After the vision of the *three spirits like frogs* issuing forth “to gather the kings of the earth to the war of the great day of God Almighty,” and the warning voice from heaven, “Behold I come as a thief,”—of both which I spoke in my last chapter, as probably even now fulfilling,—after this, I say, and a further notice¹ (probably anticipative²) of the three spirits effecting their object so far as to gather these kings to a place called in Hebrew *Armageddon*,—i. e. *The Mountain of Gathering, Mountain of Destruction, or Mountain of Delights*, as Grotius, Vitranga, and Brightman respectively explain it, all with reference to its probable Hebrew etymology,³

17. “And the seventh Angel poured out his Vial upon the air:” and there came a great voice from the temple of heaven, from the throne, saying, It is done. 18. And there were lightnings, and voices, and thunders: and there was a great earthquake, such as was not since men † were upon the earth,—such an earthquake, ‡ so great. 19. And the great city was divided into three parts: and the cities of the nations § fell. And great Babylon was remembered before God, to give unto her the cup of the wine of the fierceness of his wrath. 20. And every island fled away; and the mountains were not found. 21. And there fell || upon men great hail out of heaven; every stone about a talent’s weight. And the men blasphemed God because of the plague of the hail; for the plague thereof was exceeding great.”

¹ “And they gathered them together to a place called in the Hebrew tongue *Armageddon*.” Apoc. xvi. 16.—The nominative to *συνήγαγεν* (*gathered them*) is evidently the *τρία πνεύματα* (*three spirits*), spoken of in the verse but one preceding as the gatherers; according to the well-known rule of Greek grammar (which rule however some commentators, as well as our English translators, have overlooked) of a neuter noun plural requiring a verb in the singular.

² As it is agreed on all hands that the war or battle of *Armageddon* must be considered as taking place under the seventh Vial, and constituting the conflict immediately prior to the judgment of the consummation, the notice here made must either be anticipative, or the *eis* construed in the sense of *towards*, so as in Apoc. xii. 6. See my Vol. iii. p. 35, Note¹.

³ Both *Grotius* and *Vitranga* derive it from *ἄρει*, a mountain, and *ἔρει* which signifies alike to *destroy* and to *collect*; the former as in Dan. iv. 14, 23, in the Chaldee, the latter as in Micah v. 1. Of these meetings *Grotius* adopts the one for his etymology of *Armageddon*, *Vitranga* the other. *Brightman* derives

* The reading of Scholz, Griesbach and Tregelles is *ἐπὶ τὸν αἶρα*.

† *οἱ ἄνθρωποι* perhaps *the men*: so verse 21.

‡ *τῆλικουτος*.

§ *τῶν ἐθνῶν* a word used vii. 9, x. 11, xiv. 6, &c, where it may probably have a meaning extending beyond the Roman world; as well as xi. 2, 9, and xvii. 15, where it seems used restrictedly of the Latinized Christians of the Popedom.

|| Literally, there *falls*; *καταβαίνει*.

and on which more hereafter,¹—the outpouring is described as taking place of the seventh and last Vial of judgment:—an outpouring it is said on the *air*, or *atmosphere*, of the Apocalyptic world; the immediate sequel of which was voices, and thunderings, and lightnings, and a great earthquake, such as had not been since the men were upon the earth; affecting the sea, or maritime parts, as well as the mainland; causing the disruption of the Great City into three parts, and attended with the plague of a tremendous hailstorm, which however, though so severe, was ineffectual to induce repentance among the people: a yet more terrible judgment being noted as following on Great Babylon (so the great City is here first called); which now at length came up in remembrance before God, “to give to her the cup of the wine of the wrath of his anger.”

Of the earlier part of this prefiguration, the sense, translated from symbols into realities, (realities yet future, but apparently quickly coming,) seems to be this:—that after a certain further progress of the three unclean spirits now abroad, (viz. as I conceive, those of *infidel democracy*, *popery*, and *antichristian priestcraft*,) such as to marshal their collective strength in Western Christendom and its colonial dependencies, in hostility against Christ’s cause and Gospel, there will arise, all suddenly and fearfully, some extraordinary *convulsion*,

it from מֶגֶד and מֶגֶד a costly or precious thing: Mede from מַדְמַד excidium, and תּוֹרַם turma.

It was probably from one of these words that *Megiddo* derived its name; a town of Manasseh, famous as the scene of the battle in which the good king Josiah was killed by Pharaoh Necho, 2 Kings xxiii. 29; and also near to that of the battle in which Sisera was overthrown by Barak, Judges v. 19. And some expositors have supposed this precise place *Megiddo* to be intended by the Armageddon of the prophecy; or, if not so, a reference meant to one or other of the battles fought near it. But there does not seem to me reason for these opinions. For the name must, I conceive, be considered *mystical*, so as all the other appellatives mentioned in the Apocalypse,—Sodom, Egypt, Babylon, Abaddon: and as to the *battles*, that of Barak and Sisera was scarcely of sufficient importance to be singled out as a precedent; and that of Josiah and Pharaoh Necho was of an issue and character the direct reverse to that of Armageddon.

¹ Viz. on occasion of noticing the battle itself, at the conclusion of my next Chapter on Daniel xi, xii.—Vitranga and others identify the conflict of the *Valley of Jehoshaphat*, mentioned by Joel, with that of Armageddon. I purpose to notice this point there also.

darkening, and *vitiation* of its *political atmosphere*: the permitted effect perhaps, in God's righteous judgment, of the working to a crisis of those evil principles.—I explain the *air* in the vision to mean the European *political atmosphere*, after the analogy of its *firmament*; which has been construed on undoubted evidence, I think, as the *political* firmament. And I speak of the effect of the disturbance caused in this atmosphere by the Vial's outpouring as of that three-fold character; because as the *natural* atmosphere, which constitutes the symbol, is alike the region of storms, the medium through which the heavenly luminaries shine on us, and the element we breathe, a great disturbance wrought therein may be expected to affect it in respect of each of these functions,—somewhat as in that remarkable case alluded to by Cowper: ¹ which being so in the *symbol*, it seems but reasonable to suppose the same in the *thing symbolized*:—besides that in the only other instance in the Apocalypse wherein the *air* is spoken of as affected,—viz. on occasion of the issuing from the pit of the abyss of the smoke and miasma of Mahometanism, “whereby the sun and the air were darkened,”²—we know from history that there resulted an agitation and tainting of the moral and political atmosphere of Greek Christendom, through the spread of that false religion, as well as an obscuration of the lights, or ruling authorities, in its political heaven.—Such I conceive to be the chief thing intended; though it seems far from improbable that some ominous derangement of the *natural* atmosphere may furnish a literal accomplishment also nearly cotemporary.³ And doubtless under the judgment of the seventh Vial we must expect this convulsion, vitiation, and darkening of the political atmosphere of Western Europe to

¹ And Nature seems with dim and sickly eye
To wait the close of all.

I have quoted this already in my Vol. iii. p. 295; and have stated in a Note that it alludes to a very remarkable fog, which covered both Europe and Asia the whole summer of 1783; and which in one northern country of Europe prevented the sun being seen for three years.

² Apoc. ix. 2. See Vol. i. p. 416.

³ See Vol. iii. pp. 296—298 —Probably the *cholera* of 1831 was not unconnected with some electrical derangement of the natural atmosphere.

be unprecedentedly awful : the very elements of thought, and feeling, and social affection, and moral principle, whereby society and its various polities are in God's wonderful wisdom constituted and preserved, being so affected as altogether to intercept the influences of the ruling lights or authorities in our system,—to minister disease instead of health to the body politic,—and perhaps, with terrible convulsions, to resolve society for a while into its primary elements.¹

Thus much as to the Vial on the *air* ; the only new symbol in the figurations before us. With regard to the *thunders, lightnings, and voices* of the vision, they indicate of course wars and tumults following, so as always elsewhere in the Apocalyptic prophecy : and the notice of the tremendous *hailstorm* accompanying greatly serves to aggravate the idea : with *perhaps* this further indication that *France*, the most northerly of the Papal kingdoms,² may again enact the part of the chief instru-

¹ As the symbol of the *air* is a new one in the Apocalyptic visions, it may be satisfactory to the reader to have the explanations of it given by two other commentators,—one of an earlier age, one a cotemporary,—who have paid most attention to the figure ; viz. *Vitringa* and *Mr. Cuninghame*.

Vitringa, after noting that the word *air* is here to be taken in its largest signification, goes on thus to describe the effects (as he supposed them) of the Vial's outpouring on it. "Ad Phialam hanc effusam tenebræ obductæ sunt cælo mystico illius terræ cujus imperium sibi vindicaverat Bestia. Rectores utriusque ordinis, qui in hoc cælo fulserant, de sedibus suis visi sunt deturbari :—omnia autem in regimine politico et ecclesiastico illius magni Imperii eum in modum conturbari, ut *aer* deesset populo illius civitatis quem biberet, et à quo refocillaretur ; (sunt enim Principes et Rectores populorum, quatenus populos sibi subjectos foveant, et in illos curâ et institutione suâ influunt, [Qu. *inflant* ?] veluti spiritus oris populi, ut vocantur apud Jeremiam, Lam. v. 20 ;)—et aer ille conturbatus locum faceret, et occasionem Deo præberet, gravissimis illis judiciis quæ Imperio Bestiæ ad totalem statûs ejus subversionem decreverat." p. 988.

Mr. Cuninghame. "It is through the medium of the natural air, or atmosphere, that the natural sun, moon, and stars communicate to us their light, heat, and influences : it is the same air which is in us the principle of vitality. Now, through what air or atmosphere do the symbolic sun, moon, and stars, communicate to us their influences, light, and heat ? I answer through the medium of the *political and ecclesiastical constitutions of the states*. These constitutions are also the principle of vitality to the body politic." And thence he argues that the outpouring of the seventh Vial is to be upon the political and ecclesiastical constitution of the Roman Empire ; causing a tremendous agitation throughout the government, destroying a general balance of power, and superinducing the horrors of a political storm. pp. 305, 306.—There is no very great difference, it will be seen, in our explanations.

² See Vol. iii. pp. 288, 290.—*Vitringa* explains the *hail-storm* simply to indicate a judgment immediately from heaven. He compares the hail which fell in the seventh Egyptian plague, and that which fell on the Canaanites after Joshua's

mental operator of the plague ; very much as in the earlier judgments of the seventh Trumpet.—For the result a most remarkable *revolution* is foreshown as destined to befall the European Commonwealth ; viz. the final breaking up of that decemregal form of the Papal empire, which has now characterized it for near thirteen centuries, into a new and *tripartite* form ; the tripartition meant being probably, like the earlier separation of the tenth of the city, conjointly *religious* and *political*.¹ In which form the *Great City*, or *ROME*,—including, I presume, both its subject Ecclesiastical State and the *third* of the tripartition connected with it,—is to receive its own peculiar final and appalling fate : as it is said, “And great Babylon was remembered before God, to give her the cup of the wine of the fierceness of his wrath.”—So that whensoever, after fearful wars and convulsions, a tripartition like this shall take place in the European commonwealth, it must be regarded as the proximate sign, and very alarum bell to Christendom, of the judgment, the great judgment, being then at length close at hand.—Of which fate the description is given in the two, or rather the three² next chapters.

victory at Gibeon, Joshua x. 11 ;—the latter especially without doubt a very notable case for comparison :—also Isa. xxx. 30 : “The Lord shall cause his glorious voice to be heard ; and shall shew the lighting down of his arm, with the indignation of his anger, and with the flame of a devouring fire, and with scattering, and tempest, and *hail-stones*.”—He might have added the case of Barak’s victory near Megiddo, where “the stars in their courses” fought against Sisera : for Josephus (as Horsley observes on the song of Deborah) explains this of a *hail-storm* directed against him.

It seems very possible that there may be here too that which shall *literally* answer to the prediction. See the Note Vol. iii. pp. 294, 295. But the analogy of all the Apocalyptic prefigurations requires primarily a *symbolic* explanation : and the precedent of the first Trumpet seems to indicate, *if its analogy be followed*, a judgment from the *North* ; though not from the four winds, or of *foreign* origin.

¹ Vitrunga supposes one third to be *adherents to the Papacy or Beast* ; another, *favourers of superstition, but not the Papacy* ; and the last, *on the side of the true Protestant Church* : “totam illam civitatem scindendam esse in partes sive factiones tres ; quarum una superstitioni et idololatriæ Romanensi adhuc adhærebit ; altera auctoritati Pontificiæ renunciare parata sit, sed superstitionem tamen veterem non facile deseret ; tertia in partes transibit ecclesiæ.” p. 991.

Mr. Cuninghame’s ultimate exposition is, that the division will have a relation to the work of the three unclean spirits before mentioned ; one division ranging under the standard of *Atheism and Anarchy*, another under that of *Despotism*, another under that of *Popery* : agreeably with his view of the three spirits.

² For chap. xix. describes the destruction of the *Beast and False Prophet* ; the characteristic associates of the mystic Babylon.

2. The vision of the first of these chapters¹ (ch. xvii.) is one introductory to the judgment on Babylon, and

¹ I subjoin the chapter.

" 1. And there came one of the seven angels which had the seven vials, and talked with me, saying unto me, Come hither; I will shew unto thee the judgment of the great whore, that sitteth upon the many waters :* 2. with whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication : and the inhabitants of the earth have been made drunk with the wine of her fornication.

3. So he carried me away in the spirit into a wilderness :† and I saw a woman sit upon a scarlet-coloured beast, full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns. 4. And the woman was arrayed in purple and scarlet colour, and decked with gold and precious stones and pearls; having a golden cup in her hand, full of abominations and filthiness ‡ of her fornication. 5. And upon her forehead was a name written, *Mystery, Babylon the Great, the Mother of harlots and abominations of the earth.* 6. And I saw the woman drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus : and when I saw her, I wondered with great admiration.

7. And the Angel said unto me, Wherefore didst thou marvel? I will tell thee the mystery of the woman, and of the beast that carrieth her, which hath the seven heads and ten horns.

8. The beast that thou sawest was, and is not; and shall ascend out of the bottomless pit, and go into perdition; and they that dwell on the earth shall wonder, (whose names were not written in the book of life from the foundation of the world,) when they behold the beast that was, and is not, and yet is.§ 9. And here is the mind which hath wisdom. The seven heads are seven mountains, on which the woman sitteth. 10. And there are seven kings : five are fallen, and one is, and the other is not yet come; and when he cometh, he must continue a short space. 11. And the beast that was, and is not, even he is the eighth, and is of the seven, and goeth into perdition. 12. And the ten horns which thou sawest are ten kings, which have received no kingdom as yet; but receive power as kings at one and the same time || with the beast. 13. These have one mind, and shall give their power and strength unto the beast. 14. These shall make war with the Lamb : and the Lamb shall overcome them, (for he is Lord of lords and King of kings,) and they that are with him, the called, and chosen, and faithful.¶ 15. And he saith unto me, The waters which thou sawest, where the whore sitteth, are peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues. 16. And the ten horns which thou sawest upon ** the beast, these shall hate the whore, and shall make her desolate and naked, and shall eat her flesh, and burn her with fire. 17. For God hath put in their hearts to fulfil his will, and to agree, and give their kingdom unto the beast, until the words of God shall be fulfilled. 18. And the woman which thou sawest, is that great city, which reigneth over the kings of the earth."

* ἐπὶ τῶν ὕδατων τῶν πολλῶν.

† εἰς ἐρημον.

‡ ἀκαθαρτητος. Scholz, Griesbach, and Tregelles read τὰ ἀκαθαρτητα.

§ So our translators, according to the reading καὶ περ εἰσι. Griesbach, Scholz, and Tregelles read καὶ παρῆσαι, and shall come.

|| μίαν ὥραν λαμβανουσι μετὰ τοῦ θηρίου. The translation given is doubtless the true one; not, as our version, "one hour." See Vol. iii. p. 68, Note 4.

¶ So Vitranga; understanding *vincent*, or νικησουσι, after the κλητοι. This is also, I conceive, beyond a doubt the true rendering; not that of our version, which, understanding εἰσι, translates, "They that are with him *are* the called," &c.

** So our version, reading ἐπὶ. Griesbach, Scholz, and Tregelles have the various reading καὶ : as if the Beast itself would at last turn with the ten kings against the woman. But I think the reading unlikely. In case, however, of its being preferred, what is there said of *the Beast's* hating the Whore; i. e. Babylon, or Rome, must be understood, I conceive, of the *city Rome*, not of the *Romish*

explanatory to St. John (to the *symbolic man* St. John) of its causes and reasonableness. Such is God's usual method, when about to execute any very notable act of vengeance. He shews his Church its justice beforehand : thereby at once vindicating his own honour, and giving warning to such of his people as may thus far have been deceived by the offending party, to separate from it, and so escape its doom.¹—The *desert local scene* of the symbolization here shewn St. John, and also its *mode* and *author*, deserve remark, and will be observed on afterwards. As to the *substance of the vision*, which represented pictorially before him *a gaudily-dressed drunken Harlot*, seated on a Beast of monstrous form, with seven heads, and on the seventh (itself growing out of the cicatrice of a former excised seventh²) ten horns,—it has been for the most part fully explained in a preceding chapter of this work.³ For I have there discussed at large the mystery of this Beast, with his seven, or rather eight heads and ten horns ; besides adding passing notices also of the woman his rider.—It is to be understood that, as the *Beast*, in respect of its *body*, depicted the Papal Empire of the ten Western European kingdoms, and, in respect of its *seventh or rather eighth head*, the succession of Roman Popes, constituting from after the 6th century that empire's spiritual rulers,⁴—so the *woman*

¹ So in the angel's declaration to Lot, Gen. xix. 12, 13, before the destruction of Sodom ; in Jeremiah's prophetic denunciation of the Chaldean Babylon's guilt and fatal overthrow, Jer. li. 6, &c ; and in those by Christ, and afterwards by his apostle St. James against the guilty Jerusalem, just before its destruction by the Romans.

² Apoc. xiii. 3 ; " And I saw one of his heads as it were wounded unto death, and the deadly wound was healed." ³ Part iv, chap. iv.

⁴ In further illustration and confirmation of my exposition of this most important point in the Apocalyptic prophecy, let me add from the *Romish Arabic version* of the Canons of the Nicene Council a Papal comment to the very same effect. " Romæ qui sedem tenet caput est et princeps omnium Patriarcharum ; quandoquidem ipse est primus, sicut Petrus :—cui data est potestas in omnes Principes Christianos, et omnes populos eorum, ut qui sit Vicarius Christi Domini nostri, super cunctos populos et universam Ecclesiam Christianam." Hard. i. 469. Thus, first, he who held the Roman See was, as *Peter's successor*, the chief and head of all Patriarchs, or was in his *priestly* character the head of the

Church so far associated with the city :—the apostate Church's *False Prophet* being to the last in company and alliance with the *Beast*. Compare what is said at the close of this chapter of the treading of the vine being *without the city* ; and so too apparently the locality of the war of Armageddon.

represented *Rome* in its character of the Papal See, and Mother Church of the apostate churches of Western Christendom ; including doubtless, as part and parcel of herself, the Ecclesiastical state, or Peter's Patrimony, in Italy and the vast domains, convents, churches, and other property appertaining to the Papal Church elsewhere, both in Europe and over the world.¹ Which premised, there seems nothing more needed, in order to the complete exposition of the vision, than the observations following. — 1st, that, as in the emblem the Beast's body both upheld, and was subject to, the Woman the rider, so the Empire, as a whole, with the power of its ten secular kingdoms and many peoples, upheld, and was also at the same time ruled by, Papal Rome, the Mother Church of Christendom : (not to add that the Pope too for the time being, or Beast's ruling Head, fully concurred and took part in the same act ; *sustaining* his Church upon the seven hills, even as one married to it,² to use the phraseology of the Roman Law ;³ and gloryingly up-bearing and exhibiting her, somewhat as the heathen Jove might be represented as carrying, or ridden by, his concubine :)⁴

whole priesthood of Christendom, i. e. of the Apocalyptic *False Prophet*. But, besides this, he had a different and a higher character, that of CHRIST'S VICAR : (rather *Antichrist* :)—in which astounding dignity he was above, and ruler of, *all people*, kings included, throughout all Christendom ; that is, the *Head of the Apocalyptic antichristian Beast*. See Vol. iii. p. 172.

¹ Vitranga understands the *Great City* in its *largest* sense, and as comprehending its decem-regal empire, both in xi. 13, where a tenth part of the city is said to have fallen, and in xvi. 16, where it is said to have been divided into three parts ; but in this xviith chapter he understands it in the strictest sense of the *City of Rome* exclusively. And so too Daubuz, p. 800. I think it more reasonable however to understand it, as I have done, with a larger latitude : else how could the ten kings generally take their part, at God's set time, in "eating her flesh," &c.—It is observable that both in Jeremiah's Lamentations, *Jerusalem personified* is spoken of sometimes as *Judah* ; (compare Lam. i. 3. 7, &c, &c :) and that in the medals struck after the Roman capture of Jerusalem, the personified city has the legend *Judæa Capta*.

² See Vol. iii. p. 150, Notes ² and ³.—"The proud Church of Rome," says Bale in fitter phrase, "the *paramour* of Antichrist."—So, in the medals of ancient Rome, the *Roma Dea* was sometimes depicted as crowning the Emperor, sometimes crowned by the Emperor.

³ "Necessitas imponit marito *mulieris sustentationem* sufferre." Ulpian. Digest. l. 2 tit. 3. leg. 22.

⁴ Daubuz illustrates from a picture of the rape of Europa, as described by Achilles Tatius, the manner in which we may consider the woman to have sate on the Beast ; viz. sideways, as women generally ride in our country. He says 'Η παρθενος μεσοις επεκαθητο τοις νωτοις του βοος, ου περιβαδην, αλλα κατα πλευραν επι δεξιη συμβασα τω ποδε. Erot. Lib. i.

**ROME, MOTHER & MISTRESS.
HOLDING OUT THE CUP OF HER APOSTACY.**

A Papal Medal struck at Rome on occasion of the last Jubilee

—2. That as the woman was here depicted before St. John under a double character, viz. as a harlot to the ten kings, and a vintner or tavern-hostess vending wines to the common people,¹ (just according to the custom of earlier times in which the harlot and the hostess of a tavern were characters frequently united,²) so the Church of Rome answered to the symbol in either point of view: interchanging mutual favours, such as might suit their respective characters, with the kings of Anti-Christendom; and to the common people dealing out for sale, the wine of the poison³ of her fornication, her indulgences, relics, transubstantiation-cup, as if the cup of salvation, &c, (see the Pope's own most illustrative medal pointing the application,)⁴ therewith drugging, and making them besotted and drunk:—3. that with regard to the portraiture of the woman, “robed in purple and scarlet, and adorned with gold and precious stones and pearls,”⁵ it is, as applied to the Romish Church, a picture characteristic and from the life; the dress specified being distinctively that of the Romish ecclesiastical dignitaries,⁶ and the ornaments those with which it has been bedecked beyond any

Under a different kind of figure, the great City of the seven hills is represented elsewhere as the ruling Pope's throne and seat. So Apoc. xiii. 2; “The Dragon gave him up his power and his *throne* :” that is, on the seven hills; spoken of also xvi. 10.—Similarly Zion is at one time represented in scripture as the Lord's *throne*, at another as his *spouse* : e. g. Jer. iii. 17, Isa. lxii. 5.

¹ Compare Apoc. xvii. 4, “Having a golden cup in her hand, full of abominations and the filthiness of her fornication;” xiv. 8, “Babylon hath fallen because she hath made all nations to drink of the wine of her fornication;” and xviii. 3, She hath made all the nations to drink of the wine of her fornication, and the kings of the earth have committed fornication with her.”

² So Daubuz.—For example, the reader may remember disquisitions in vindication of the character of Rahab, founded on the frequent identity of the *παρδοχους* and the *πορνη*.

³ See Note ¹ p. 67. *suprà*. *Mede* too thus construes the word *θυμς*, as *Daubuz*.

⁴ First struck just after the commencement of the 6th Vial's outpouring; and exhibited now first to the Protestant world just before the 7th Vial's effusion;—the precise time, if I mistake not, that the vision is to be referred to. Compare this example of *allusive contrast* with that given Vol. ii. p. 58.

In an *ancient* medal *imperial* Rome is also figured as a Woman sitting on the seven hills, and with her right hand also extended: but in that case the right hand holds an *image of Victory*, not a *cup*; and her left a *sword*, not a *cross*. (Rasche iv. 1144.) The contrast is striking.

⁵ The comment of Tichonius is, “Ornatu vario et lapidibus pretiosis; id est omnibus illecebris simulatæ veritatis.” (Qu. *virtutis* ?)

⁶ For these colours appertain to the ecclesiastical dignitaries, I believe, of no other church existing;—e. g. neither of the Greek, Armenian, Coptic, nor English.

church called Christian ;¹ nay, beyond any religious body and religion probably that has ever existed in the world : —not to add that even the very name on the harlot's forehead, *Mystery*, (a name allusive evidently to St. Paul's predicted *mystery of iniquity*²) was one, if we may repose credit on no vulgar authority,³ once written on the Pope's tiara ; and the Apocalyptic title, "Mother of harlots and of the abominations of the earth," the very parody, if I may so say, of the title Rome arrogates to herself, "Rome, Mother and Mistress :"⁴—4. that as to the Harlot's depicted drunkenness with the blood of the saints, its applicability to the Romish Church, throughout the latter half at least of its patron the Beast's 1260 predicted years of prospering,⁵ is written in deep-dyed characters on the page of history, and superabundant evidence thereof given in other parts of this book.

In these several points I have embraced, I believe, all the main characteristics of the depicted Harlot's *general* portraiture and history.⁶ There is further added by the

¹ Bishop Newton exemplifies from the riches of the chapel at Loretto : "The riches of whose holy image, and house, and treasury,—the golden angels, the gold and silver lamps, the vast number, variety, and richness of the jewels, of the vestments for the holy image and for the priests, with the prodigious treasure of all sorts, are far beyond the reach of description : and, as Mr. Addison says, 'as much surpassed my expectation as other sights have generally fallen short of it. Silver can scarce find an admission ; and gold itself looks but poorly amongst such an incredible number of precious stones.'"—This is but a sample.

² "The *mystery of iniquity* doth already work : only he who now letteth will let until he be taken away : and then shall that Wicked One be revealed," &c. 2. Thess. ii. 7, 8. See Vol. iii. p. 77, &c.—There is a contrast in this to the *mystery of godliness*, 1 Tim. iii. 16. On which see my Vol. iii. pp. 154, 155.

Bishop Newton and others observe that there is an allusion here also to the custom of certain notorious prostitutes having their names written on a label on their foreheads :—as Seneca says ; "Nomen tuum pependit in fronte ; pretium stupri accepisti : " and Juneval, Sat. vi. 122 :—Nuda papillis

Constitit auratis, titulum mentita Lysiscæ.

Vitringa supposes the name to have been thus written ;

ΜΤΣΗΡΠΙΟΝ

ΒΑΒΥΛΟΝ Η ΜΕΓΑΛΗ

Ἡ ΜΗΤΗΡ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΡΝΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΒΛΕΤΤΙΜΑΤΩΝ
ΤΗΣ ΓΗΣ.

³ E. e. *Scaliger*, on the authority of an informant of the Duke of Montmorency whilst at Rome. And so again Francis Le Moyne and Brocardus, on ocular evidence, as they assure us ; saying that Julius III. removed it. See Daubuz, Vitringa, and Bishop Newton, ad loc.

⁴ So the Tridentine Council, "Romana Ecclesia aliarum omnium *Mater et Magistra*." Hard. x. 53. Whence the common phrase, *Our Holy Mother the Church*.

⁵ See Vol. ii. pp. 19, 28, 375, &c.

⁶ The prophecy was one much noted by the early Fathers. "Lege Apoca-

Angel an intimation of a downfall fated to happen to her *towards the end of her career*, from the ten kings, erewhile her devoted friends and subjects, turning against and tearing her ; as also of her partial recovery therefrom,¹ prior to final destruction. Of the first of these predicted facts we have traced the partial fulfilment at least in the Anti-Romish fury of the French Revolutionists, and the events consequent.² Of the recovery we see the fulfilment even now : for Rome's harlot Church appears at this present time putting on all her old bravery and boastings and charms, just as of old. As to the ultimate promised victory of the saints persecuted by her,—“the called, and chosen, and faithful ones,”—its fulfilment is yet future ;³ but surely, judging from the signs of the times, not so very far off.

Thus much as to the *figure* in the foreground of the picture now exhibited to St. John. We have next to consider the *local scene* associated in the picture with it.

“He carried me away in the Spirit to *a desert place* ; and I saw a woman sitting on a scarlet-coloured beast,” &c. *A desert place* :—such is the brief description primarily given of the *local scene* of the pictured Harlot. And, with a view to its right understanding, it will be important first to notice the absence of the article prefix ;⁴ for

lypain Joannis ; et quid de muliere purpuratâ, et scriptâ in ejus fronte blasphemiâ, septem montibus, aquis multis, et Babylonis cantetur exitu, contuere. *Exite*, inquit Dominus, *de illâ populus meus*, &c.” So in the Epistle of Paula and Eutochion ad Marcellam, apud Hieronymi Op. iv. ii. 551. The object of the letter was to urge Marcella to leave Rome for Bethlehem ; it being allowed that there was a holy church there, but the ambition and greatness of the city deprecated, as aliene from the monastic devotion.

¹ Let me abstract a rather notable passage from Daubuz on this point. He says (p. 784) that St. John's wondering (he being *a symbolic man*) shows that even to the end Babylon will be powerful, and the true worshippers affrighted : that, having recovered from former judgments and losses, she will again appear invested with very great power ; and, having no apprehension of her future destruction, which is to be very sudden and unexpected, will revive all her former pretensions : whereupon Protestants, who judge according to human wisdom only, may think that what she has done before (in the way of persecution) she may do still ; until ministers of God, like the angel, are made use of as instruments to show their fellow-protestants that the Romish Harlot is just about to be suddenly destroyed. ² See Part v. chap. v, in my Vol iii. p. 347, &c.

³ See verse 14 with note || p. 92 *suprà*.

⁴ *εις ερημον*. The absence of the definite article is the rather observable ; as it

thereby this desert scene is pointedly and at once distinguished from that into which the Woman, *the true Church*, of Apoc. xii. was previously said to have fled and hidden, for her destined 1260 days of obscurity, solitude, and trial: ¹ the latter being called ἡ ἐρημος, the desert, distinctively; or that which answered on the Apocalyptic earth to the great and terrible wilderness in which, under the older dispensation, the nation and church of Israel was for a long time hidden from the world.²—But what then *this* desert scene, pictorially associated with the Apocalyptic Harlot; and what its significance in the prefiguration? There are two *desolations*, or states of ἐρημία, predicted by the Angel as what would befall her at the termination of her appointed days of prosperity: the one *partial*, through the instrumentality of the ten kings, long her devoted adherents, but who would at length turn against and desolate her; ³ the other *total* and *final*, through the judgment by fire from Almighty God.⁴ And some have supposed this latter to be anticipatively signified by the desert in question.⁵ But the whole character of the Harlot's symbolization seems to me to negative the idea of either of these desolations being indicated in the desert scene depicted: for she was there represented, not as suffering under judgments either of human or divine origin, but in all the wantonness, pride, and gaudiness of a prospering harlotry.—Putting this then aside, there is to be observed, in the course of the Angel's explanatory statement, a certain further characteristic of the desert scene's ap-
is the only instance, I believe, in the New Testament in which the word occurs as a substantive without it.

¹ See my Vol. iii. pp. 56, 57—*Mr. Brooks* has fallen into the mistake of identifying the two ἐρημοί;—the stepping-stone to his identification of these two women. A fatal error, as it seems to me, to all true interpretation of the Woman of chap. xii. See my notice of his view of the Beast, &c. Part iv. chap. iii, Vol. iii. p. 62, &c.

² See Horne's Introduction, Vol. iii. p. 53.

³ Apoc. xvii. 16; "The ten horns shall hate the harlot, and make her desolate: *ἐρημωμένην ποιήσουσιν αὐτήν.*"

⁴ Apoc. xviii. 17, 19; "For in one hour she hath been desolated;" *μικρὴ ὥρα ἐρημώθη.*

⁵ Such for example is Daubuz's explanation of the woman's position; "as just upon the brink of destruction, and ready to become desolate." p. 749. But where is there any parallel case to this in Scripture? The Scriptural pictures are in better keeping.

pearance to St. John, which may perhaps throw light on the question ; viz. that it appeared to a considerable extent *flooded with water*, round where the woman was seated on her subject Beast :—"The waters," it is said, "that thou sawest, where the woman sitteth."¹ And hence in fact Vitringa draws his explanation,² to the effect that the local scene exhibited was designed to answer to the chorography of the *Euphratean Babylon* ; which, being finally surrounded by marshes, from the circumstance of the waters of the river overflowing and stagnating round it, was designated by the Prophet Isaiah as "*the desert of the sea.*"³ But Vitringa should have observed that the Angel's discourse intimates yet a third and still more notable feature in the chorographic scene ; viz. that of *seven hills* appearing conspicuous in it :⁴ so that the conclusion we finally come to, and that by necessary inference, is, that this was in fact not a picture of Babylonia, but of the *Campagna of Rome* itself.

But here arises the question of difficulty. How so, —considering that this Campagna was in St. John's time, and had been for many centuries, a scene nearly the most cultivated, as well as populous, in the world ; and every way one presenting the greatest contrast in appearance to a marshy desert ? The explanation, as it seems to me, is to be found very clearly given⁵ in the history of its state at that precise time, when the ten-horned Beast of Western Anti-christendom having just previously emerged into existence, the harlot-church of Rome first rose on its back to supremacy. For this let me refer to Gibbon ; who, when about to describe Rome's revival and restoration to dominion, in the new character of *Rome Papal*, under Gregory the First's Pontificate, near about the close of the 6th century, gives a descriptive sketch of the then Campagna which

¹ Apoc. xvii. 15.² p. 1015.

³ Isa. xxi. 1. So too Jer. li. 13 ; "Thou that sitteth on the many waters."—This predicted desert state was very much the actual state of the Euphratean Babylon in St. John's time. His cotemporary Pliny speaks of it as then a great desert, and desolate wilderness.

⁴ Apoc. xvii. 9.

I have, however, no where seen allusion to this explanation.

one might almost suppose drawn, like so many other of his pictures, for the very purpose of illustrating this passage of the Apocalyptic prophecy.¹ He states that at that time, (chiefly from the long-continued and perpetual harass of barbarian incursions,) “the Campagna was reduced to the state of a *dreary wilderness*; the land barren, the waters impure, the air infectious.” He further notices the superadded desolation from the effect of *inundations* of the Tiber, which (especially at the time of Gregory’s elevation) had “rushed with irresistible violence into the *vallies of the seven hills*,” and there bred pestilence from “the *stagnation of the deluge* : ”² and, after remarking on the awful “depopulation, vacancy, and solitude of the city,” observes that, “*like Babylon*, the name of Rome might have been erased from the earth, if the city had not been animated by a vital principle,” (that of being St. Peter’s See, and the depository too both of *his* sacred relics and of those of his brother-martyr *Paul*,) “which again restored her³ to honour and dominion : ”—restored her to it in the new character of “Rome, Mother and Mistress,” the Harlot-Church of the seven hills.—A more general description to the same effect, of the countries over which this Harlot-Church extended her sway, and whence she drew her riches, is given by Robertson. In his sketch of the state of Western Europe,⁴ after the subsidence of the barbarian invasions, at the first commencement of the middle age, he observes that, in consequence of existing depopulation, districts once the most cultivated (he especially particularizes Italy) were in some parts converted into forests, in others into marshes, by the overflow of rivers

¹ Decline and Fall, Vol. viii. pp. 158—161.

² Gibbon alludes, in a Note, to an account of this inundation brought by one of his Deacons to *Gregory of Tours* (x. 1.) ; in which was the further report of a *dragon* having appeared in the flood, and, while passing down by the Tiber into the sea, being stranded. Considering the emblematic sense attached to this flood by the Angel, and its identification with the one mentioned as cast out of the Dragon’s mouth in Apoc. xii. 15, it is curious to compare the report of the Deacon on this point with the Apocalyptic symbol of the Dragon’s standing on the shore of the flood, and resigning his empire to the new rising Beast, Apoc. xii. 18, xiii. 2.

³ So Gibbon impersonates Rome as a *Woman*.

⁴ Charles the Fifth ; Note 5, Proofs and Illustrations.

and stagnating of the floods : insomuch that in some of the earliest charts extant, lands granted to *monasteries* and individuals were distinguished into such as were cultivated, and such as were *eremi*, or *desert* ; the reason of the grant being frequently this, that the grantee had reclaimed them *ab eremo*, from the *desert*.¹

Thus we see that the *desert scene* associated with the woman, in the pictured landscape exhibited to St. John, was a *picture admirably perfect*, as *from the life* :—a true and faithful portraiture first of the *Campagna of Rome* itself, as it appeared at the time when (so as under Leo the First² or Gregory) the Harlot established her supremacy thereupon ; and also of *the countries of Western Europe* generally, over which her spiritual dominion was thenceforward extended. And not only was the pictured scene admirable in this point of view ; but also for its having an *emblematic*, as well as *literal*, significancy and truth. As *the seven hills* in the landscape were not merely a natural feature of the scene, but also symbolized the seven several forms of government that Rome would previously have experienced,³—so the floods that inundated the base of those hills where the woman had her seat, were not only *literally* true, as a feature of the Campagna when Papal Rome rose to dominion, but also furnished the Angel with an apt *symbol* of the barbarian floods which, after pouring into and desolating the empire, would at length constitute nations, tribes, and languages, subject to Papal Rome's dominion.⁴ This seems to me the perfection of symbolic figures ; a perfection frequently observable in those of the Apocalypse.⁵—Besides which it must be observed that the presence of the *flood* in this picture, whence we may suppose the Beast to have emerged on which the woman sate, made it, if I might so say, the precise pair and counterpart to a

¹ He refers to Du Cange on *Eremus*.

² See the extract from Leo's Sermon given by me, Vol. iii. p. 129.

³ Apoc. xvii. 10. See the solution, Part iv. Chap. iv. ; Vol. iii. p. 92, &c.

⁴ Apoc. xvii. 15.—Bossuet objects, Were this Woman an apostatized *Christian* Church or City, she would be called an *adulteress*, not *harlot*, or *πορνή*. In answer I refer to Matt. v. 32, xix. 9, and Isa. i. 21, &c. *Sept.*

⁵ See the Section beginning Vol. i. p. 394.

notable one shown in an earlier vision to St. John :¹ I mean to that which represented a flood cast from the Dragon's mouth, in order to drown the *faithful* woman, or Church ; out of which, after *her* escape and disappearance, and when the earth had drained off and absorbed the waters, with but the remnant of a lake remaining, a seven-headed ten-horned Beast, like this very one, appeared to emerge.—It is a new *tache* of connexion between the figurations in this and the other Apocalyptic series.

It only remains that I add a remark on the *Vial-Angel* who exhibited this vision to St. John, and the *manner* in which John was carried away *in the Spirit* to see it.² The *latter* point is to be explained, I conceive, from the circumstance of the vision being one altogether out of its chronological order and place ; and exhibiting consequently that which Christ's people, living at the time of the Vials, would only be able to see *mentally*, not by the bodily eye.³—And as to the *Angel*, I think that particular Vial-Angel must be supposed the revealer, in the time of whose vial-outpouring a full understanding might prove to be given of the mystery of the Woman and the Beast :—perhaps the *sixth* Angel ; perhaps the *seventh* or *last*.⁴

So the mystery of the Woman and her subject Beast was made manifest to St. John, in all its details, just before the figuration of their total and final destruction.—

¹ Apoc. xii. 15, xiii. 1.

² “ And he carried me away *in the Spirit* to a desert place ; and I saw,” &c.

³ Compare the retrospective view of the Two Witnesses' history given in Apoc. xi. The Angel gives it all in the form of retrospective *narrative*, until he has brought down their history to the time corresponding with that of his descent. Whereupon (but not before) the Witnesses are brought on the scene in actual vision. See Vol. ii. pp. 406—409.

⁴ I might have supposed the Angel to be the *representative of the whole septenary of the vial-angels*, after the analogy of the *one* out of the *four living creatures* that gave the vials to these angels, xv. 7, and explained it of the light thrown on the character and fated judgment of the harlot Rome, during the whole time of these vials' outpouring, i. e. of the judgments of the French Revolution, but for the notice of another of the vial-angels, xxi. 9, showing St. John the *New Jerusalem* ; which angel cannot with chronological propriety be supposed the representative of all the seven, but the seventh only.

Has there not of late been some advance to a fulfilment of the vision ?

3. Next came the vision of another Angel, and of the destruction of Babylon following on his appearance ; which began as follows :

“ And after these things ¹ I saw another Angel coming

¹ The whole chapter xviii. is as follows.

1. And after these things I saw another angel coming down * from heaven, having great power ; † and the earth was lightened with his glory. 2. And he cried with a strong voice, ‡ saying, Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen, and is become the habitation of devils, and the prison-house of every foul spirit, and the prison § of every unclean and hateful bird : 3. for all nations have drunk of the wine of the poison || of her fornication ; and the kings of the earth have committed fornication with her ; and the merchants of the earth are waxed rich through the abundance of her luxury. ¶

4. And I heard another voice from heaven, saying, Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues ! 5. For her sins have reached unto heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities. 6. Reward her even as she rewarded you ; and double unto her double, according to her works : in the cup which she hath filled, fill to her double ! 7. How much she hath glorified herself, and lived luxuriously, ** so much torment and sorrow give her ! As to that †† she saith in her heart, I sit a queen, and am no widow, and shall see no sorrow ; 8. therefore shall her plagues come in one day, death, ‡‡ and mourning, and famine ; and she shall be utterly burnt with fire : for strong is the Lord who judgeth her.

9. And the kings of the earth who have committed fornication, and lived luxuriously with her, shall bewail her, and lament for her, when they shall see the smoke of her burning ; 10. standing afar off for the fear of her torment : saying, Alas, alas, that great city Babylon, that mighty city ; for in one hour is thy judgment come.

11. And the merchants of the earth shall weep and mourn over her ; for no man buyeth their merchandize any more :—12. The merchandize of gold, and silver, and precious stones, and of pearls, and fine linen, and purple, and silk, and scarlet, and all thyine wood, and all manner of vessels of ivory, and all manner of vessels of most precious wood, and of brass, and iron, and marble ; 13. and cinnamon, and |||| odours, and ointments, and frankincense, and wine, and oil, and fine flour, and wheat, and beasts, and sheep, and horses, and chariots, and slaves, §§ and souls of men. 14. And the fruits, ¶¶ that the soul lusted after,

* Καταβαινοντα.

† or *authority* ; εξουσιαν.

‡ Scholz and Tregelles read, εν ισχυρα φωνη, simply.

§ φυλακη is the Greek word used in either clause ; though our translation gives two renderings, “ the *hold* of every foul spirit, and *cage* of every unclean bird.” || θυμον See Note ¹ p. 67 *suprà*.

¶ σπηνους in our translation *delicacies*.

** εσρηνιασε.

†† οτι λεγει κ. τ. λ. I prefer to construe the οτι disjointly, *As to that*, with reference to the *therefore* in the clause *following*, as its consequent ; and not to make it the consequent of what precedes.

‡‡ θανατος perhaps *pestilence*, as Apoc. vi. 8.

|||| Scholz and Tregelles here insert και αμωμον, and the *amomum* : a tree from which one of the most esteemed ointments of the ancients was made. See Schleusner on the word.

§§ σωμάτων.

¶¶ σπαρα. Compare the emblems of the *harvest* and *vintage*, Apoc. xiv. discussed pp. 75, 80, &c.

down from heaven having great power," (probably as the appointed executor of the coming judgment that he announced,¹) "and the earth was lightened with his glory. And he cried mightily with a strong voice, saying, Babylon the Great hath fallen, hath fallen; for all the nations have drunk of the wine of the poison of her for-

are departed from thee; and all things which were dainty and goodly are departed from thee: and thou shalt find them no more at all.

15. The merchants of these things which were made rich by her, shall stand afar off, for the fear of her torment, weeping and wailing: 15. and saying, Alas, alas, that great city, that was clothed in fine linen, and purple, and scarlet, and decked with gold, and precious stones, and pearls! For in one hour so great riches is come to nought.

17. And every shipmaster, and all the company in ships,* and sailors, and as many as trade by sea, stood afar off; 18. and cried, when they saw the smoke of her burning, saying, What city is like unto this great city? 19. And they cast dust on their heads, and cried, weeping and wailing; saying, Alas, alas, that great city, wherein were made rich all that had ships in the sea, by reason of her costliness; for in one hour is she made desolate.

20. Rejoice over her, thou heaven, and ye holy apostles and prophets; for God hath avenged you on her.

21. And a mighty angel took up a stone like a great mill-stone, and cast it into the sea; saying, Thus, with violence, shall that great city Babylon be thrown down, and shall be found no more at all. 22. And the voice of harpers and musicians, and of pipers and trumpeters, shall be heard no more at all in thee: and no craftsman, of whatsoever craft he be, shall be found any more in thee: and the sound of a mill-stone shall be heard no more at all in thee: 23. and the light of a candle shall shine no more at all in thee: and the voice of the bridegroom and of the bride shall be heard no more at all in thee. For thy merchants were the great men of the earth: for by thy sorceries were all nations deceived.

24. And in her was found the blood† of prophets, and of saints, and of all that were slain upon the earth."

xix. 1. "And after these things I heard‡ a great voice of much people in heaven, saying, Alleluia! Salvation, and glory, and honour, and power unto the Lord our God! || 2. For true and righteous are his judgments: for he hath judged the great whore, which did corrupt the earth with her fornication, and hath avenged the blood of his servants at her hands. 3. And again they said Alleluia! And her smoke rose up for ever and ever. 4. And the four-and-twenty elders and the four living creatures fell down, and worshipped God that sat on the throne, saying, Amen; Alleluia!"

¹ So the Lord, who announced to Abraham that he was come down to inquire into the wickedness of Sodom, preparatorily to judgment on it, was himself that judgment's executor. Compare Gen. xviii. 20, xix. 22.

On the propriety and force of epithets attached to Apocalyptic agents, as having reference to what they had to perform, compare what is said of the ζων of Apoc. vii. 2, and the ισχυρος of Apoc. x. 1, in my Vol. i. p. 247, and Vol. ii. pp. 40, 41. So again Apoc. xviii. 21.

* Scholz and Tregelles read, παρ ὃ ἐπὶ τοπον πλεων.

† Scholz reads αἱματα in the plural:—a form of the word of which no other example occurs, I believe in the New Testament, except in John i. 13. In the Septuagint it is not very infrequent.

‡ Griesbach, Scholz, and Tregelles prefix ὡς.

|| Or, "is our God's;" according to the reading of Scholz, Griesbach, and Tregelles; ἡ σωτηρια, καὶ ἡ δοξα, καὶ ἡ δυναμις του Θεου ἡμων.

nication," &c. It was a cry almost precisely the same in terms with that of the second flying angel of Apoc. xiv,¹ though with the notable added circumstance that "she was become the habitation of demons, and prison-house of every unclean spirit;"² and like that former voice, moreover, (notwithstanding the use of the *past* tense in the sentence,) still *anticipative* :³ but anticipative at the very smallest interval before the catastrophe : and not without an effulgence of light, as well as strength of cry, correspondent with the urgency of the time ; even as its *last*, as well as loudest echo, upon the ear of nations. —And then followed a warning voice from heaven, heard loud and distinct by St. John, in his symbolic character, as I presume ; that is, as the representative of *Christ's true saints and servants* then living : "Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues : for her sins have reached unto heaven."⁴ A warning like that of the Covenant-Angel to Lot, on the eve of the destruction of Sodom ;⁵ or that from God, through Moses, to the surrounding Israelites, the moment before the earthquake that swallowed up the tents of Dathan and Abiram :⁶ and which indicated two things respecting them : 1st, that there would be even then some of the holy seed in the mystic Babylon : 2ndly, that their danger of participation in its coming destruction, whether through mistakes of judgment, or sluggish lingering, would be extreme and imminent.⁷—After which that same voice apparently, addressed still and all through to the saints,⁸

¹ See p. 67, *suprà*, on xiv. 8.

² Compare Apoc. xx. 10.

³ For the cry, "Come out of her my people," follows.

⁴ So, Gen. xviii. 21, when Sodom's cry was said to have come up to heaven, its judgment was close at hand.—In proof that the voice from heaven to St. John indicates a conviction strongly to be made on the minds of God's saints at the time prefigured, I refer the reader to the notable precedents of Apoc. vii. x. &c. See my Vol. i. pp. 267, &c ; and in my Vol. ii, the whole historical comment on Apoc. x. 1—xi. 3.

⁵ Gen. xix. 16—22.

⁶ Numb. xvi. 23—33.—I might add that of Christ to the disciples, with reference to the time of the siege of Jerusalem, commencing, "Then let them that be in Judea flee to the mountains," &c ; Matt. xxiv. 16 :—a warning doubtless impressed on their minds by the Holy Spirit at the intended crisis, though uttered long before.—Compare too Jer. li. 6.

⁷ See Vol. iii. p. 249.

⁸ Vitringa supposes the verses 4 and 5, only, to be the voice to St. John from

describes in vivid detail the catastrophe, even as if enacted before the evangelist's eyes on the scene of vision ; though with that mixture of the future and past with the present, that is so common in the descriptions of prophecy : ¹ in the first place depicting the *nature of the catastrophe*,—its suddenness when least expected,²—its instantaneousness, as all completed in an hour,³—its totality, such that all life was quenched in it,⁴—its manner, with violence like as of the shock of a mill-stone hurled into the waters,⁵—and the instrumentality employed, viz. that of fire, eternal fire, of which the smoke goeth up for ever :⁶—then detailing the *lamentations* over its fall, first of the kings of earth that ere while committed fornication with it,⁷ next successively of the merchants and shipmasters and sailors that were enriched by, or took part in, its various branches of traffic,⁸ all standing afar off (the expression is most gra-

heaven, and that the διπλώσατε αὐτήν, "Double to her," &c, is addressed to the kings. A strange hypothesis surely !—For the *saints*, not the *kings*, are the injured ones ; and the *saints* the avengers of those wrongs, in God's retributive justice.

¹ The *future* is in fact the characteristic tense of the description, until verse 17, when it is changed for the *past* ; the past tenses *previously* used being those of speakers that are themselves introduced in the *future*. For example it is said in verses 10, 11, "The kings of the earth *shall bewail* her, standing afar off, Alas, that great city ; in one hour *has* thy judgment *come*." But in the 17th it is said, "And every shipmaster *stood* afar off." Yet even after this, the Angel that took up the mill-stone uses the future, "Thus *shall* great Babylon be cast down ;" οὕτως βληθήσεται. In verse 24 the past is used again.—In prophecies where the future may be used with reference to the actual time of the prophet's seeing the vision, as well as with reference to the thing represented in the prophetic vision, the tenses used must be reasoned from with great caution. I have spoken of this before. Compare the interchange of tenses in the Angel's narrative of the two witnesses, Apoc. xi : also in xvii ; and again in xx. 4, 6 : where "*reigned*" (εβασίλευσαν) and "*shall reign*" (βασιλεύσουσι) are used interchangeably. For a notable example elsewhere, see the prophecy of Isa. liii.

² So verse 7 ; "She saith, I sit as a queen, and shall see no sorrow."

³ So verses 10, 17, 19 ; μία ὥρα ηρημώθη.—In verse 8 it is said, "In *one day* shall thy plagues come,—pestilence, and mourning, and famine : " as if, possibly, for a *year* before the final catastrophe by fire, there were to be some terrible visitation of Rome with pestilence and famine.

⁴ So verses 22, 23, "And the voice of harpers, &c, &c, shall be heard no more in thee : " &c.

⁵ Verse 21.

⁶ So verses 8, 9, 18, of chap. xviii. and xix. 3 : in which last the strongest expression is used to depict the eternity of the fire ; "Her smoke riseth up εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, *for ages of ages*."

⁷ Verse 9.

⁸ Verses 11, 17.—The wares traded in may be thus classified :—1. Gold, silver, precious stones, pearls, ivory, brass, iron, marble, wood ;—2. Linen, purple, silk, scarlet :—3. Cinnamon, odours, ointments, frankincense ;—4. Wine and

phic) for fear of the smoke of her burning :—and, finally, stating two *reasons* for the judgment ; one, that all nations had been deceived by her sorceries,¹ the other and chief reason, because of her having been the persecutor of the saints, and the blood of their successive generations being found in her.²—After which, and the completion of her destruction,³ a burst of songs of praise was heard to resound from a great multitude in heaven, saying, “ Alleluia ! The salvation, and the glory, and the power is our God’s : for true and just are his judgments ; for he hath judged the great whore ; ” &c. Twice was that song of praise uttered : and then the twenty-four elders and four living creatures took it up, and repeated it : (*it is the last act related of them :*) worshipping in prostrate adoration the Divine One that sat upon the throne ; and saying, Amen, Alleluia !

From which passage I draw the following conclusions, as to the probable progress of events in the fast coming future. 1st, (and *this* with strong conviction in my own mind of its truth,) that the fate of ROME, the mystic Babylon,—comprehending not the mere *city* of Rome, but at least the *Papal Ecclesiastical State* in Italy, and *Papal Metropolitan Bishopric*,⁴ together probably with that third, or more, out of the political tri-partition of

oil, wheat and fine flour, sheep and cattle ;—5. Horses and chariots ;—6. Bodies and souls of men.—The last ψυχας ανθρωπων appears at first sight, as applied to the mystic Babylon or Rome, very remarkably applicable in a spiritual sense. But it is an expression used elsewhere simply to mean *persons*, especially *slaves* ; e. g. in Numb. xxxi. 35, ψυχαι ανθρωπων απο των γυναικων, for *women slaves* : and so Hesychius explains ψυχαγωγοι as ανδραποδισαι. Consequently it must not be insisted on as implying Rome’s traffic in *souls* ; though very possibly not unintended.

¹ Verse 23. Compare Apoc. ix. 21.

² Verses 6, 20, 24.—Compare Apoc. ix. 21 :—also what our Lord says of the blood of all the prophets slain in Jerusalem coming on that generation, in Matt. xxiii. 35, 36.

³ For this is made the subject of their adoration : and it is added as a notice connected with it, in verse 3, “ And her smoke ascendeth up for ever and ever.”

⁴ So that of Sodom involved that of “ the cities and *all the plain* ” adjacent and connected, and all the inhabitants of the cities, and that which grew upon the ground.” Gen. xix. 25.—On this understanding of the extent of the country desolated, the amaze and consternation of the kings, merchants, and shipmasters, that are represented as lamenting over the catastrophe of the great city, will be well accounted for.—The Pope’s most ancient Metropolitan jurisdiction extended over the ten provinces of the *Vicarius Urbicus* ; viz. Campania, Tuscia, Umbria, Picenum, Valeria, Samnium, Apulia and Calabria, Lucania and the Bruttii, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica. Bingham, ix. 1. 9.

Christendom, a little before described as occurring, that might then adhere to it,¹—is, very soon after that tri-partition, to be effected by the sudden and tremendous agency of an *earthquake* and *volcanic fire*.²—a mode of destruction not obscurely intimated by certain very striking allusive expressions in other prophecies both of the Old and New Testament,³ and thus expected, as we find,

¹ Apoc. xvi. 19. See p. 91 *suprà*.

² It is scarcely needful to say that the hypothesis of *unquenched volcanic fire*, with the shocks of an earthquake accompanying, (a natural and usual concomitant of volcanic eruption,) best suits the descriptive notices of the city falling as with the shock of a mill-stone hurled into the sea, and of its smoke rising up (like that of Sodom, Jude 7) *for ever and ever*. The only other offered explanation,—viz. that which refers the catastrophe to the fire with which the ten kings are represented elsewhere as consuming the harlot,—might answer sufficiently well were it merely said that the Great City was burnt, and the smoke ascended up (like that of Ai and Gibeah, Josh. viii. 20, Judg. xx. 40) to heaven. But both Vitringa and Daubuz, though adopting this theory, confess its inaptness to the strength of the expression, “goeth up *for ever and ever* ;” and the latter suggests (and the former had in his own mind, if I mistake not) the volcanic theory, as an alternative. Besides, how could the kings be the burners now, when they are the mourners? And again, were the mere burning of Rome by *human* agency the thing intended, whence all the terror, and standing afar off, of the kings, merchants, and shipmasters? The theory seems to me palpably untenable; and will appear yet more so from what is said, as I shall afterwards observe, in xix. 20 and xx. 10, about the Beast’s and the Devil’s sentence of judgment, as in some way connected with that of the eternal sulphur-fire of the mystic Babylon.

Vitringa and Daubuz, in common with all other Commentators that lived before the French Revolution, were under the disadvantage of not having seen a spoiling and burning of the harlot’s flesh (as it were) by the ten kings, prior to, and altogether distinct from, that of its great and final catastrophe. We *have* seen it; and that its time was, as Daubuz expected it would be (see p. 800 of his Commentary) at the end, at least *primary* end, of the Beast’s 1260 years of prospering.

How different this ending to Rome and the Popedom from what Mr. Townshend has said he expects. “When Rome changes, and *it will be changed*, by the blessing of the Almighty imbuings in his own good time the nations of the earth with the same conviction with which He has so long imbued the mind of England; and then will there be peace with Rome.” Pref. to Foxe, p. 27.

³ I shall only cite from the *Old Testament*, 1. Isa. xxxiv. 9, 10; “And the streams three of (i. e. of the mystic Edom) shall be turned into pitch, and the dust thereof into brimstone, and the land thereof shall become burning pitch; it shall not be quenched night nor day: the smoke thereof shall go up for ever:”—this mystic Edom being but the figurative name, it has been very generally supposed, of *Rome*:—2. Jer. li. 25; “I am against thee, O destroying mountain, saith the Lord; and I will stretch out mine hand upon thee, and roll thee down from the rocks, and make thee a burnt mountain:”—a prophecy respecting the New Testament Babylon, or *Rome*, as it is generally allowed, yet more than its type the ancient Babylon. (Vid. Lowth, *ad loc.*)—From the *New Testament* I shall only here cite Luke xvii. 28, 32; “As it was in the days of Lot, they ate, they drank; . . . but in the day when Lot departed from Sodom, the Lord rained fire and brimstone from heaven, and destroyed them all, so shall it be in the day when the Son of man is revealed. Remember Lot’s wife.”—Other passages will occur for comparison when we come to a later passage of the prophecy; as, for example, Isa. xxx. 33, &c.

alike by ancient Jewish Rabbies¹ and Christian Fathers :² not to add that the very nature of the Italian soil has forced on many a mind in different ages the thought of its almost preparedness for such a catastrophe.³—2ndly,

¹ Vitranga cites some authorities of this kind at p. 1065 of his *Apocalypse*; the Jewish opinion being founded, he says, on the passage from Isaiah xxxiv. 9. given in the Note preceding, as Edom was supposed to mean Rome. So 1st, the Chaldean paraphrase, translated by Vitranga; "Et convertentur flumina Romæ in picem, et terra ejus in sulphur, eritque terra in picem ardentem:" (let me add Kimchi: "This chapter points out the future destruction of Rome, here called Bozra, for Bozra was a great city of the Edomites:" Clarke in loc.) 2. Rabbi Bechai in *Cad Hakkemach*, who says, "Illud est (sacrificium Holocausti) (Lev. vi. 9, 12) quod ascendit in focum, Regnum Romanum impium, quod se ipsum superbè extollit et effert, cujus finis est ut judicetur igne, quemadmodum dicitur, 'Hoc Holocaustum nunquam extinguetur,'" &c.—Vitranga observes elsewhere, p. 1061, that it was the belief of the Jews that the destruction of the ancient Babylon was the effect, not of man only, but of an *earthquake*.

² See Gibbon's summary, chap. xv.—"Intestine discord, the invasion of the fiercest barbarians from the unknown regions of the North, pestilence and famine, comets and eclipses, earthquakes and inundations, were only so many preparatory and alarming signs of the great catastrophe of Rome: when the country of the Scipios and Cæsars should be consumed by a flame from heaven; and the city of the seven hills, with her palaces, her temples, and her triumphal arches should be buried in a vast lake of fire and brimstone."—We may cite Tertullian, the Pseudo-Sibyl, Lactantius, &c. I have elsewhere cited even Gregory the Great, as acknowledging and expressing his belief in the tradition. "Roma à Gentilibus non exterminabitur; sed tempestatibus, coruscis turbinibus, ac terræ motu, in se marcescet." Dial. ii. 15.

³ It is not Ætna, the Lipari volcanic islands, Vesuvius, and the Phlegrean fields, that alone offer visible indication of the physical aptness and preparedness of Italy for such a catastrophe. The great Apennine mountain-chain, and its branches, are very mainly volcanic in character, from Reggio to Verona; and the country of Rome more especially, is as strikingly so almost, as that of Sodom itself. Let me quote an extract or two, from among multitudes to the same effect, in the mineralogist *Ferber's Tour in Italy* (Raspe's English Translation).—P. 189; "The road from Rome to Ostia is all volcanic ashes till within two miles of Ostia:" p. 191; "From Rome to Tivoli I went on fields and hills of volcanic ashes or tufo:—the water of the *Lago de 'Tartari*, on the left of the road, has a strong smell of the hepar sulphuris." p. 200: "A volcanic hill in an amphitheatrical form incloses a part of the plain over Albano, &c, and a flat country of volcanic ashes and hills, to Rome. The ground about Rome is generally of that nature." At p. 234, describing the route from Rome to Sienna, "one of the most remarkable in Italy to a naturalist," he says, that after the Ponte Molle volcanic tufo hills succeeded as far as Monte Rosi; behind which was a lava torrent; and, somewhat further, a small lake, *Lago di Monte Rosi*, which seemed to have been an old volcano. Then followed a large lake, *Lago di Vico*, the sunk crater of an old volcano:—and so on all the way to near Sienna. He elsewhere (p. 135) speaks of a subterranean connexion probably existing between Vesuvius, Solfatara, Ætna, Stromboli, and the Ocean.

We find in history that Rome, in the reigns of both Titus and Commodus, felt the shock of earthquakes, and the accompanying outburst of volcanic flame. See Xiphilinus, p. 227, and Herodian, i. 14. In the latter case, when the Temple of Peace was burnt down, Herodian suggests the alternative explanation of lightning or volcanic fire: εἴτε ἀκῆταις πυκτῶρ κατενεχθέντος, εἴτε καὶ πυρὸς ποθεν ἐκ τοῦ σεισμοῦ διαρρηγνύτος.

This physical aptitude of Italy for such an end is noted, though with his usual

I infer that immediately, or perhaps for some little time, preceding this event, there will be a diffusion of great religious light, and a sounding forth of strong appeals on the character and the fated and imminent doom of Rome and the Popedom, alike in the Church and in the world; ¹ so that all will see and take warning, but they that wilfully, and from worldliness, pride, or indifference to the truth, shut their eyes and ears to the evidence.² —3rdly, I infer that the *Jews* will probably just at, or after this catastrophe, be converted, (conjunctively with a vast number of the Gentiles,) the completed outpouring of the seven Vials having marked the time for it;³ and join, and indeed take the lead in, the earthly Church's song of praise on the occasion: the language used to designate this song in the Apocalyptic prefigurations, being now for the first time *Hebrew, Hallelujah*; ⁴ a circumstance certainly very remarkable, and

sneer, by Gibbon. "The country chosen for the origin and principal scene of the conflagration, was the best adapted for that purpose by natural and physical causes: by its deep caverns, beds of sulphur, and numerous volcanoes; of which those of *Ætna*, *Vesuvius*, and *Lipari*, exhibit a very imperfect representation." Ibid.

¹ So *Vitringa* (p. 1062) says, that the Angel's strong cry and accompanying refulgence of light, show first, that the report of Babylon's fall would be published through the world; secondly, that there would be in it a most illustrious manifestation of God's majesty. And *Daubuz* (p. 802), very similarly, that no Angel is said in Scripture to have appeared with such a light, without its being implied thereby that God would enlighten by a further knowledge of Himself those to whom the Angel was sent. Whence he infers that both the *idolaters* of the *corrupt Church* would be enlightened and converted by the fall of Babylon, and this event followed by a conversion more general. (For the former of which expectations however, I see no Scriptural reason.)—Both *Vitringa* and *Daubuz* compare Ezek. xliii. 2; "The glory of the God of Israel came from the way of the East, and his voice was like a noise of many waters; and the earth shined with his glory." Let me add Ezek. xxxix. 21; "I will set my glory among the heathen; and all the heathen shall see my judgment that I have executed:" that is on Gog's destruction.

² Compare St. Paul's words 2 Thess. ii. 10, 11, 12, "God shall send them strong delusion that they should believe a lie, that they all might be damned who believed not the truth," &c, with the Apocalyptic Babylon's confident boast, "I shall not be a widow," &c.—The subsequent prefiguration of the Beast and his army shows that the number of them that would resist all evidence, from hatred to the truth, will even at the last be very large.

³ Apoc. xv. 8. See Vol. iii. p. 287.

⁴ *Ἀλληλουία*, answering to the Hebrew *הַלְלֵי יְהוָה*, *Praise Jehovah*! Lightfoot observes that the *Hallel* is first used in Scripture at the end of Psalm civ; and that the Jews note respecting it, that this Hallel comes not till there be tidings of the destruction of ungodly men: "Let the sinners be consumed out of the earth, and let the wicked be no more. Bless the Lord, O my soul! Praise ye

noted by many previous commentators as having the meaning I suggest : ¹—not to add that its probability is enhanced, as I think, by the fact that the Jews themselves,—at least some of the most learned of their Rabbies,—have supposed that the restoration of their people is to follow on the fall of Rome.²—4thly, I infer that up to the time figured by this chorus of song, no translation of the living saints, or resurrection of the saints departed this life, will have taken place ; the scenery of the inmost temple, with its throne, and seated Divinity, and the elders and living creatures attendant near it, *the mystical representatives of the expectant Church in Paradise*,³ remaining still in the scene of vision as before.—Whether the scene still continued so, and the same inference might be made with regard to time at all later, is another question. But it is one which will more properly come under consideration in the chapter next but one following.⁴

4. Next after this, the Evangelist tells of a command issuing “ from the throne,” which called on all his servants and all that feared him, “ Praise ye our God ; ”⁵ and how thereupon a yet louder voice than before, even as of many waters and of great thunderings, (probably including therefore, both princes and people,) ⁶ was heard to burst forth in a new anthem of praise ; ⁷ its two

the Lord.” So Daubuz.—Let me add that Tobit xiii. 18, speaking of the rebuilding of Jerusalem says, “ And all her streets shall sing Alleluia.”

¹ So Brightman, Vitringa, Daubuz, &c, more or less : and among cotemporaries, Mr. Bickersteth.

² Kimchi says in Obadiah ; “ This is the hope of the nation, when Rome shall be desolated, there shall be the redemption of Israel.” Vitringa, p. 1066, refers for comparison to other testimonies given in Buxtorf on the word מְדִינָה.

³ See Vol. i. pp. 86—94.

⁴ Viz. on the Millennium.

⁵ We should mark the expression “ our God.” There is no various reading.

⁶ Compare Apoc. xiv. 2, and Vol. iii. p. 266.

⁷ I subjoin the chapter, as before.

xix. 5. “ And a voice came out of the throne, saying, Praise our God, all ye his servants, and ye that fear him, both small and great. 6. And I heard as it were the voice of a great multitude, and as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of mighty thunderings, saying, Alleluia, for the * Lord God omnipotent reigneth.† 7. Let us be glad and rejoice, and give honour to him : for the

* Scholz reads ἡμῶν, “ our God.”

† ἐβασίλευσε. So xi. 17.

themes being the now closely instant establishment of Christ's kingdom, and his marriage: the bride, it appeared, having had it granted her to be arrayed in the finest

marriage of the Lamb is come, and his wife hath made herself ready. 8. And to her it was granted* that she should be arrayed in fine linen, clean and white: for the fine linen is the righteousness of the saints. 9. And he saith unto me, Write, blessed are they which are called unto the marriage supper of the Lamb. And he saith unto me, These are the true sayings of God. 10. And I fell at his feet to worship him: and he saith unto me, See thou do it not: I am thy fellow-servant, and (the fellow-servant)† of thy brethren, that keep up ‡ the testimony of Jesus: worship God: for the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy.§

11. And I saw heaven opened, and behold a white horse; and he that sat upon him was called Faithful and True; and in righteousness he doth judge and make war. 12. His eyes were as a flame of fire, and on his head were many diadems; and he had a name written, that no man knew but himself. 13. And he was clothed in a vesture dipped in blood, and his name is called, The Word of God. 14. And the armies which were in heaven followed him upon white horses, clothed in fine linen, white and clean. 15. And out of his mouth goeth a sharp || sword, that with it he should smite the nations: and he shall rule over them with a rod of iron: and he treadeth the winepress of the fierceness and wrath of Almighty God. 16. And he hath on his vesture and on his thigh a ¶ name written, King of kings and Lord of lords.

17. And I saw an angel ** standing in the sun; and he cried with a loud voice, saying to all the fowls that fly in the midst of heaven, Come and gather yourselves together unto the supper of the great God; †† 18. that ye may eat the flesh of kings, and the flesh of captains, and the flesh of mighty men, and the flesh of horses and of them that sit on them, and the flesh of all men, both free and bond, both small and great.

19. And I saw the beast, and the kings of the earth, and their armies, gathered together to make war ‡‡ against him that sat on the horse, and against his army, 20. And the beast was taken, and with him the false prophet that wrought miracles before him, §§ with which he deceived them that had received the mark of the beast, and them that worshipped his image. These both were cast alive into the lake ||| of fire burning with brimstone. 21. And the remnant were slain with the sword of him that sat upon the horse, which sword proceeded out of his mouth: and all the fowls were filled with their flesh."

xx. "And I saw an angel come down from heaven, having the key of the bottomless pit, and a great chain in his hand. And he laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, which is the Devil and Satan, and bound him a thousand years," &c.

* *Και εδοθη αυτη.* Perhaps, "And it hath been granted to her;" as one of the joyful subjects of song to the hymnists.

† *συνδουλος σου εμι και των αδελφων σου.*

‡ *εχοντων την μαρτυριαν.* So Apoc. vi. 9; *Δια την μαρτυριαν ην ειχον.*

§ Of the prophecy, *της προφητειας.* So i. 3, xii. 7, 10, 18, 19.—Alike the Angel in his revelation, and the Evangelist in his life and doctrine, witnessed for Jesus.

|| Scholz inserts *διστομος*, two-edged. ¶ Scholz reads *το ονομα*, with the article-

** Scholz and Tregelles write *ενα αγγελον*, one angel.

†† Or, as Griesbach, Scholz and Tregelles, "the great supper of God."

‡‡ *τον πολεμον.* So Scholz, and Tregelles read it, both here and xx. 8. Usually, as in xii. 17 and xiii. 7, the article is not added. It seems to be the war of *Armageddon*, before resolved on.

§§ Scholz, *δ μετ' αυτου ψευδοπροφητης.*

||| *την λιμνην του πυρος την κα ομενην εν θειω.* Our translators have rendered it "a lake;" not marking the definite article: a mistake of no inconsiderable importance, as will appear afterwards in my comment.

white linen,¹ (which linen, it was said, was the righteousness² of *saints*, so marking *the saints* as *the bride*,) and the song retaining still the form *Hallelujah*.—But an enemy yet remained to be overcome, ere the completion of the anticipated blessedness. As the *harlot* must be exposed and branded and destroyed ere the manifestation of the *bride*, so the usurper *Antichrist*, (the self-vaunting King of kings and Lord of lords)³ ere *Christ's* establishment of his kingdom. And,—after a passing mention of the Angel's declaring the blessedness of those who were called to the Lamb's marriage-supper, (whether *a class the same* or *distinct from the Bride herself*,⁴) and another of John's falling down and worshipping the revealing Angel, (still surely in his symbolic character,⁵) and being rebuked for it,—there follows a most striking and remarkable vision of Christ issuing forth to the destruction of this long-usurping Antichrist. The heaven appeared opened to make way for his descending: his appearance had in it all that was most august of superhuman majesty: his emblems were those of royalty and triumph,—the white horse, the sharp sword, the many diadems, the red or purple robe,—red, however, with blood, as that of one that had already begun to tread the wine-press of God's wrath: (was it not the wine-press in Bozrah?⁶) his *names* enunciated were, The Faithful and True, the Word of God, the King of Kings and Lord of Lords, besides that secret as well as incommunicable name Jehovah:⁷ and *hosts*, already “*in heaven*,”⁸ (were they not his saints, “the called, and chosen, and

¹ *Βύσσων*. This was linen of the finest kind; such as kings and priests and nobles wore: for example, *Joseph*, Gen. xli. 42; *David*; 1 Chron. xv. 27: *the priests*, Exod. xxviii. 39; and *the rich man* in the parable, Luke xvi. 19. The *harlot* wore it also; but as a usurper.—On the possibly intended meaning of the word here, as suggested by Daubuz in a very interesting critique, I reserve my observations till the chapter vi. following.

² *δικαιώματα* used in the same sense, I conceive, of *justification*; as in St Paul's Epistle to the Romans, v. 16; the *plural* being perhaps adopted, rather than the *singular*, in order to signify the *badges* of that justification on the many justified.

³ So Gerson ap. Gieseler, Text-Book iii. 256.

⁴ I shall consider this in chapter v. following.

⁵ So Daubuz.

⁶ Isa. lxiii. 1. I shall have to make the comparison in the next chapter.

⁷ Such I conceive the meaning. Compare Judg. xiii. 18, “Why askest thou after my name, seeing it is secret?”

⁸ τὰ πνεύματα τὰ ἐν τῇ οὐρανῷ.

faithful ? ” ¹) appeared following him ; themselves also on white horses, the partakers (so did the end contrast with the beginning of this great drama ²) of their Lord’s triumph.—Meanwhile the Beast and his False Prophet, and the kings and armies that still supported him, had gathered to the scene of conflict. And,—after a proclamation from an Angel that seemed “ *standing in the sun,* ” whether to denote his universal visibility, ³ or the supreme royalty that dictated his words, ⁴ inviting all the birds of prey that might fly in the mid-heaven, to assemble and partake of the great supper about to be prepared in the judgments of God Almighty, ⁵—after this, I say, the conflict was joined, the Beast, or Antichrist, and his False Prophet taken, and cast alive into “ the lake of fire,” (mark the definite article,) “ *the lake which was burning with brimstone;* ” ⁶ the kings and his other adherents slain by the sword of Him that sat on the white horse, a portion for the birds of prey ; ⁷ and the Dragon taken, and imprisoned in the abyss for a thousand years.—And so the MILLENNIUM appeared to begin.

From this prefigurative vision thus much may be clearly inferred respecting the coming future,—viz. that some signal, total, and most tremendous destruction of the Papal Antichrist, (that false usurping king of kings and lord of lords,) with the Papal priesthood and kings (if not kingdoms) adhering to him, is to follow very soon after the catastrophe at Rome :—a destruction to

¹ Compare xvii. 14 ; “ These shall make war with the Lamb ; and the Lamb shall overcome them (for *He* is King of kings and Lord of lords) and they that are with Him, the called, and chosen, and faithful.” ² See Vol. i. p. 106.

³ So the late Rev. Robert Hall, in his very interesting Sermon on the Discouragements and Supports of the Christian minister.

⁴ Such I conceive to be at least *part* of the meaning of the symbol ; so as, for example, in the notable case of *the woman clothed with the sun* in Apoc. xii. 1.

⁵ Ezekiel’s prophecy of God’s great sacrifice and supper, and the birds invited to it, in Ezek. xxxix. 17, &c, can scarce fail of occurring as a probable parallel to the reader. But I purposely avoid for the present any discussion as to the parallelism of this, and other such prophecies, with that under consideration.

⁶ See Note ||| on the page 111 preceding.

⁷ Compare Christ’s proverbial saying, “ Where the carcase is, there shall the eagles (or vultures) be gathered together.”

be wrought with some striking manifestation of Christ (then to be known as the true King of kings and Lord of lords) and of his glory and power; and by the agency of earthquake and fire, (probably volcanic fire,) so as to involve the reprobates, thus destroyed, in the same fiery lake as Rome itself and its territory just before.—The circumstance of their destruction following after, and so being in point of time distinct from, that of Rome, is accounted for on the supposition of Antichrist and his army being, at the time, gathered to some country or place *without* the territories of the Popedom:—a supposition suggested indeed, and made more than a supposition, by the intimation given in the parallel prophecy, already considered, of chap. xiv, that the wine-press of God's wrath was to be trodden "*without the city*;"¹ and confirmed not a little, I believe, by that of Daniel next to be entered on. As to the nature of the manifestation then to be made of Christ's glory,—whether *personal* or simply *providential*,—again, whether the hosts attending to participate in his triumph, are *angels* or *saints*, and, if saints, whether in the *earthly* or the *resurrection* state, (a point involving that other, already mooted, whether the *bride* and the parties *called to the bridal supper* are identical, or distinct,)—finally, what the nature of the *lake of fire* mentioned, and whether identical or connected with that eternal and penal fire of which we read such awful notices in other scriptures,—on all these points of solemn and surpassing interest, it is evident that the answer to be given must involve a consideration of the great question of the Millennium and Second Advent; and can therefore only fitly be given in the chapter next but one following, in which the whole millennial subject has to be discussed.

¹ Apoc. xiv. 20. See p. 84 *suprà*.—The Beast's separation from his proper seat, at the time of his destruction, may be compared with Pharaoh's and Korah's from theirs. I shall have again to advert to this point at the end of the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV.

DANIEL'S LAST PROPHECY OF THE CONSUMMATION.

§ 1.—THE FIRST HALF OF THE PROPHECY,
FROM DAN. X. 1—xi. 32.

The date of the vision that I am now about to notice,—I mean Daniel's last vision, given in chapters x, xi, and xii of his prophetic Book,—is stated by the Prophet to have been the third year of the reign of Cyrus;¹ its local scene by the banks of the Hiddekel or Tigris.² Now it appears from Ezra that it was in the first year of his reign that Cyrus issued his memorable edict for the Jews' emancipation from Babylon, and that Zerubbabel and other Jews, acting on it, returned to Jerusalem:³ also that it was in the seventh Jewish month (or October) that they set up an altar there,⁴ and in the second month of the second year of their coming that they laid the foundation of the new Temple:⁵—after which there began from the people of the land a system of harassing and interruption,—in part by personal opposition, in part through the agency of accusers sent to vilify them at the Persian Court,—which at once put a stop to the work; and suspended it through what remained of the reign of Cyrus, and for some years after, till the accession of Darius son of Hystaspes.⁶ Such then had already begun to be the state of things at Jerusalem in the April⁷ of that 3rd year of Cyrus, in which Daniel (now, like St. John, in Patmos, an old man of eighty or ninety)⁸ saw

¹ Dan. x. 1.² Dan. x. 4.³ Ezra i. 1, 5.⁴ Ibid. iii. 1—6.⁵ Ibid. iii. 8, &c.⁶ Ibid. iv. 1, 11, 24.⁷ The vision was seen on the 24th day of the Jewish *first* month, or month *Abib*; which was part March, part April.—Dan. x. 4.⁸ Daniel was carried away from Jerusalem, on the first deportation of captive Jews, in the third year of Jehoiakim and first of Nebuchadnezzar. At this time he must have been nearly grown up; as we find him in Nebuchadnezzar's second year expounding to him his dream of the great quadripartite Image: after which there had now elapsed the seventy years and more of the captivity.

the vision we are about to consider. It seems important to bear this in mind in examining the prophecy before us.—We can scarce but suppose that his fasting and prayer, which preceded and was answered by the present vision, had reference, like that which preceded a former revelation,¹ to the then state of trial and disappointment attending the returned remnant of his people. The Angel's words, on occasion of a former vision, about *the street being built in troublous times*,² had already begun to have fulfilment. When were better times to come,—the times of the Messiah promised? His heart was set to understand the things predicted.³ Of the quadruple series of Gentile dominant empires, which, it had been previously foreshown to him, were to precede the full and final establishment of Messiah's kingdom,⁴ the *third*, that of *Greece*, had as yet not come forward. When was that next step in the great chain of events to take place? When the *fourth* empire to appear, under which apparently Messiah was to be manifested in humiliation, and cut off;⁵ and which was to introduce into the Temple, that had now been just founded anew, the *abomination that would make desolate*?⁶ When again the consummation of judgment to be poured out on *the desolator*?⁷ and so that glorious restoration of Israel and of the Temple to take place, under the King Messiah, that had been prefigured to another holy prophet, the associate of Daniel's youth and captivity, I mean Ezekiel?⁸

The vision accorded to Daniel at the expiration of these three weeks of fasting and humiliation, and which was avowedly intended to enlighten him on the subjects of his anxious searching,⁹ opened with the view of some

¹ Dan. ix. 3, &c.

² Dan. ix. 25. Compare Hagg. i. 9.

³ Dan. x. 12.; "From the first day that thou didst set thy heart to understand," &c.

⁴ Both in the symbol of the *quadripartite image*, and that of *the four wild beasts*, Dan. ii, vii.

⁵ Dan. ix. 25, 26.

⁶ Ibid. verse 27.

⁷ So the Margin.—This is allowed to be a perfectly admissible translation; as much so as that of the English Version, "on the desolate." So Professor Lee in his Introduction to Eusebius' Theophania, p. cxiv.

⁸ Ezek. xl. &c.

⁹ Dan. x. 12, 14; "From the first day that thou didst set thy heart to under-

glorious Being of surpassing splendour, standing on the waters of the Tigris.¹ Was it an Angel, or the Lord of Angels? Apparently the latter: as not in respect of his glory only, but of the priestly garb that he wore, the position he stood in, and the solemn oath that he uttered, the parallel was most close between what is here said of him, and what is in the Apocalypse said of the Covenant-Angel that long afterwards appeared to St. John in the visions of Patmos.² Moreover the attendant Angels, who were also seen by Daniel in the vision, referred to him their questions as to a superior.³ Thus it seemed, I say, to be the LORD, the MESSIAH, Himself. His *priestly garb* marked him out in that character of the *priest*, the offering priest of the great propitiatory sacrifice, which it needed that he should fulfil ere he took the kingdom.⁴ His *silence*, all the while that an attendant Angel detailed the prediction we are about considering to the prophet, might seem to have been the silence of one meditating on the mighty work before him. Again his *position*, with his feet planted on the waters of the Hiddekel, now the great characteristic river of the dominant Persian Empire, symbolized apparently his claim to that domination and empire as his own:⁵—on the realization of which claim those times of Eden that the river Hiddekel might suggest to the

stand, and to chasten thyself before God, thy words were heard, and I am come for thy words.”—“I am come to make thee understand what shall befall thy people in the latter days.”

¹ “Then I lifted up mine eyes, and looked; and behold a certain man clothed in linen, whose loins were girded with fine gold of Uphaz. His body also was like the beryl; and his face as the appearance of lightning; and his eyes as lamps of fire; and his arms and his feet like in colour to the polished brass; and the voice of his words like the voice of a multitude. Dan. x. 5, &c.

² See Apoc. i. 13 and x. 1, 6.

³ Dan. xii. 5—7.—I have drawn out this evidence because neither his appearance in splendour, nor his likeness to man, would of itself distinguish him from a created angel: created angels having sometimes so appeared to men. (See, for example, in Matt. xxviii. 3, 4, the description of the angels that attended Christ’s resurrection.)—Similarly in Apoc. xiv. 14 one on the white cloud *like to a Son of Man*, appeared from *the adjuncts* of the vision, to be Christ: and so too Apoc. i. 13. See p. 79 *suprà*.

⁴ Compare Dan. ix. 26: a prophecy of Messiah given him about four or five years before; it being dated in the first year of Darius the Mede, or two years before the first of Cyrus.

⁵ Compare Apoc. x. 1.

prophet's mind¹ would return ; and its waters flow again through a Paradise restored.

It is generally supposed by commentators that the Angel who touched and strengthened the prophet, when struck down by the glory of the vision, and then in a predictive narrative informed him respecting the coming future, was the Angel *Gabriel*. And as Gabriel is specifically mentioned twice before as the appointed communicator with the prophet,² this seems very probable. He tells him that on the first day he chastened himself before God his prayer was heard : and, after a mysterious intimation or two on what for awhile hindered him from coming,³ and what he was afterwards about to do, in regard both of the Prince of Persia and then the Prince of Greece,⁴—intimations indicating the fact of angelic ministration in influencing men's minds, and so bringing about the appointed issue of events in human affairs,⁵—he proceeds, in the remarkable prophecy of chap. xi and xii, to unfold the then coming future, first under *Persian*, and then under *Greek* supremacy ; (the *second* and *third* in the great *tetrarchical succession* of prophecy ;) with the addition of a sketch of the *sequel* of events, specially with reference to the future fortunes of Daniel's own people,⁶ (whether that meant the *Jews*, or the true *people and Church of God*,) even until the consummation.

The prophecy thus naturally divides itself into two parts : 1st that *from* xi. 1 *to* xi. 32, sketching the times of the Persians and Greeks ; 2ndly that *from* xi. 32 *to*

¹ Gen. ii. 14.—Wintle places the scene near its confluence with the Euphrates.

² Dan. viii. 16, ix. 21.—It is observable that in the former of these two passages, it was "a man's voice *from between the banks of the Ulai*" that directed Gabriel to make Daniel understand the vision then given : just as here the Covenant-Angel stood *on the waters of the Hiddekel* ; while the angelic attendants were on its banks.

³ Dan. x. 13 ; "But the prince of the kingdom of Persia withstood me one and twenty days," &c.

⁴ Dan. x. 20. "And now will I return to fight with the Prince of Persia : and when I am gone forth, lo, the Prince of Grecia shall come."

⁵ The Jews supposed angels to have their distinctive appointments over nations. See Dr. M'Caul's *Kimchi* on Zechar. ii. 3.—So too Jerom on Isaiah xv : "Angeli qui singulis præsumt gentibus." (Tom. iii. p. 277.)

⁶ "I am come to make thee understand what shall befall *thy people* in the latter days." Dan. x. 14.

the end of chap. xii, sketching the sequel. Now it is not my intention to enter *fully* into the details of the earlier half of the prophecy. For these I refer to Bishop Newton.¹ My object is only to give such a general view of this part, in respect of its literal meaning, and its historic fulfilment, as may serve fitly to introduce that second and more difficult part which has a direct bearing on the time and manner of the consummation ; questions which we have hitherto been considering simply by the light of the *Apocalyptic* prophecy. It may be well to consider the two divisions of the prophecy each in a separate Section : and I now proceed accordingly, without further delay, to the discussion of that which belongs to the present Section ; viz.

THE EARLIER HALF OF THE PROPHECY.

The Angel's prophetic narrative begins from the time then present.² Three Persian kings, he says, were to rise after Cyrus, (these were *Cambyses*, *Smerdis*, and *Darius Hystaspes*,) before any mutation needing notice in the world's affairs:³ then a fourth, (*Xerxes*,) pre-eminent for his riches and power ; who, by stirring up the whole empire against *Greece*, was to bring Greece directly into contact with Persia ; an aspirant thenceforward for the supremacy. And then "*a mighty king*" was

¹ *Dr. Keith* too has a full chapter on this subject in his *Signs of the Times*. But I rather refer to Bishop Newton, as he gives his authorities : a point in which Dr. K. seems to me grievously defective. See too *Wintle* on Daniel.

² I purpose to subjoin the prophetic text in detached passages beneath the comment that illustrates them ; making such critical remarks on each as may seem to me useful for readers unskilled like myself in Hebrew. I must trust to the courtesy of Hebrew scholars to excuse it, if of these Notes some appear to them to be needlessly particular, or relative to points clear in themselves.

³ The prophecy, Dan. xi. 2, begins thus.

xi. 2. "And now will I shew thee the truth. Behold there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia ; and the fourth shall be far richer than they all : and by his strength, through his riches, he shall stir up all * against † the realm of Grecia." ‡

* On the peculiar suitableness of this phrase to depict the preparations for Xerxes' expedition into Greece, see Vol. iii. p. 395 Note ¹.

† מִן. The sense of *against*, here given, attaches to the word in 1 Chron. xx. 5 ; "There was war *with* (מִן) the Philistines."

‡ יָוָן, *Javan* ; the usual word for Greece. So in Dan. x. 20 just before.

to *stand up*,¹ (here is the first grand transition in the prophecy, and one to be well marked as a precedent for comparison, in regard of what is unexpressed in it as well as of what is expressed, and in regard of the passage *per saltum*, as well to a later *age* as to another *country*,)—which king was evidently the famous *Greek* ruler *Alexander the Great*: no other king having risen up in the 150 years between him and Xerxes, of whom it could be predicated that “he ruled with a great dominion, and did according to his will;” besides that what is said of the *quadri-partition* of his kingdom after his death “to others, and not to his own posterity,” agrees most exactly, and so as it can be shown to do in the case of no other conqueror of antiquity, both with what is historically recorded respecting the division of Alexander’s kingdom, and also with what was clearly foreshown about it in another and earlier of Daniel’s prophecies.²—It is the subsequent history of *two* distinctively, out of these *four* divisions of the Greek conqueror’s empire, that the revealing angel proceeded to sketch; viz. of what he called “*the King of the South*,” and “*the King of the North*.” Now, from this simple designation alone, we might à priori pretty confidently have conjectured that the *Ægypto-Macedonian* and *Syro-Macedonian dynasties* were intended, of the *Ptolemies*

¹ 3. “And a mighty king shall stand up,* that shall rule with great dominion, and do according to his will. 4. And when he shall stand up† his kingdom shall be broken, and shall be divided towards the four winds of heaven: and not to his posterity, nor according to his dominion which he ruled: for his kingdom shall be plucked up, even for others beside‡ those.”

² Dan. viii. 8. See Vol. iii. p. 377.

* עמד. The same Hebrew verb occurs in the verses 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 14, 15, 16, (twice), 17, 20, 21, 25, 31; also xii. 1, 13. In verse 8 it is rendered *continue*, in verse 15 *withstand*; in the other cases *stand up*, as here, or simply *stand*. Gesenius says, it is a word used particularly of a new prince; instancing Dan. viii. 23, as well as xi. 2, 3, 20.—Besides which cases it occurs in verses 11, 13, 14 in the Hiphil form; in verse 14 in the sense of *to make to stand*, or *to establish*; in verses 11, 13 in that of *to stir up*, *to excite*.

† Or, *when he shall have stood up*.

‡ עַל־כֵּן exclusively, or *to the exclusion of*:—the word “*those*” meaning *his posterity*; the Hebrew אַחֲרָיו (literally *the latter*,) being a noun of number, and used as a concrete.

and the *Seleucidæ*; the seats of government of these princes being respectively South and North of Judea. But in effect conjecture is not needed on the point; the country of the *King of the South* being expressly in an early passage of the prophecy called *Egypt*.¹ And the considerate reader can scarce fail of seeing good reason for their selection, as special subjects of prophetic description to Daniel: not merely from the circumstance of their continuing longer, and making a much greater figure in history, than the other two post-Alexandrine Macedonian kingdoms;² but much more on account of the *Holy Land of Judea* being involved more or less in their quarrels and wars; and the Jewish government being a dependancy for the most part of one or other of them, until its occupation and subjugation by the Romans.

And in regard to the earlier part of the prophecy concerning them,—i. e. from verse 6 to verse 31, where the question arises whether there may not then be made a transition to the *Roman* subjugation of Judea,—there has been exhibited, I think, such satisfactory evidence of a continuous parallelism between the predictive description of the two kings here given, and the international history of the Ptolemies and Seleucidæ, as to leave no reasonable doubt as to the meaning *so far* of the prophecy; and thus to offer us the immense advantage of a sufficiently clear introduction at the outset, to that which is more obscure.³

¹ So verse 8; "He" (viz. the *King of the South*) "shall carry their gods into *Egypt*;" compared with the notice of the same event in the verse following, "The King of the South shall come into *his own kingdom*, and return to *his own land*."

² The *Thraco-Macedonian* kingdom of Lysimachus was early overthrown by the first Seleucus, B.C. 281, about twenty years after the battle of Ipsus: and again the *Græco-Macedonian* kingdom of Cassander was finally overthrown by the Romans, as the result of the battle of Pydna, B.C. 168: whereas *Syria* was not made a Roman province till B.C. 65, and *Egypt* not till B.C. 30.

³ The following comparative tabular view may be useful, of the dates of the successive kings of the Ptolemaic and Seleucidæan dynasties through the century and a half comprehended (as I suppose) in this prophetic sketch. I premise that the date of Alexander the Great's death is B. C. 323; of that of his brother Philip Aridæus, 316; of that of his son Alexander Ægus, by Roxana, 309; a short time after which (the date is generally given 306) the chief Macedonian governors and princes assumed the royal title:—Ptolemy, however, before the rest.

1. Whereas the King of the South was to be strong,¹ and the King of the North, (another of the great Greek King's princes or governors,) though later apparently in assuming the royal title, to become stronger than the

<i>The Ptolemies.</i>	B.C.	B.C.	<i>The Seleucidæ.</i>
1. Ptolemy Soter, (son of Ptolemy Lagus) Governor of Egypt . .	323	323	1. Seleucus Nicator, Governor of Babylon.
..... takes the title as King of Egypt	306	312recovers Babylon: and the <i>Æra of the Seleucidæ</i> begins.
2. Ptolemy Philadelphus	284	280	2. Antiochus Soter.
(It was under him that the Septuagint Greek translation of the Old Testament was made.)		261	3. Antiochus Theus.
3. Ptolemy Euergetes.	246	246	4. Seleucus Callinicus.
		226	5. Seleucus Ceraunus.
		225	6. Antiochus Magnus.
4. Ptolemy Philopator	221		
5. Ptolemy Epiphanes	204	187	7. Seleucus Philopator.
6. Ptolemy Philometor.	180	175	8. Antiochus Epiphanes.
		164	9. Antiochus Eupator; of whom the <i>Romans</i> assume the guardianship.

After this fourteen more *Syrian* kings reigned, in reigns of short and uncertain power, till Syria was occupied and formed into a Roman province under Pompey; (at which time the *Æra of the Seleucidæ* properly ends!)* and six more *Egyptian* princes, to the death of Ptolemy Auletes; who dying, B.C. 51, left his kingdom and children to Roman guardianship; one of these children being the *Cleopatra* so famous in the histories of Cæsar and Antony.

¹ 5. "And the king of the south shall be strong, and one of his princes: † and he shall be strong above him, ‡ and have dominion: his dominion shall be a great dominion. 6. And in the end of years§ they shall join themselves toge-

* It was, however, sometimes used many centuries later by both Greeks and Syrians; e.g. by the Nestorians as late as A.D. 781. See my Vol. i. p. 35.

† The Septuagint translates, "And one of his princes shall be strong above him," without the connecting *ו*, or *and*. And Bishop Newton thinks that there is manifestly either this redundance, by error of transcription, in the Hebrew text, or an omission of "the king of the north" after the *and*. But this seems to me not necessary. It only needs that we understand "shall be strong," from the clause preceding, after "one of the princes." Which last phrase means evidently one of *Alexander's* generals; (so Wintle, and Boothroyd from Houbigant;) and is an early example of Daniel's use of *pronouns*, in reference not to the next immediately preceding noun, but the one before.—It is to be remembered that *Ptolemy* became *King of the South* ere *Seleucus* assumed the royal title; and consequently while he was yet professedly only a governor; governor of Babylon.

‡ Mark the *he* and *him*, in the sense of, "the *latter* above the *former*."

§ Sept. *μετα τα ετη αυτου* reading *וְשָׁנָיו*;—i. e. after *Seleucus'* death.

King of the South, then contentions (as it is implied) to arise and continue between them, until composed by the expedient of a family alliance through the marriage of a daughter of the King of the South to the King of the North,—so *Ptolemy the First* became strong as King of Egypt, and *Seleucus*, the Macedonian governor of Babylon, on subsequently assuming the title of King, much greater and stronger:¹ and, a quarrel having soon arisen between the immediate successors of these two kings, war continued until composed by the second Ptolemy giving his daughter Berenice in marriage to the third of the Seleucidæan dynasty.—2. Whereas this scheme of family alliance was prophesied of as to fail,² and both the South King's married daughter, and the

ther: * for the king's daughter of the south shall come to the king of the north to make an agreement." †

¹ So Arrian apud Bishop Newton. In fact Seleucus' empire extended from the Indus to the Ægean.—At this time lived Megasthenes and Berosus.

² 6. "But she shall not retain† the power of the arm,§ neither shall he stand,

* The Hebrew word (the Hithpael form of *וָיָחַד* to join) is used also 2 Chron. xx. 35, 37; "Jehoshaphat did *join himself* with Ahaziah:" i. e. in the partnership and alliance of a joint undertaking.

† Hebr. *לַעֲשׂוֹת מִישְׁרִים*. Literally, "To do or make rectitudes." Lee translates it, *to make things straight*; Gesenius, *to make peace*. The latter compares verse 17, where the root *יָשַׁר* occurs, and where the Septuagint render it (more correctly probably than our English translation) *ευθεια παντα μετ' αυτου ποιησει*; very much as Prof. Lee here. The Greek rendering here is, *του ποιησαι συνθηκας μετ' αυτου*.—Let me add the passage 2 Kings x. 15, "Is thy heart *right*, as my heart is with thy heart," where the same Hebrew word *יָשַׁר* occurs, in proof that it is used to express *friendliness*, as well as *moral rectitude*. So *Aben Ezra* explains the present passage, "to make peace between them;" as also the Rabbi *Saadia*.

‡ The same Hebrew word occurs in Dan. x. 8; "I retained no strength."

§ *יָד*, *βραχιον*, is a word frequent in the Old Testament, both in the singular and plural, to signify *strength*, *power*, whether of an *individual* or *host*. So *יָד יְשׁוּעָה*, Job xxii. 8, "a man of *arm* or strength;" and Gen. xlix. 24, "The *arms* (i.e. power) of his hands were made strong by the God of Jacob."—In Isa. li. 9 and lxii. 8, the double phrase, "*strength of the arm*," (*ισχυς βραχιονος*, Sept.) is used conjointly, as here.—In subsequent verses of this chapter it is used *with verbs* thus; (I quote from the Septuagint to avoid the ambiguity of the word *arm* in English:—) xi. 15; *Και οι βραχιονες του βασιλεως του νοτου ου σησονται* xi. 22, *βραχιονες του κατακλυζοντος κατακλυσθησονται* xi. 31, *και βραχιονες και σπερματα εξ αυτου αναστησονται*.—Compare Ezek. xxx. 25; *Και ενισχυσω τους βραχιονας βασιλεως Βαβυλωνος, οι δε βραχιονες Φαραω πεσουνται*.—Wintle makes this word the nominative; "The arm shall not retain strength."

King her husband, and her son too by the marriage,¹ and her attendants to fall,—so both *Berenice*, and her husband *Antiochus*, and her son too by him, and her attendants, were actually murdered by the arts of Antiochus' original but repudiated wife, *Laodice*.²—3. Whereas “out of a branch of her roots,”³ one was to stand up to avenge

nor his arm : * but she shall be given up ; and they that brought her, and he that begat her,† and he that strengthened her in these ‡ times.§

¹ Taking the Septuagint reading זרע, *seed*. ² See Univ. Hist. ix. 197.

³ 7. “But out of a branch of her roots|| shall one stand up in his estate, which¶ shall come with** an army, and shall enter into the fortress†† of the king of the north, and shall deal against them, and shall prevail ; 8. and shall also carry captive into Egypt their gods, with their princes,‡‡ and with their precious

* The Septuagint translates, Καὶ ἡ στήνεται τὸ σπέρμα αὐτῆς ; reading with a different punctuation from that of our translators, זרע, *seed*, or *children* : which I conceive to be the right reading ; since otherwise in the phrase “Neither shall he stand, nor his arm,” or power, the last clause is tautologous. So Wintle. Boothroyd too translates, “Neither shall she stand, nor her seed :” where mark the gender ; *she*.

† Bishop Newton and Wintle translate, “he whom she brought forth,” following the marginal reading הַיָּלִידָהּ, instead of the received reading, הַיָּלִידָהּ : and so Boothroyd, “Her son.” The Sept. omits the Mappik ; translating ἡ νεανίς, *the young woman* : Aben Ezra translates, *her mother* ; as without points.

‡ Literally, *the times*.

§ Aben Ezra explains this to mean *astrologers* ; an explanation curious and worth observing. In Esther i. 13 and 1 Chron. xii. 32, *they who understand times*, מְבַיְנֵי עֵתִים, is a periphrasis for *astrologers* ; “times” meaning in some places men's destinies. So Psalm xxxi. 15, “My times are in thy hand ;” also 1 Chron. xxix. 30, Job xxiv. 1.—Else *he that strengthened her* must be taken (*one for many*) to mean the party that supported Berenice against Laodice, at the time of her being in Syria, including especially *her husband*. So Wintle.

|| Or, “from the stem of her roots ;” a remarkable and distinctive phrase. Compare Isa. xi. 1 ; “There shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a branch shall grow out of his roots.” Her *roots* mean her *parentage* or *ancestry* ; and a person is indicated who should be of a common stock with her ; i. e. a brother, if taken most strictly. So Saadiah makes the person here meant to be the *brother* of the king's daughter before spoken of.

¶ זרע without the preposition, for זרע על in *his place*, or *stead*. So Gesenius. With על the phrase is used in this sense in verses 20, 21, 38. The word זרע, *a place*, is used Gen. xl. 13, “In three days Pharaoh shall restore thee to thy *place* ;” and again Gen. xli. 13, “to my *office*.”

** הָיָה, usually *to*. So the Sept. ἔξει πρὸς τὴν δύναμιν. If the sense of *with* (which however Wintle adopts) be not warranted, then the meaning may either be, “shall come to *the power*,” i. e. to the *power of the kingdom* ; for הָיָה means *power*, as well as a *host* or *army* : or else, “shall come to the *fortification*, or *fortified town*, (so as in Isa. xxvi. 1, &c.) of the Northern king.

†† מְבַיְנֵי : a word which occurs also in verse 10, “stirred up to *his fortress* :” and is the same that by its use in verse 38 in the plural has given rise to Mede's famous criticism on the *Mahuzzim*.

‡‡ The Septuagint has it, μετὰ τῶν χυμένων αὐτῶν, *with their molten images* :

the ill-treatment of the daughter of the King of the South, then this Southern King to invade the Northern King's territories, take his fortresses, capture his treasures and princes, and (as it is singularly added) *their gods*, and return triumphantly with them into his own country and kingdom, Egypt,—so the *third Ptolemy*, forthwith on coming to the kingdom, invaded Syria, (then under the rule of the fourth Seleucidian king, *Seleucus Callinicus*, son to Laodice,) overran the whole kingdom to the Euphrates, indeed beyond it almost to the Indus, plundered it of 40,000 talents of silver and of 2,500 *images of gods*, including among them the Egyptian idol-gods, carried out of Egypt two centuries and a half before by the Persian king Cambyses; and with these, and numerous captives, returned triumphantly back into Egypt.¹—4. Whereas the sons of the King of the North (*sons in the plural*) were to be stirred up,² and assemble great forces, as if with a view to the re-

vessels * of silver and gold: and he shall continue more years than the king of the north. 9. So the king of the south shall come into *his* kingdom, and shall return into his own land." †

¹ In 1631 an inscription on an ancient marble in honour of this action of Euergetes was published by Allatius; "Sacris quæ ab Egypto Persæ abstulerant receptis, ac cùm reliquâ congestâ gazâ in Egyptum relatis."—Wintle.

² 10. "But his sons ‡ shall be stirred up, § and shall assemble a multitude of

a meaning very different from our English rendering, *princes*, but which attaches also to the Hebrew word מַלְאָכָיו. For the root of the word is יָצַק, to *pour out*: and it thus applies alike to *images melted* in fusion, (as the cognate word in Isa. xli. 29,) and to *princes poured upon* with the anointing oil, (Josh. xiii. 21 &c.)—Probably the Septuagint rendering, *molten images*, is the more correct: as it so well carries on the idea of *their gods* in the clause preceding; and was also so striking a point in the historical fulfilment.

* A word used also of the sacred Jewish vessels carried off to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 10.

† This verse seems recapitulatory.—It is to be observed that there is no *his* prefixed to kingdom in the Hebrew. So that the translation might be; "And he (viz. the King of the North) shall enter into the kingdom of the King of the South, and return to his own land," i. e. without effecting anything. But there is nothing in the history to suit the verse so translated.

‡ That is the sons of the *King of the North*, though not the last mentioned: because the King of the North, spoken of in the next verse as the southern King's antagonist, was apparently one of these two sons. So Aben Ezra and Saadiah.—The affix prevents the expression of *dualism* in the word for *sons*.

§ The Hebrew is יִרְגְּזוּ, the same verb that occurs again, and in the same Hithpahel form, at the end of this verse, and also in verse 25; and quite a different one from that in verse 2. Its root is רָגַז: a verb not used in *Kal*; but which in *Piel* signifies *stirring up contention*, as Prov. xv. 18, "A wrathful man

covery of their losses and to revenge, and *one* out of them (*one* only) to overflow, (whether over his own recaptured territory, or over that of his enemy the King of the South,) and the King of the South to meet him in battle, and utterly overthrow him,—so did *Seleucus Ceraunus*, and, on his speedy death a year or two after, his brother and successor *Antiochus*, called *the Great*,¹ assemble great forces to recover their father's dominions, and the latter achieve the object, recover Seleucia and Syria, and proceed to invade Egypt with a mighty army;² whereupon ensued the (to him) disastrous battle of *Raphia*, on the Egyptian frontier, in which he suffered a total defeat from *Philopator*, the then reigning Ptolemy. —5. Whereas³ the King of the South was not eventu-

great forces; and one shall certainly come,* and overflow, and pass through, then shall he return,† and be stirred up,‡ even to his fortress. 11. And the king of the south shall be moved with choler, and shall come forth, and fight with him, even with the king of the north: and he shall set forth § a great multitude; but the multitude shall be given|| into his hand."

¹ So Justin xxx. 1; "Antiochus rex Syriæ, veteri inter se regnorum odio stimulante, repentino bello multas urbes ejus (Ptolemæi) oppressit, ipsamque Ægyptum aggreditur."

The following dates will be useful towards the illustration of this prophetic sketch of Antiochus the Great's history.

B.C.	
225	Antiochus succeeds to the Syrian throne.
217	Is defeated in the battle of Raphia.
198	Defeats Scopas in the battle of Panias, on returning from his Eastern conquests; and recovers Judea and Jerusalem.
192	War with the Romans begins, and lasts three years.
190	Battle and defeat of Magnesia.
187	Antiochus killed.

² Polybius describes the army and its amount; 62,000 foot, 6000 horse, and 102 elephants. Newton.

³ 12. "And when he hath taken away¶ the multitude, his heart shall be lifted

stirreth up strife;" and in its *Hithpahel* form (as here) is used, 1st, says Gesenius, in the sense *to be excited*, as to anger, 2nd, to *contend*, to *engage in war*. So Deut. ii. 5, 19, "*Meddle* not with them in war;" and Jer. l. 24.

* The change from plural to singular is as marked in the Hebrew as the English.—The clause is literally, "And coming he shall come."

† The Hebrew verb נָשָׁח is the same that is used in verses 18 and 19 subsequently with נָשָׁח, in the sense of *to turn one's face towards a place*. It often means *to do a thing again*. So here it may perhaps mean, after his *first* acting out of his anger, and overflowing, he shall be again excited to urge the war.

‡ Gesenius supplies "and march" even to his fortress; i. e. the fortress of the Southern King. § Or, *make to stand*. So verse 13.

|| Lit. "*he shall give*," or, "*some one shall give*."—The *he* and *his* refer evidently to different persons.

¶ נִשְׁחָט; a word used not unfrequently of *taking away with violence*. So

ally to be strengthened by this great victory, his heart being lifted up with that vanity (perhaps, like Sennacherib's¹ or Uzziah's,² against God himself) which often

up: and he shall cast down many ten thousands; but he shall not be strengthened by it. 13. For the king of the north shall return, and shall set forth a multitude greater than the former; and shall certainly come after certain years,* with a great army, and with much riches. 14. And in those times there shall many stand up against the king of the south: also the robbers of thy people† shall exalt themselves to establish the vision;‡ but they shall fall.§ 15. So the king of the north shall come, and cast up a mount, and take the most fenced cities:¶ and the arms¶ of the south shall not withstand, neither his chosen people;¶ neither shall there be any strength to withstand.†† 16. But he that cometh against‡‡ him shall do according to his own will; and none shall stand before him: and he shall stand in the glorious land:§§ which by his hand shall be consumed."||| (Marg. *perfected*.)

Isa. xxxvii. 23.

² 2 Chron. xxvi. 16.

1 Sam. xvii. 34, Job xxvii. 21, xxxii. 22, &c. But in these examples the verb is in Kal; in the text in Piel: which latter form of the verb scarcely admits a *transitive* sense. The passage may therefore be thus rendered; "And when the multitude shall be carried away, his heart, &c."

* Margin, Hebr. *at the end of times, even years*.

† Marg. *the children of robbers*: used as *sons of Belial*, &c, for men of that character.—The word רֹבְדִים, rendered *robbers*, is often used of *violent and lawless men*. So Psalm xvii. 4, "The ways of *the violent*;" Ezek. xviii. 10, "If he beget a son that is a *robber*, a shedder of blood;" Jer. vii. 11, "Is this house become a den of *robbers* in your eyes?" Again in Isa. xxxv. 9, of *ravenous beasts*. Lee expounds it here as *violent lawless men, of (or belonging to) thy people*. The Sept. translates it, οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν λοιμῶν τοῦ λαοῦ σου. Compare 2 Chron. xiii. 7, συνηχθησαν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄνδρες λοιμοὶ, υἱοὶ παρανομοῖ also Mac. x. 61.

‡ Lit. "To make to stand a vision;" the definite article not being in the original Hebrew. So the Sept. τοῦ σησαι ὄρασις. May it have been the case that a vision was pretended by false prophets among them, in order to stir up the more violent to take up arms in favour of Antiochus, as an appointed deliverer, and to attack the castle of Jerusalem, then garrisoned by a strong Egyptian force? Compare the case of Ahab's false prophets urging the expedition against Ramoth Gilead. Also Isa. xxviii. 7, Jer. v. 31, xiv. 14, &c.

§ Or *fail*: literally, *totter, stumble*.

|| Or *city of munitions*.

¶ Βραχίονες.

¶ Literally, *the people of his chosen ones*.

†† "Rather *stand*," as before. *Withstand* they might for a while.

‡‡ "Against," כִּנְיָ: a word meaning more generally *to*; but also used in the sense of *against*, as Gen. iv. 8, "Cain rose *against* Abel;" Ezek. xiii. 8, "Behold I am *upon*, or *against* you:" &c.

§§ בְּאֶרֶץ יְפִיּוּת; i. e. literally, "*in the land of the beauty, ornament, honour*." In Dan. viii. 9 the same word יְפִיּוּת is used of *Judea*, and with the definite article, "waxed great toward *the pleasant land*;" the word *land*, however, not being there expressed. So again Dan. xi. 41, 45, "*the land of glory, the glorious holy mount*;" Jer. iii. 19, "*goodly heritage, or heritage of beauty*;" and in Ezek. xx. 6, 15, "*the glory of all lands*;" also 2 Sam. i. 19.—In Isa. xiii. 19, "*the glory of kingdoms*" is an appellative used of *Babylon*. (N. B. In Psalm cvi. 24, "They despised *the pleasant land*," Jer. iii. 19, "Give thee *a pleasant land*," and Zech. vii. 14, "They laid the *pleasant land* desolate," the Hebrew phrase is different; being אֶרֶץ מְדֵינָה, "*land of desire*.")

||| "It shall be consumed, or perfected." Here, 1st, as the *verb* is *masculine*, ought not the *it* to be *masculine* also? In that case it would not

precedes a fall, and after certain years the King of the North was to return, with great riches and a greater army than before, and in confederacy moreover with various other states and persons, including among them certain revolters or violent men of Daniel's people,—and, there being no power in the arms of the South to withstand him, would both take the city of munitions, and also stand in the glorious land, or land of the glory and beauty, that is, of Jerusalem and its sacred Temple, which by his hand, whether in respect of its buildings or otherwise, should be perfected and made complete,—so *Ptolemy Philopator*, the victor of Raphia, instead of aggrandizement by his victory, abandoning himself thenceforth to his lusts and passions, made peace with Antiochus that he might the better indulge them; showed how his heart was lifted up by attempting, on a visit to Jerusalem now again subjected to him, to force his way into the Holy of Holies; and then in a few years died of his debauchery:—whereupon (his infant son having succeeded him) *Antiochus*, who had meanwhile been indefatigably reconquering the eastern provinces of his ancestral dominion, returned after some fifteen years, as to an easy prey, against the Egyptian rival kingdom, with great riches and a mightier army than before,—the King of Macedon having confederated with him, the Jews thrown off their allegiance to Egypt, and many of the Egyptians themselves rebelled,—defeated Scopas utterly who was sent against him, besieged and took Sidon, the “city of munitions,” where Scopas had taken refuge, together with other fenced cities, and then recovered Judea: where, as the Jews welcomed him as a deliverer, he acted like a deliverer and friend towards them; and, by repairing the city walls, gathering together to their own land more out of

answer to the אֶרֶץ , “the land,” which is feminine; but either to the word *beauty*, or the *He*, viz. *the King of the North*. But in Daniel's Hebrew, I believe, the same attention to grammatical construction is not paid that is usual elsewhere.—2. The Septuagint, agreeably with the Margin, gives the sense $\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\omega\theta\eta\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$, “shall be perfected,” or completed. And so Wintle and Bishop Newton. The verb is used Exod. xxxix. 32, 1 Kings vi. 38, of the completion of the *tabernacle* and *temple*. And here too it may refer to the *temple*, as *the beauty of holiness*; though without the וְהַיְדֻשׁ of verse 45.

the Jewish dispersion, assisting the completion of the Temple,¹ and other ways, did not a little contribute to the perfecting of the national restoration.—6. Whereas² the King of the North was, notwithstanding this success, and just when setting his face to enter with all his strength the southern kingdom, to break off the apparently meditated design, make an agreement and reconciliation with the King of the South, (a plan of agreement involving the giving him his daughter in marriage,)

¹ See Bishop Newton, and Josephus as referred to by him.

² 17. "He shall also set his face to enter with the strength of his whole kingdom,* and upright ones with him :† thus shall he do ; ‡ and he shall give him the daughter of women § corrupting her : || but she shall not stand on his side, ¶ neither be for him. 18. After this he shall turn his face unto the isles,** and shall take many : †† but a prince, ‡‡ for his own behalf, §§ shall cause the reproach offered by him to cease : without ||| his own reproach he shall cause it to turn upon him. 19. Then shall he turn his face toward the fort ¶¶ of his own land : and he shall stumble, and fall, and not be found."

* Or, "to enter with strength his whole kingdom," i. e. the whole kingdom of the King of the South.

† The Greek renders this clause, *Kai eutheta panta met' autou poiησει*. and so the Vulgate, "Et recta faciet cum eo ;" reading *יַעֲשֶׂה* instead of *יַעֲשֶׂה*: the former being a reading supported by one manuscript, and which Wintle and Bishop Newton approve. Then the whole clause *יַעֲשֶׂה עִמּוֹ וְיִשְׁרִים עִמּוֹ* will be thus literally rendered : "And he shall make *rectitudes*, or *things straight*, with him ;" that is, as in verse 6, *alliances*, or an *agreement*.

‡ The same word as "deal," verse 7, and "practise," viii. 24.

§ Some one so called *κατ' εἶδος*, for rank or beauty. So Houbigant. History explains it of the northern king's own daughter.

|| Lit. "to corrupt or destroy her, or it : " the verb *שָׁחַד* being used (like the Greek *φθείρω*) both of *corrupting*, as Gen. vi. 12, "All flesh corrupted its way : " and of *destroying*, (a yet more common meaning,) as Dan. viii. 24, "He shall destroy the mighty ones," Isa. xiv. 20, 2 Sam. i. 14, &c.—Perhaps the rendering here should be "to destroy it ;" the *feminine* noun *kingdom*, mentioned before, being understood ; not *her*. For the historical sense well agrees thereto ; but very ill to the rendering of "to corrupt her." Besides which, is there any example to justify the sense being attached to this word of *getting her treacherously to act for him* (her father) *in her new marriage alliance*,—so as Wintle, Newton, &c, would have it ?

¶ "On his side," or "for him," is *supplied* from the clause following. It is not *expressed* in the original.

** *לְאִיִּים*. Lit. *to islands*. The word is the same as that used for the *isles* of Chittim, and the *isles* of Elishah, or Greece, in Ezek. xxvii. 6, 7.

†† i. e. many *islands* : both substantive and adjective being masculine.

‡‡ *קִצִּיִּן* : a word used both of *civil magistrates* and *military commanders* of the *first*, Micah iii. 9, "Princes or judges that perverted equity ;" of the *second*, Josh. x. 24, "the captains of the men of war." So too Judges xi. 6, &c.

§§ *לֵךְ*, "as to him : " i. e. as regards this general himself.

||| Rather, "Besides, he shall make," &c. So Wintle. He shall not only avert reproach from himself, but turn it on his assailant. ¶¶ Lit. *fortresses*.

and, as if with new and other views of aggrandizement, to turn his face to the isles, (the Grecian Isles,) and take many, till some prince or general, as one whose honour was shamed by the act, should repulse him, and make him return ignominiously to his own land, where he would stumble, and fall, and not be found,—so *Antiochus the Great*, when prepared to enter Egypt, changed his plan, made peace with the young Ptolemy, betrothed his daughter to him, and after a while conducted her to the marriage; then, as considering all secure in that quarter, turned his face toward the Grecian Isles, and with a great fleet and army took many, thereby offending the majesty of the *Roman Republic*, whose confederates they were; whereupon the Roman commanders caused the reproach to turn on *him*, attacked and defeated him utterly both at Thermopylæ and in the decisive battle of Magnesia, and so forced him to return to his own land a disgraced fugitive, the western half of his empire being surrendered, and an immense tribute imposed on him;¹ to obtain help towards the payment of which, when he had entered and sought to plunder some rich temple in Elymais, he was attacked, killed, and found no more.—7. As the next successor² of the King of the North was

¹ The Articles of the Treaty are given in full in the Univ. Hist. ix. 268.

² 20. "Then shall stand up in his estate * a raiser of taxes in the glory of his kingdom: † but in few days he shall be destroyed, neither in anger, ‡ nor in battle."

* Literally *on his base*; i. e. on the base of the former king.

† Literally, *one who makes an exactor to pass over the glory of his kingdom*. The Hebrew word for *exactor*, (עֹצֵר) is used with reference to *money* exactions. So Deut. xv. 2, 3; "Every creditor, that lendeth ought to his neighbour, shall not *exact* it of his neighbour, or brother; of a foreigner thou mayest *exact* it again:" and 2 Kings xxiii. 35; Jehoiakim taxed the land "to give the money according to the commandment of Pharaoh: he *exact*ed the silver and the gold of the people of the land." In Zech. ix. 8, "And no *oppressor* shall pass through them any more," the same word is used.—"The glory" *may* mean simply his (once) glorious kingdom:—or perhaps the Jewish temple. See Note *suprà* on verse 16.

Some Hebrew manuscripts, I believe, read עֹצֵר, *one drawing near*. But the sense seems to require Vanderhooght's reading, עֹצֵר, *an exactor*, with a slight change of the vowel-points.

‡ עֲנֵי, from עָנָה; a contracted verbal, (root עָנָה *t*, *breathe*,) which 1st

described as a raiser of taxes, or one that would cause an exactor to pass over the glory of his kingdom, then perish within few days, not in an angry brawl or battle,—so Antiochus's son and successor *Seleucus Philopator* was scarcely known except as a raiser of taxes, to pay off the tribute of 1000 talents imposed for twelve years by the Romans ; his exactor of taxes, Heliodorus, being sent to gather them, not merely elsewhere and otherwise in the once glorious kingdom of Syria, but by plunder too of that which the revealing Angel might specially mean by “the glory of his kingdom,” (though *he* did not so appreciate it,) viz. the Temple of Jerusalem : soon after which sacrilege, and in the twelfth or last year for which the Roman tribute of 1000 talents had been imposed,¹ having fulfilled his predicted character, he was killed ; that same Heliodorus, who had been his instrument for spoiling the temple, treacherously assassinating him.²—8. Whereas the next king of the

¹ So Wintle. Bishop Newton has not remarked this characteristic fact.

² 21. “And in his estate* shall stand up a vile person,† to whom they shall not give‡ the honour of the kingdom ; but he shall come in peaceably,§ and obtain the

signifies the *breathing organ*, i. e. the *nose*, or *nostrils* ; 2ndly, as the *breathing of the nostrils* often expresses *anger*, means *anger* also. In this sense the word is used, Gen. xxvii. 44, of the anger of *Esau against Jacob*, which made him seek to kill him ; Judges xiv. 19 of that of *Samson against the Philistines*, which issued in a murderous attack upon them ; and 1 Sam. xx. 30, &c, of that of *Saul against Jonathan*, under the influence of which he cast a javelin at him to slay him. So that this phrase in the text may very well mean, that the king should neither be slain in any *private angry brawl or quarrel*, nor in *public war*. Hence Wintle's recourse to the Coptic version for the different reading of אֲנִי, signifying *arms*, or *weapons of war*, seems quite unnecessary.

* עַל-בָּנוֹ ; literally, *on his base*. So verses 7, 20, before.

† נִבְזָה, *one despised*, the same word that is used in Isaiah's memorable prophecy of Christ, liii. 3, “He is *despised*,” &c ; and the Niphil Particip. of נִבְזָה to *esteem lightly*, to *despise*. So 2 Sam. vi. 16, 2 Kings xix. 21, &c.

‡ i. e. “on whom they (the people) shall not confer the honour,” &c.

§ בְּשָׁלוֹם, *in quietness*. The word is used Prov. xvii. 1, “Better is a dry morsel, and *quietness* therewith ;” as also Psalm cxxii. 7 ; and again Dan. viii. 25, “In peace (Gesen. *in the midst of peace*) he shall destroy many.” So too verse 24 *infra*.

North was to be a man every way contemptible, and yet, contrary to all probabilities attendant on such a character, to obtain successes eventually against his rival¹

kingdom by flatteries.* 22. And (with) † the arms of a flood shall they be overflowed from before him, and shall be broken : yea also the prince of the covenant. ‡ 23. And after § the league made with him || he shall work deceitfully : for ¶ he shall come up,** and shall become strong with a small people."

¹ 24. "He shall enter peaceably †† even unto the fattest places of the province : ††

* **לְהִלָּקֹחַ**, *lubricitates, blanditiæ*; Trommius. Thus the word has a double sense; being applied both to the slipperiness of a *path*, and the slipperiness or flattering and deceit of the *tongue*. In the former sense it occurs Psalm xxxv. 6; "Let their way be dark and slippery:" in the latter its originating verb, **לָקַח**, Prov. ii. 16, vii. 5; "The stranger that flattereth, or dissembleth, with her words:" and Prov. xxix. 5; "A man that flattereth or dissembleth to his neighbour." In this latter sense the verbal seems to be used both here and in the verses 32, 34, below.—"Arts of dissimulation." Gesenius.

† The *with* is not in the Hebrew. Therefore rather, "The arms of the overflowing shall," &c. So the Greek; *καὶ βραχίονες τὰ κατακλυσθόντος κατακλυσθήσονται ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ*. The *article* is before *flood* in the Hebrew.

‡ Bishop Newton and others explain this as the *Jewish High Priest*, associated with the *Mosaic Covenant*. But the word **בְּרִית**, *covenant*, by itself is as general in Hebrew as in English; and therefore Michaelis' rendering *rex fœderatus*, which Wintle approves, probably more correct.—The word **נָגִיד**, rendered *prince*, is also one of general meaning, and applied alike to chiefs *royal, military, civil, and ecclesiastical*: e. g. 1 Sam. ix. 16, x. 1, of *Saul*, the *ruling prince* over Israel; 1 Chron. xiii. 1, 2, 2 Chron. xxxii. 21, of *military leaders*; 2 Chron. xxviii. 7, of a *ruler over the palace*; 1 Chron. ix. 11 and 2 Chron. xxxi. 13, of the *priest Azariah*, the *ruler over the house or temple of God*.—In Dan. ix. 25, 26, it is used both of the *Prince Messiah*, and of the *Roman Prince* that was to come and desolate Jerusalem.

Wintle explains it *historically* of the then *king of Egypt*; as confederated by league with Antiochus Epiphanes, soon after the latter's establishment in the kingdom. I think it refers rather to the previous treaty with the Egyptian king, made by his father Antiochus: especially as history records no new treaty made with him by Epiphanes himself.

§ **מִן** *from, out of*; and sometimes *after, or by reason of*. Compare the **מִן** in the important verse 31 *infra*.

|| Lit. "And after the (i. e. *their* or *his*) being associated with him he shall practise deceit:" Sept. *Καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν συναμιξεῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ποιήσει δόλον*. It is the Hithpael Syriac infinitive form (to *join oneself*) used as a noun, derived from **בָּרַךְ**, to be joined or confederated; a word so used, Gen. xiv. 3.

¶ **וְ**, *add.*

** Or, *go up*.

†† **בְּשָׁלֵחַ**, as in verse 21: where see Note §. Wintle would prefer to construe this with the last clause of the verse preceding: "shall become strong by *quiet measures*:" an idea with which the **וְ** of the next word well agrees.

‡‡ **וּבְמִשְׁמַנֵּי מְדִינָה**, *pinguetudines provinciæ*. Tromm. **מִשְׁמֵן** is thus used figuratively in Isaac's blessings on Jacob and Esau, Gen. xxvii. 28, 39; "God give thee of the *fatness* of the earth."—**מְדִינָה**, like the English *province*, is a word used of some smaller division of a country or kingdom. So in Ezra and Daniel (e. g. Dan. ii. 48, iii. 2, 3) of the provinces of the Persian empire very frequently. In one case, Ezra v. 8, *Judea* is thus specified, "the province of Judea." And, as there is no specification of any particular province of either

such as none before, to succeed in the first instance to the northern kingdom by flatteries, (the arms of the overflower, its previous occupant by force, being overflowed from before him,) to become strong with contracted means and a small people, to attack the King of the South, albeit united by treaty with him, apparently

and he shall do that which his fathers have not done, nor his father's fathers : he shall scatter among them * the prey and spoil and riches . (yea) and he shall forecast his devices † against the strong holds, ‡ even for a time. § 25. And he shall stir up his power and his courage against the king of the south, with a great army : and the king of the south shall be stirred up to battle, || with a very great and mighty army ; but he shall not stand. For ¶ they shall forecast devices ** against him : 26. yea, they that feed of the portion of his meat †† shall destroy him ; ‡‡ and his army shall overflow, §§ and many shall fall down slain. 27. And both these king's hearts shall be to do mischief ; ||| and they shall speak lies at one table : but it shall not prosper : ¶¶ for yet the end shall be at the time appointed." ***

the Syrian or the Egyptian kingdom, and Judea, (in a Jewish mind) was *the* province par excellence, I conceive that *this* is the one *here* intended ; and not, as Wintle, the Delta of Egypt. This view best suits history, on Wintle's own report of it : " When Antiochus went to examine the southern parts of his dominion (2 Macc. iv. 21) he sent Apollonius with his retinue into Egypt ; but it does not appear that he made an excursion thither himself."

* Among *whom*? *Newton* supposes among his own *Syrian* people ; citing *Polybius* and 1 Mac. iii. 30 in proof of his munificence in gifts and public shows, on which the spoil and riches he acquired were spent : *Wintle*, that it refers to the large donations and bribes, from out of the plunder, with which he courted the Egyptians, which is also noted in the 1st Maccabees, i. 16.—Or may the לָהֶם mean, *belonging to them* ; viz. to his father's fathers ? that is, as stored by them ? So 1 Sam. xiv. 16, " the watchman of Saul," לְשָׂאֵל, signifies *of or belonging to Saul*. † Or, *devise his devices*.

‡ The Septuagint for מְצֻרִים, *strong holds*, seems to have read מְצֻרֵי, *Egypt* : its translation being ἐν Ἀγυπτῷ λογίζεται λογισμὸς.

§ עַד-עֵת ; *εὓς καιρῶ*. Sept. Compare this with the " *at the time appointed*." of verses 27 and 29 : also with the notices of time in verses 13, 15. The word עַתָּה, *time*, will be observed on in a subsequent note.

|| Or, *stir himself up for the war*.

¶ כִּי, *for, because*.

** As in verse 25. They shall *devise devices*, or *plots*.—So *Wintle*.

†† פַּת־בֶּגֶד, *costly food and delicacies from the royal table*.—*Gesen*. So Dan. i. 5, 8, 13, 15.

‡‡ *Wintle* observes, " Instead of שֶׁפֶּרֶדְהוּ, *shall bruise or break him*, one manuscript reads שֶׁפָּרְדְהוּ. *shall sell or betray him* : " which last reading he adopts. And certainly, if the word bear this sense, (which seems however a little doubtful) it well suits the context.

§§ " *Shall be overflowed* : " Vul. and Syr. *passively* : and so *Wintle*. Rightly, I conceive.

||| לְמַרְעָה, Sept. *eis porneian* ; *Wintle*, *to act maliciously*.

¶¶ That is, *the policy shall not succeed*. תִּצְלַח ; a word so used in Isa. liii. 10, " The pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in his hand ; " and Isa. liv. 17, " No weapon formed against thee shall prosper."

*** Sept. ὅτι ἐν καιρῷ εἰς καιρῶ. So *Wintle* ; as also the authorised English translation.

by his father's treaty noted before in the prophecy,) to defeat him and his armies once and again, (acquiring thereby and profusely scattering much plunder and treasure,) and, aided by treachery in the southern king's court, to overflow into Egypt, scheme mischief against its king under the same roof,¹ and while making profession of friendship, then return (as if to give time for his policy to work) into his own land, there manifesting in some way or other a heart set against "the holy covenant," or covenant and religion of the Jews, God's holy people,—so *Antiochus Epiphanes*, brother to the late King, and not the lawful heir to the throne, escaping from Rome, where he had been long time a hostage, did by flattering alike the Romans, the Princes Eumenes and Attalus, and the Syrian people, obtain the Syrian kingdom, overwhelming the adverse power of the usurper Heliodorus, become strong, though with a kingdom now reduced and disgraced, attack the Egyptian Prince Philometor his nephew, albeit allied by treaty² as well as blood, defeat him signally in two successive expeditions, and enter and spoil Egypt of its riches; by his squandering of which in shows, gifts, and pageantry, he sought and gained the title of *Illustrious*, his true one being the *Vile*:³ until, at length, having got Philometor into his hands, and the Alexandrians having set up his brother Physcon in his room, he planned at the same table with Philometor a scheme of discord and division between the two brothers, whereby it seemed he might best prepare Egypt to be a little after his prey; then returning, while the scheme might work, to his own land, did in the way attack Jerusalem, massacring 40,000 of its inhabitants, and despoiling and profaning its temple, because of the Jews having broken into insurrection on a false report of his death. It was thus that he fulfilled the first part of the prophecy concerning him.—9. As,

¹ This was when at *Memphis*. Alexandria had not yet submitted to Antiochus Epiphanes. For a brief sketch of the history, see 1 Mac. i. 17—23.

² The treaty made by his father Antiochus the Great with Egypt, just before his turning his face to the Isles of Chittim, was still uncanceled.

³ An example of *allusive contrast*. See Vol. i. pp. 112, 245.

yet again, at “the time appointed” (a phrase designative apparently of some notable epoch) this same Northern King was to invade the kingdom of the South a third time, but with a result quite different from that of either of his former expeditions,¹ “ships from Chittim” coming against him, (the expression is most remark-

¹ 28. “Then * shall he return into his land with great riches: and his heart *shall be* against the holy covenant: † and he shall do *exploits*; ‡ and return to his own land. 29. At the time appointed § he shall return, and come toward || the south: but it shall not be as the former, or as the latter. ¶ 30. For the ships of Chittim ** shall come against him: therefore shall he be grieved, †† and return, ‡‡ and have indignation §§ against the holy covenant: so shall he do: ||| he shall even return, and have intelligence with them that forsake the holy covenant.” ¶¶

* Or, *And*.

† **בְּרִית לְקֹדֶשׁ** literally *covenant of holiness*. The phrase is used also in verses 30, 32; and in all of the holy Jewish religion.

‡ Or *prosper*; or perhaps, *do the thing his heart was bent on*; i. e. the oppression of the Holy Covenant, or Jewish religion.

§ See on verses 24, 27, pp. 133, 134, *suprà*, Notes § and ***.

|| **ב**; perhaps rather *into*. So Wintle, “*He shall advance again into the south.*”

¶ Or, *as (at) the first time, or as (at) the latter time*.—Wintle observes that the Hebrew *may* be rendered, “But the *latter* shall not be like the *former*.” Antiochus Epiphanes made a primary demonstration against Egypt, and occupied the Province of Palestine, which more properly belonged to Egypt, before his grand campaign and success against it foretold in verses 25, 26. Thus the one version or the other may be here adopted, according as with the author of the 2nd Book of Maccabees we reckon *three*, or with others only *two*, as the number of Antiochus Epiphanes’ anti-Egyptian expeditions.—Some Hebrew noun like **מַשְׁלַחַת**, *an expedition*, seems to be understood.

** **צִיִּים פְּתִיִּים**. Ships *from* or *of* Chittim. One manuscript, Wintle says, reads **צִיִּים**, as in the famous parallel passage, Numb. xxiv. 24; of which says Prof. Lee (Euseb. Theoph. p. cviii) this is manifestly an echo. (See Bochart, Phaleg. iii. 5).—In Gen. x. 4, Isa. xxiii. 1, and Ezek. xxvii. 6, the word **פְּתִיִּים** is spelt with *one* ך, as here: in Jer. ii. 10 with *two*.—Gesenius says, “What particular part of the West it may mean is doubtful.” The writer of the 1st Book of Maccabees, i. 1, understands it of *Greece*; Vitranga (on Isa. xxiii. 1) of *Italy*. For “of the four sons of Javan he thinks *Elisha* means the Peloponnesians, *Tharsis* the Spaniards, *Dodanim*, or *Rhodanim*, the Gauls as distinct from the Celts, and *Cethiim* the people of Italy.” Wintle.—Jerom says ad loc. “*Siim quippe, et Chittim, quos nos trieres et Romanos interpretati sumus, Hebræi Italos volunt intelligi atque Romanos.*”

†† “Shall be grievously troubled.” Wintle. Sept. *ταπεινωθησεται*.

‡‡ Or, “shall *again* have:” a not unfrequent sense of this verb, where conjoined with another; as observed already Note † p. 127.

§§ **וְצִעַר**, “shall have indignation:” whence the verbal noun of the same radicals, used in verse 36 in the sense of *indignation*, which will be there observed on.

||| It might be, “And he shall *prosper*, and he shall return.”

¶¶ The existence of such *forsakers of the holy covenant* is an important characteristic of the time intended. On which point, as well as others, the history is well illustrated by 1 Mac. i. &c, and Josephus. See Wintle, Newton, and the Universal History.

able,) and causing his precipitate return to his own land, in indignation which would vent itself against "the holy covenant," or Jews' religion and law, and evil alliance with certain that forsook it,—so *Antiochus Epiphanes* returned the next year in a third expedition into Egypt, now prostrate before him; but, when expecting to reduce it finally under his sway, was stopped on a sudden by the unlooked-for intervention of Roman ambassadors, just arrived in ships from *Italy*, the scriptural *Chittim*; and being forced to resign the prey, groaning and grieving, as Polybius describes it, vented his indignation against the Jews and their holy covenant; attacked Jerusalem a second time with a detachment of his returning army,—a second time massacring its inhabitants,—a second time defiling its temple; and, building a garrison-fortress in the city of David, in conjunction with Menelaus the high priest and other apostate Jews of his party, issued a proclamation abrogating the Jewish religion and ritual, and enjoining the heathen worship of Jupiter Olympius in its stead.¹

Thus we come to the close of the *first Part* of this prophecy. And on the whole, I think the evidence has been such as to show that we can scarcely have been wrong in the historical application that we have founded on it. There are, no doubt, some obscurities and ambiguities of words and of construction,² more especially

¹ The following chronological tabular view of the chief events of the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, referred to in the prophecy, may be useful. It is taken from the Universal History, Vol. ix.

B. C.	
176	Antiochus Epiphanes begins to reign.
171	His first expedition against Egypt, and defeat of Ptolemy's forces between Mount Casius and Pelusium.
171	His second expedition against Egypt, advance to Memphis, and success in getting Ptolemy Philometor into his hands:—whereupon the Egyptians of Alexandria set up Philometor's brother <i>Ptolemy Physcon</i> . He attacks Jerusalem on his return to Antioch.
168	Antiochus' third expedition against Egypt. He invests Alexandria, and is repulsed by the Roman ambassadors. Returning, he detaches Apollonius and a part of his army against Jerusalem; who storms it, and sets up the statue of Jupiter Olympius in the Temple.
165	Antiochus, after hearing, when near Babylon, of the defeat of his viceroy Lysias by Judas Maccabeus, hastens his return to Syria; and on the road dies miserably.

² One very notable verbal example of these ambiguities is that of the Hebrew

in regard of some of the pronouns personal ;¹ with a view to the solution of which obscurities we have consulted the history supposed to be referred to, and affixed a meaning accordingly. In such particulars the parallelism exhibited between the prophecy and the history can have but little weight, towards establishing the truth of our general explanation. But there is so much of the prophecy that is in its grammatical sense clear, and in the particulars thus clearly predicted characteristic and distinctive,² and on these points, or rather this series of points, the agreement with it of the Ptolemæan and Se-

word מִלְּפִי in verse 16 : a word rendered in our English translation *consumed* ; in other versions, as we have seen, *perfected* :—a sense almost the reverse. Another example is connected with the word מִלְּדָוִד of verse 6 : which the English translation explains as *her father* ; Wintle and Boothroyd as *her son* ; the Septuagint as *the young woman* ; Aben Ezra as *her mother*. But here the different meanings arise out of the differences of punctuation ; or, as in Wintle and Boothroyd's translation, a difference of reading.

¹ Viz. verse 6, "Neither shall *he* stand ;" a pronoun grammatically applicable either to *the King of the North* or *King of the South* :—verse 11, "And *he* shall set forth a great multitude, and the multitude shall be given into *his* hand ;" where the sense requires different persons to be understood by the *he* and *his* : but who the one, and who the other, is only to be inferred from the history : * verse 24, "Scatter among *them*," or "Scatter what is belonging to *them* ;" where the pronoun *them* may be referred either to Syrians or Egyptians :—verse 25, "But *he* shall stand."

² Such is the series of particulars following ;—the reconciliation of the primary difference between the two kingdoms by the marriage of the King of the South's daughter to the King of the North ;—the failure of this expedient from the circumstance of her abandonment in the new country of her adoption, and apparently her murder ; the avenging of her wrongs by her brother, the next King of the South, his triumphant invasion of the Northern King's territory, and deportation into Egypt not only of other spoil, but of sundry *gods* also of the people of the land ;—the attempts of the next King of the North, and the next but one, at the recovery of their territory and honour ; the total defeat of this latter in the first instance, and success in the second ; and thereupon his making up the quarrel with the Southern King by some marriage-scheme, and turning his face to the isles of the Mediterranean, and capturing them, until sternly repulsed by some prince or general, on whom that attack was deemed an indignity, and dying soon after ingloriously ;—then the reign of a mere *raiser of taxes*, as the next King of the North ;—then his being followed by a king contemptible, and the very reverse of *ἐπιφανής* (illustrious), and this last invading Egypt with more success than any of his predecessors, once and again, until stopped by the very singular intervention of *ships of Chittim* : then, finally, his venting his rage against the Jews and their religion, in alliance with certain apostates to heathenism from out of their own body. All these points seem to be unambiguous, alike in the prediction and the historical fulfilment.

* The word "*For*," beginning verse 13 in our translation, does not help to determine the ambiguity : its original Hebrew being simply ו, usually rendered *and*.

leucidean history is so striking, that I conceive we may rest in the persuasion of its having been certainly thus far fulfilled, so as explained, with full and well-grounded satisfaction.

§ II. THE SECOND PART OF DANIEL'S PROPHECY.

In this second part (including from chapter xi. 31 to the end of chapter xii,) the prophecy naturally arranges itself under five sectional subdivisions : 1st, the prediction of the setting-up of the abomination of desolation, contained in verse 31 ;—2nd, the sketch of events following thereupon, until the rise of the wilful or apostate King, given in verses 31—36 ;—3rd, the description of this apostate King, in verses 36—39 inclusive ;—4th, the resumed notice of the Kings of the South and North, and their enterprizes, in connection with the apostate King's time and reign, verses 40—45 ;—5thly, and finally, the sketch of the concluding catastrophe, issuing in the grand consummation, and the deliverance and blessedness of Daniel's people, contained in chap. xii.

1. Now with regard to the *first* of these sectional subdivisions,¹ were we simply to follow the course of history, we might naturally suppose the prediction it contains to have reference to that same *Antiochus Epi-*

¹ 31. "And arms * shall stand † on his part : ‡ and they shall pollute § the sanc-

* זרעִים *βραχίονες*, as before. † יַעֲמִדוּ, the same verb as in verse 3, &c.

‡ מִמֶּנּוּ, from מֵן, properly *from, out of*. So verse 7, "Out of a branch from her roots : " Dan. viii. 9, *Out of* one of them came forth a little horn : " &c. But it also indicates chronologically *succession after*. So Gen. xxxviii. 24, "Three months *after* ; " Deut. xv. 1, *At the end of* every seven years," &c : also in verse 33 of this chapter, "After they have made agreement ; " and 2 Sam. xxiii. 4, "After rain." And such I conceive to be the meaning here ; understanding *him*, viz. the King of the North previously spoken of, as the noun after the preposition.—Wintle translates, "from *these*," viz. *the ships of Chittim*. But how will the Hebrew allow of this ? The view of the Jewish interpreters mentioned by Jerome will be seen in Note ³, p. 144.

Our English translation seems to me not happy in its rendering of this preposition ; for it gives no idea of the various possible meanings of the phrase.

§ וְחָלְלֵהוּ. The verb is one of general application in the *Piel*, in the sense of *profaning* or *defiling* anything sacred, such as the *priests, sanctuary, sabbath, name of God*, &c ; Lev. xix. 8, xxi. 9, Mal. ii. 11, Exod. xxxi. 14, Lev. xviii. 21, &c.

phanes that was the subject of the verses preceding, and his setting up of what might well be called an *abomination of desolation* in Jerusalem. For history tells us, that after the repulse of this Syrian King from Egypt by the stern mandate of the Roman ambassadors, he did not only show “*indignation against the holy covenant*,” by attacking the still holy city Jerusalem, breaking down in part its walls and houses, and massacring many of its inhabitants,—but that he also by a decree abrogated the Jewish worship, enjoined conformity on pain of death to the Greek heathen religion, defiled the temple by the blood of the Jewish worshippers, set up the statue there of Jupiter Olympius, and at the same time, placing a garrison in a strong fort built in the City of David, fell on all that might come up to worship after the Mosaic ritual, and thereby made the temple and the city desolate.¹—Yet, on more careful consideration, strong reasons will I think strike the careful inquirer against this historical application of the passage. For, 1st, it will be found most difficult, if not impossible, to explain the sequel of the prophecy consistently with it. With regard to the people spoken of immediately after as “*knowing their God*,”² antithetically to certain that are styled covenant-transgressors, they must on this hypothesis of interpretation be supposed the *Maccabean patriots*, that rose up in insurrection against Antiochus and his heathenish ordinance. But, as Bishop Newton observes,

tuary of strength ;* and shall take away the daily sacrifice : † and they shall place the abomination that maketh desolate.” ‡

¹ See the history in the first chapter of 1 Maccab.

² Verse 32.

* Or the sanctuary ;” the fortress. So Psalm xcvi. 6 ; “ Beauty and strength are in his sanctuary : ” strength not, I conceive, as some would have it, because of the temple being fortified, and therefore strong, but as implying the presence and protection of Him in whom is everlasting strength.

† So Dan. xii. 11 and viii. 11. Greek τον ενδελεχισμον. Compare Exod. xxix. 42, Numb. xxviii. 6, Ezra iii. 5, Nehem. x. 33, &c.

‡ מְשַׁחֲמֵם מְשַׁחֲמֵם. The same occurs again in chap. xii. 11 ; only without the article prefixed to the first word, and with the second in the *Kal* conj. not the *Piel*. In ix. 27 we have also the same phrase, but with the word *abominations* in the plural.—The former word (translated in the Greek βδελυγμα) applies generally to things unclean (as garments, food, &c, Nahum iii. 6, Zech. ix. 7) ; but is used specially and most frequently of idols.

neither could it be said of them that "*they instructed many*,"¹ for there is no record of any grand accession of proselytes to the Jews' religion through their teaching : nor again could it be said of them that "*they fell by the sword, and flame, and spoil, and captivity many days :*"² the fact being that (except in the case of some that would not resist when attacked on the Sabbath-day)³ they were from the very commencement successful in their patriotic enterprizes, at first in more petty guerilla warfare, then soon after in a decisive battle with Antiochus' chief general, Lysias ;⁴ the result of which, besides probably precipitating the horrible death of Antiochus,⁵ was the cleansing of the Temple just three years from the setting up of Jupiter's image within it by Apollonius,⁶ restoration of the Mosaic ritual, and establishment of the high priesthood and sovereignty over the Jewish people in the Maccabean family, where it continued thenceforward for several generations.⁷—Moreover in what follows after this, about *the wilful King*, and *the Kings of the South and the North pushing at him*,⁸ the historical interpretation fails still as palpably as before : forasmuch as Antiochus Epiphanes, the supposed wilful King on this hypothesis, instead of not worshipping the God of his fathers, like Daniel's wilful King,⁹ was as much given to the worship of Jupiter as his Greek ancestors before him ; and neither was pushed at by Egypt's now prostrate king, nor (being *himself* in this prophecy the King of the North) could have had

¹ Verse 33.

² Applying the "*they*," as these interpreters do, to the faithful and understanding ones of the former part of the verse. I shall observe under the next head on its possible, or rather *probable*, reference to a different class of persons.

³ 1 Mac. ii. 32—38.

⁴ See the history in the chapters ii, iii, and iv of 1 Macc.

⁵ Ibid. vi. 5—16. His death is said to have occurred, A.S. 149.

⁶ Compare 1 Macc. i. 57 and iv. 52. From the former passage it appears that it was on the 15th of the month *Chisleu*, (the ninth of the Jewish months, or January) in the year of the Greeks, i. e. of the Seleucidæan Æra, 145, that the idol abomination was set up by Apollonius : from the latter that it was on the 25th of the same month A.S. 148 that the temple was cleansed, and the altar rededicated.

⁷ See the Maccabean History in the Apocrypha, as before ; or Josephus.

⁸ Dan. xi. 36, 40.

⁹ Verse 37.

the King of the North come against him.—2. There are two expressions in the verse under consideration, designative alike of the *desolating power* and *the desolation* itself, which seem to me to give intimation that the history of Antiochus Epiphanes is here broken off from, and another and different enemy of Daniel's people referred to. For the *former* is spoken of thus; "And arms shall stand up *from*, or *after*, him:" a phrase only to be interpreted, I believe, agreeably with the precedents of other analogous Hebrew phrases in the prophecy, of some *new* prince or power, arising *after* in respect of *time*, or *from* him, in respect of *origin*, that was before the subject of description.¹ And the *latter* has the *definite article* prefixed to it, "*The* abomination making desolate:" as if to designate either one particular desolating abomination previously made known to Daniel, (Dan. ix. 27,) or that which was to be emphatically *the* grand abomination of desolation:² on neither of which grounds could that spoken of in the passage before us mean the idol set up in the Temple by Antiochus Epiphanes; there having been no previous prediction of it,³ and the desolation it caused being one of very short duration.

And in fact, while thus excluding the abomination set up by Antiochus, this little but very significant particle in the prophetic language seems to me very strikingly to point out that which was afterwards set up by the *Romans*, as the one intended: both as being that which introduced the longest and greatest desolation of the Jewish temple and city, and that which alike other previous prophecies,⁴ and more especially the one commu-

¹ See my Note † on the Hebrew preposition, p. 139 *suprà*; also those on עָרָא, *ḥaraw*, and עָרָא, *to stand or stand up*, pp. 124, 121.

Compare too, as to the *figure*, a somewhat different one in Vol. i, p. 138 Note ⁴; where we read that *another neck growing out behind from his own*, was understood by Domitian to signify a new and different line of emperors.

² See Note † p. 140.

³ In Dan. viii. 13 a *transgression of desolation* is spoken of, not an *abomination of desolation*. And in proof of its meaning something very different from the abomination set up in Jerusalem by Antiochus Epiphanes, see my explanation of that prophecy, Vol. iii. p. 374, &c.

⁴ A desolation of Judah is often predicted, which was to last up to the time

nicated to Daniel himself a little before by the angel Gabriel,¹ distinctly foretold.—Nor is there wanting other evidence to corroborate this conclusion, as to the meaning of the prediction. 1st. The very singular circumstance of Gabriel's adoption of the language of Balaam's ancient prophecy,² when bringing the Romans just before on the prophetic scene, "And ships shall come from Chittim," might naturally be supposed to indicate not only that the same power was there intended by him that was intended by Balaam, but that the *desolation of the Hebrew nation* here next after spoken of, was the same also with that which was next after foreshown by the Spirit that spoke through Balaam; which last was expressly said to be caused by *them of the ships from Chittim*.—2. Our Lord's specification of the abomination of desolation that was to be set up by the *Romans* as the one spoken of by Daniel the Prophet,³ though explicable by reference simply to the prophecy in Daniel's ninth chapter, does yet on the most natural interpretation imply a reference to this also.⁴—3. No epoch of transition from the *third* of the four great empires to the *fourth*, in the Angel's far-ranging prophecy, could be so fit, according to the evidence of history, as that when the Roman ambassadors arrived in ships from Chittim at Alexandria. For, as Mede and the two Newtons have observed, that precise year was the epoch of the overthrow of the Macedonian kingdom, and its conversion into a subject-province by the Romans :⁵ and indeed the

of her ultimate restoration and conversion. So, for example, Isa. iii. 26, compared with the sequel, vi. 11, xlix. 8. 21, lxiv. 10, &c. ¹ Dan. ix. 27.

² Numb. xxiv. 24; "And *ships shall come from Chittim*, and shall afflict (or oppress) Asshur, and shall afflict *Eber*, and he too shall perish for ever." See Prof. Lee on Eusebius' Theophania, Pref. p. cxiv.

³ Matt. xxiv. 15: "When ye therefore shall see the abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel the prophet stand in the holy place, (whoso readeth let him understand)" &c; compared with Luke xxi. 20, "When ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies, then know that the desolation thereof is nigh."

⁴ This is the *only* passage where the precise phrase "*abomination of desolation*" is used, except in xii. 11, the sequel of this same prophecy. In Dan. ix. 27, the wording is, "For the overspreading of abominations he shall make it desolate;"—or, according to the reading of a manuscript of the 13th century, celebrated by Michaelis, and adopted by Clarke,—"*And in the temple of the Lord there shall be abomination.*" In Dan. viii. 13, as before said, it is "*the transgression of desolation.*"

⁵ After the overthrow and capture of King Perseus in the battle of Pydna.

very act of their thus dictating terms between the Syro-Macedonian and Egypto-Macedonian dynasties, was at the time a notification to the world that the *Roman* arms held now the world's supremacy, having, like the emblem on one of their standards,¹ stood up above the *Grecian*; just agreeably with this prophecy, which might almost before-hand have been understood to signify as much. 4thly, and finally, it appears from Jerome that the Jews themselves in his time, who had the two interpretations alike before them,² did apply this prophecy, *not* to the abomination of desolation set up by *Antiochus*, *but* to that far more awful one set up by the *Romans*.³

This important preliminary point being settled, our course will be clearer for the sequel.

B.C. 168.—So *Æmilius Sura*, as cited by the Roman historian Velleius Paterculus, i. 6, and quoted by Mede and Bishop Newton; “Assyrii principes omnium gentium rerum potiti sunt; deinde Medi; postea Persæ; deinde Macedones: exinde, duobus regibus Philippo et Antiocho, qui à Macedonibus oriundi erant, haud multo post Carthaginem subactam devictis, summa imperii ad Populum Romanum pervenit.”

¹ On the top of one of the well-known Roman standards an *open hand turned upwards* was the terminating ornament. Engravings may be seen in Montfaucon, or other Books on Roman Antiquities. So too on some of the Roman quadrantes.

² For in the Maccabees the application had evidently been made to Antiochus Epiphanes; and the Christians of Jerome's time many of them applied it to Antichrist, so as stated in the next Note.

³ *Jerome's* words are (*in loc.*); “Judæi hoc nec de Antiocho Epiphane, nec de Antichristo, sed de *Romanis* intelligi volunt, de quibus suprâ dictum est, ‘Et venient trieres (sive Itali atque Romani), atque humiliabitur.’ Post multa, inquit, tempora de ipsis Romanis, qui Ptolemæo venere auxilio, et Antiocho comminati sunt, consurget rex Vespasianus; surgent brachia ejus et semina, Titus filius cùm exercitu; et polluent sanctuarium, auferentque jube sacrificium, et templum tradent æternæ solitudini.”—On the *trieres* see the notice from Jerom, in Note¹, p. 137, suprâ.

The same Father on Matt. xxiv. 15, after referring to Dan. ix. 27, thus gives his own judgment on the *abomination of desolation*, meant by Christ: “Potest aut de *Antichristo* intelligi, aut de *imagine Cæsaris* quod Pilatus posuit in templo, aut de *Hadriani equestri statuâ*;” or, again, as he adds, of all wrong doctrine that may stand in the *Holy Place*, i. e. in the *Church*.

Ambrose too on Luke xxi. 20 (Lib. x. 15) thus notes the Jews' opinion “Vere Hierusalem ab exercitu obsessa est et expugnata à Romano duce; unde Judæi putaverunt tunc factam *abominationem desolationis*, (viz. that predicted alike in Dan. ix. and xi.) eo quod caput porci in templum jecerint, illudentes Romani Judaicæ ritum observantiæ.” Which explanation, however, *Ambrose* himself reprobates.—Let me observe, that the fact that *Ambrose* alludes to is confirmed and illustrated by a Roman medal of one of the Emperors, which, on the obverse has the device of a woman in bonds standing under a palm-tree, with the legend *Julæa Devicta*; on the reverse, a *sow with its litter*: it being said that the Emperor *Claudius* ordered a sow to be placed over the gate of the temple at Jerusalem.

In one manuscript, *Wintle* observes, the word *arms* in this verse is followed

2. The *second* and next subdivision of this part of the prophecy sketches the events that would follow on this setting up of the abomination of desolation by the Romans (as I supposed) in the Jewish Temple, down to the rise of the wilful or apostate King:—a sketch contained in verses 32—35, inclusive.¹

And it is supposed by Sir Isaac and Bishop Newton, and other interpreters who, in common with them and myself, understand the abomination meant of that placed by the Romans, that they whose character and history are here given, are simply *the Christian body*; a body constituted just before Judah's desolation, and here depicted under the two-fold classification of its faithful and unfaithful members: and that there is no allusion made

by **סִי**, that is of *the sea*, or of *the West*: evidently, if a gloss, written by one who took the same view as the above of the meaning of the passage.

¹ 32. "And such as do wickedly * against the covenant shall he corrupt † by flatteries: ‡ but the people § that do know their God shall be strong, and do exploits. 33. And they that understand among the people shall instruct many: ||

* **מַרְשִׁיעִי**, the participle Hiphil, from **רָשַׁע**, a verb (the opposite, says Gesenius, to **צַדִּיק**) signifying, 1. *to be guilty*, 2. *to be wicked*, as Dan. ix. 15. This Hiphil form occurs again xii. 10, "The wicked shall do wickedly."

† **יְחַנִּיף**, the Hiphil form of **חָנַף**, *to be profaned*, or *polluted*; as Psalm cvi. 38, "The land was polluted with blood." The Hiphil here gives the active sense of *profaning*, or *making profane* and *heathenish*. So Gesenius. And perhaps instead of *he* being the nominative understood, it may be something like the French *on*,—"One shall corrupt," or, "They shall be corrupted." But the Greek version and the Vulgate, (as also the Armenian) read the word as in the plural, not singular: *Οἱ ἀνομοντες διαθηκην επαξουσιν εν ολισθημασι*. "Impii in testamentum simulabunt fraudulententer." Thus Wintle prefers to read; **יְחַנְּפוּ**; translating the clause, "Those that impiously disregard the covenant will dissemble in flatteries."

‡ **בְּחַלְלֵי קוֹת**. The similar word **חַלְלֵי קוֹת**, occurs both in verse 21 *suprà* and verse 34 following: in the former case of Antiochus Epiphanes obtaining the kingdom by his *flatteries* and *dissimulation*; in the latter, (if Newton's interpretation be correct) of the *religious dissimulation and hypocrisy* of false professors of Christianity.—See Note * p. 133 *suprà*. The reader will see presently the necessity of attention to the possible *religious* reference of this word.

In the *Critici Sacri* in loc. one expositor thus renders the clause; "Et impiè deserentes fœdus inducet ut subdolè agant per hypocrisin:" applying the charge of *flatteries*, or *hypocrisy*, to the *seduced*, not the *seducer*.

§ **סִי**, a word used as well of the *Jews*, while God's people, as of the Gentiles.

|| **יְבִינֵי**, Greek *συνήσουσιν εις πολλὰ* and so Wintle, "Shall have understanding in many things." But the word may be *active*, in the sense *to instruct*. So Dan. viii. 16, Job vi. 24, Neh. viii. 8, 9, Psalm cxix. 34: in the two first of which passages the preposition **בְּ** follows the verb, as here.—It occurs in a different sense in verse 37 *infra*.

to *the Jews* thenceforward in the prophecy ; except in

yet * they shall fall † by the sword and by flame, by captivity ‡ and by spoil, *many* days.§ 34. Now when they shall fall || they shall be holpen with a little help;¶ but many shall cleave to them with flatteries.** 35. And some of them †† of understanding shall fall, to try them, and to purge, and to make them white,‡‡ *even* to §§ the time of the end : ||| because *it is* yet for a time appointed."

* ו, *and*. Our translators vary much in the rendering of this conjunctive particle.—The ambiguity of the pronoun *they* should also be marked.

† וְנָכַשְׁלוּ, Sept. *ασθενησουσι*, from נָכַשׁ *to be weak, to totter, and so to fall*: a verb used in the *Niphal*, as here, in verses 14, 19 preceding : and also in verses 34, 35, 41 following. Compare 1 Sam. ii. 4, "They that *stumbled* (or *staggered*) are girded with strength ;" said with reference to *weakness* : also Jer. vi. 21, "I will lay stumbling-blocks before this people, and the fathers and the sons together shall *fall upon* (or *over*) them : " Psalm cvii. 12, "They rebelled against the words of God, therefore he brought down their heart with labour, they *fell down*, and there was none to help ; " and Jer. xxxi. 9, "I will cause them to walk in a straight way wherein they shall not *stumble* ; " said of the *falling* through *God's judgments on sin*.

Compare Is. viii. 14, 15 ; "A man shall be for a gin and snare to the inhabitants of Jerusalem ; and many among them shall stumble, and fall, and be broken, and be snared, and be taken."

‡ וְשָׁבִי, Gk. *αιχμαλωσια*. The same word is used in verse 8 of the prisoners taken and led into Egypt by Ptolemy Euergetes, in his great expedition against the Syrians ; and very frequently in the Books of Moses, the Psalms, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Ezra, Nehemiah, of *captives taken in war*, especially of the captivity of *Judah*.—The word used of persons imprisoned by the civil magistrate, as Gen. xxxix. 20, is one quite different, וְסִיר.

§ ימים, simply *days*. || Wintle, "When they shall have fallen."

¶ עֲזָרָה, *βοηθεια*, a word of general application, and not restricted to the case of helping such as have fallen, &c.

** חֲלָקְלָקוֹת, as verse 21, on which see my Note. Nearly the same word occurs also in verse 32 just before.—The Greek version is, *Και προστεθσονται προς αυτους πολλοι εν ολισθημασι* Wintle's ; "Many shall be fastened to them through flatteries."

†† וְיִמְךָ, *and from, or out of* ; i.e. *some out of*. Mark the *selection* here, in contrast with the *generality* of the statement in verse 33 just before.

‡‡ לְצִרוּף בָּתָם וּלְבָרָר וּלְלִבָּן. The same words occur again in chap. xii. 10, "Many shall be purified, and made white, and tried : " which shows that the prophetic intimation is very far prospective, and that it reaches even to the time of the end.

Wintle (on xii. 10) thus distinguishes the particular meaning of each : "The word בָּרָר is borrowed from wheat cleansed from the chaff ; לָבָן from cloth whitened by the fuller ; צָרַף, from goldsmiths who try and essay the metal, and separate it from the dross." The prefix בִּ in בָּתָם seems otiose : if in the sense *through*, it must refer to the *sword*, &c.—On the בָּרָר compare Jer. iv. 11, "A dry wind toward the daughter of my people, not to *fan*, nor to *cleanse* : " &c. And on the other words, Mal. iii. 2. "He is like a refiner's fire, and like fuller's soap."

§§ עַד, either *during, whilst*, as Judg. iii. 26, Job i. 18 : or *until*, as Gen. xlix. 10, "Until Shiloh come ; " Josh. ii. 22, "Until the pursuers were returned."—This two-fold meaning should be observed.

||| עַתָּה קֵץ. So xi. 40, xii. 9 : in the first of which parallel passages the phrase will be remarked on.

those chronological notices xi. 36, "Till the indignation be accomplished," and xii. 7, "When he shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people," whereby the Angel marked the end of the indignation against the Jews, and of their penal scattering, as the sign and epoch of the consummation. Thus the passage is explained by them in brief as follows :—He (the Roman Emperor and his officers) shall by flattering offers induce *unfaithful* Christians, the transgressors of the new covenant, to apostatize from the faith ; but the *faithful* Christians shall be strong, and instruct many. Yet they shall fall many days by sword, flame, captivity, and spoil,—viz. in the ten Pagan persecutions,—till holpen by the little help of Constantine and his descendants' adoption and establishment of Christianity in the Roman Empire.¹ Then many shall cleave to them with flatteries, or hypocritically join themselves to the Church : and divers of the true and sincere Christians fall afterwards by new persecutions, to try them, and purify them, till the time of the end.

But I cannot but think that there is here meant a *double* division of the people spoken of : viz. first, a division of the *whole Jewish people* into Jews rejecting Christianity, and Jews embracing it and becoming Christians : (this in the two former verses :) then, a further division of the *latter* into the false and the true members of the professing Christian Church. For besides that we might expect, as I think, some notice of the desolated *Jewish people* at this sad crisis of their history, as well as of their desolate *city*,—just as in our Lord's prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem,² and other similar prophecies also,³—besides this, I say, there are various expressions in the two first verses of the passage under

¹ Compare the figure of the two wings of the great eagle, &c, being given the woman, to help her, in Apoc. xii. 14, 16.

² Luke xxi. 20, 24 : "When ye see Jerusalem compassed with armies, then know that the desolation thereof is nigh. . . . And great wrath shall be on this people ; and they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led away captive into all nations ; and Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled."

³ Deut. xviii. 32, 64, &c. &c.

consideration which seem to me scarcely applicable, except to that unhappy people. Is the phrase "they that do wickedly against the covenant," a fit designation of the insincerity and worldliness in heart of such members of the Christian body as were *ultimately* induced in the time of Pagan Rome's persecutions to apostatize? Or, if previously open transgressors of the covenant, did they need at all to be corrupted? Again, was it the fact that the Roman emperors and chief magistrates did then seek by *flatteries* to draw Christians into apostacy from their faith; and this on a scale such as to be marked in history, and to answer to a notice like this in prophecy? Surely cruelty and violence, not flattery, were the characteristic weapons by which the Pagan powers sought to destroy Christianity,¹—Further, did the Christians, *as a body* or *people*, fall during these times of Pagan persecution, so as the expression in verse 33 seems to indicate; or only *a certain few* from among them?²—And, once more, could it be said of such as suffered in these persecutions, that they fell by *captivity*, as well as otherwise;—a word used in Hebrew, just like the words that represent it in the Greek, Latin, English, and other versions, not of imprisonment by order of the civil magistrate, but of the taking of prisoners in *war*, and holding them, so taken, in captivity and exile?³

Thus my conclusion is that the *Jews* must be here meant, not *Christians*. And on the whole,—presuming that I may read the first clause in ver. 32 as Wintle, "They that do wickedly against the covenant will dissemble in

¹ No doubt on certain occasions the presiding magistrates, like Pliny whom Bishop Newton specially refers to, urged the Christians brought before them to spare themselves, and sacrifice to the emperor's image. But this was not *flattering* offers. And as to the general and proper character of the Pagan mode of dealing with Christianity, let the reader, after perusing the history of the early persecutions in any ecclesiastical historian, judge for himself whether *flattery*, or *cruelty* and *terror*, was the weapon employed. See my historic sketch under the 5th Seal.

² Mark the contrast of expression between this general statement, "And *they* shall fall," &c. and the particular and restricted statement in verse 35, "And *out of them* of understanding *some* shall fall," &c. See my Note †† on the word, p. 146.

³ See Note † p. 146.

flatteries,"¹—I would thus briefly paraphrase the whole passage. In connexion with this time and fact of Jerusalem's desolation, the Jewish people generally, though wicked transgressors of the holy covenant, (a covenant just before confirmed and illustrated among them by their Messiah,)² shall yet unite with this their transgression of it the show and profession of religious zeal, hypocritically dissembling: (a character of the Jews of that era prominently set forth in the burning words of Christ himself;³ and set forth also as awfully by their own historian Josephus, in his description of them during the siege of Jerusalem.)⁴ On the other hand, they that know their God,—even Jehovah, their then-revealed Messiah and Saviour, (such I cannot but believe the intent of the expression, especially as considering the time referred to)⁵—the disciples who, taught from above, shall know (what others cannot know⁶) that

¹ Wintle does not give this translation in support of the historical explanation that I advocate; for he has followed Bishop Newton in his view of the prophecy. For some corroboration to it see the ancient Greek and Latin versions in Note * p. 145.

² So it had been foreshown to Daniel previously. "And He (the Messiah) shall confirm the covenant with many for one week; and in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and oblation to cease," &c. Dan. ix. 27.—I cannot err, I think, in supposing that this previous prophecy was remembered and applied by Daniel, while hearing the Angel's present revelations.

³ Matt. xxiii. 13—33: "Woe unto you, scribes and pharisees, hypocrites," &c: xv. 7, 8; "Ye hypocrites, well did Esaias prophesy of you, saying, This people draweth nigh unto me with their mouth, and honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me."—Compare Rom. ii. 23, written by St. Paul, characteristically in like manner of his nation, a few years later; "Thou that makest thy boast of the law, through breaking the law dishonourest thou God?" Compare too the prediction in Isa. xxix. 13, 14, declaring that the curse of moral blindness would be adjudged and attach to this dissembling people; even with the light shining around them.

⁴ One grand division of the Jews,—the most horrid and blood-thirsty perhaps of all during the siege,—was that of the *zealots* for the law.

⁵ The phrase is one, I believe (I mean with the noun, the verb, and the possessive pronoun all together) by no means common. A somewhat near parallel occurs in Isaiah xl. 9, "Say unto the cities of Judah, *Behold your God!*"—a prophecy of the *ultimate revelation of Jesus* to them, as their Messiah the Lord Jehovah.—The passage in Isa. xi. 9, about the "*knowledge of Jehovah* filling the earth," is also a partial parallel; though the possessive pronoun is wanting. And there too *Christ* seems to be meant. So also in Isa. lii. 7, "That saith unto Zion, Thy God reigneth." And Jer. xxxi. 34, "They shall teach no more every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord," &c.

⁶ "He was in the world, and the world was made by him, and the world knew him not. He came unto his own, and his own received him not. But as many as received him, (and which were born not of blood.... but of God,) beheld

mystery of godliness, *God manifest in the flesh*,¹ shall not only understand themselves, but strong in faith and spirit, shall instruct and disciple many. Thus the Jewish people, as a nation, shall fall and be scattered, a monument of God's righteous indignation,² by the sword and by flame, by captivity and by spoil, many days: whilst meanwhile the understanding ones, or disciples of the Messiah, shall not only otherwise advance in their work, but be holpen even on this world's theatre with a little help.³ Then, however, and on this gleam of visible prosperity, hypocrisy shall insinuate itself even into their body. Many shall cleave to them that are mere dissemblers in religion, just like the Jews before them, and so corrupt the professing people. And thus persecution shall arise against the sincere ones, even out of their own body; and this continue even to the time of the end. But the result shall be only, under the divine overruling, for their good: to try them, and purify them, and make them white; even as silver is purified, and the garment made whiter, by the fuller's soap and the refiner's fire.⁴

3. As to the *third subdivision*,⁵ containing the Angel's

his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father:" &c. John i. 10—14. —Compare too 1 Cor. ii. 7, "We speak the wisdom of God in a mystery, which none of the princes of this world knew; for had they known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory. . . . But God hath revealed it to us by his Spirit." Also John xiv. 9; "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father:" and Col. ii. 9; "In him dwelleth all the fulness of the godhead bodily."

¹ 1 Tim. iii. 16.

² I borrow the words "*be scattered*" and "*indignation*" from the verses xi. 36, xii. 7 *infra*.

³ See Note ¹, p. 147.

⁴ Compare and contrast with the above the comment of Ephrem Syrus on the parallel text in Dan. xii. 9, 10, "*Many shall be purified and made white*," &c. "Designat futuram apostolorum electionem, et credentium ad eosdem audiendos concursus, quos prædicit *baptismi lavacro dealbandos*: Judæos contra, Christi interfectores, severè judicandos et puniendos."

⁵ 36. "And the king* shall do according to his will:† and he shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above every god, and shall speak marvellous things against

* Wintle translates "*a king*;" but the Hebrew has the article, מֶלֶךְ.

† A phrase used before of Alexander the Great, verse 3; and also of Antiochus the Great, verse 16, with reference to the time of his successes in Syria and against Egypt.—Hence the impropriety of the title *wilful king*, especially as a distinctive one.

prophetic sketch of what has been not very happily called *the wilful*,—I would say rather *the apostate King*,—my

the god of gods: * and shall prosper till † the indignation ‡ be accomplished; for that that is determined shall be done. 37. Neither shall he regard § the God of his fathers, nor the desire of women, || nor regard any god: for he shall magnify

* מָלֵךְ מְלִיכִים. Compare the prophecy of 2 Thess. ii. 4; also Dan. vii. 25.—Wintle observes on the strength of meaning in the two verbs *exalt himself*, *magnify himself*.

† עַד, as verse 24, p. 134, where see Note §.

‡ מְצַחַת, the same word as in verse 30.—Gesenius says that it is a word specially used of *God's* anger. So Isa. lxvi. 14, "The *Lord's* indignation shall be known towards his enemies:" Zech. i. 12, "The cities of Judah against whom thou hast had *indignation*." Compare too Isa. x. 5, "O Assyrian, the rod of mine anger, and the staff in thine hand is *mine indignation*: I will send him against an hypocritical nation:" also Ezek. xxii. 24, Mal. i. 4, Isa. xxvi. 20, &c.—The Greek version of this important clause is, Καὶ κατεσθῆναι μεχρὶς οὐ συντελεσθῇ ἡ οργή.

§ יָבִין, with the preposition עַל following it, (I presume in the sense of *concerning, as to*,) before the noun; precisely as again at the end of the same verse, and also in verse 30 *supra*, יָבִין עַל עֲזָבֵי, translated, "*He shall have intelligence with them that forsake the covenant*." The same verb is used in verse 33 of this chapter, and twice over in verse 10 of chap. xii, without the עַל, or an accusative, in the sense of *to understand*. Thus our English rendering in verse 30 seems a just and happy one: and, following this precedent, the phrase here must be considered to mean, He shall have no *joint intelligence*, or *alliance of mind and action*, with the gods of his fathers. So the Sept. Ἐν παντὶ Θεοῦ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ οὐ συνήσκει.

|| חֲמֻדַּת נָשִׁים. The question here is, Are we to consider the *women* as the *subject* of the desire, or its *object*? And the question is so important that it is right that the investigator should carefully note the parallels that scripture offers.

Now examples such as occur in Psalm cvi. 24, Jer. iii. 19, Ezek. xxvi. 12, and Amos v. 11, where we read *land of desire* (twice), *houses of desire*, and *vineyards of desire*, in the sense of *desired objects*,—and again, still with the same Hebrew word, and in the same sense, in Dan. xi. 8, 2 Chron. xxxii. 27, xxxvi. 10, Hosea xiii. 15, Nah. ii. 9, *vessels of desire*,—also, with the similar plural noun verbal חֲמֻדֹת; in Dan. x. 3, *bread of desire*, xi. 38, 43, *articles of desire*, and much the same in Ezra viii. 27 and 2 Chron. xx. 25,—all these examples, I say, and such like, in the sense of *objects of desire*, are scarcely relevant to the point in question, because in the Hebrew, as the English, the word for *desire* the *e* comes *last*, here *first*. And direct parallels are not, I believe, to be found.

On the other hand, we have the following examples where the noun attached to the word *desire* follows it in the genitive as here, and indicates that which is the *subject* or *feeler* of the desire: viz. 1 Sam. ix. 20, "On whom is the *desire* of all Israel?" where the Hebrew is חֲמֻדַּת יִשְׂרָאֵל; and 1 Kings xx. 6, Lam. ii. 4, Ezek. xxiv. 16, 21, 25, "the *desire* of thine eyes," מִחְמַד עֵינַי, &c; where the Hebrew is a derivative word, very cognate to the former.

I have omitted the famous passage from Hagg. ii. 7, חֲמֻדַּת כָּל-הַגּוֹיִם, the *desire of all nations*, as one of which the sense, though generally explained *subjectively*, is yet by some doubted.—But, putting aside this, the other passages are quite sufficient to determine my own judgment. For if the "women" of the

judgment acquiesces in the well-known interpretation given of it by Mede and the two Newtons ; and this with full satisfaction in respect of most particulars. I conceive with them that *the king* mentioned means the king or ruling chief of those false Christians, just spoken of, that would in hypocrisy and mere profession have attached themselves to the Christian Church ; in other words, the great Head of the Apostacy, *the Roman Pope*. For the *definite article* before the word *King* absolutely

himself above all. 38. But in his estate * shall he honour the god of forces † :

text were construed after the parallels of the first class (inexact as they have been shown to be) the meaning would not be *passion* or *appetite for women*, but *pleasant or desirable women* ; a sense quite alien from that which Mede, Bishop Newton, Wintle, &c, would advocate.—It only remains that the other sense be taken ; viz. that which *women* (especially *wives*) desire.—It is curious that Gesenius, in this view of the word, suggests some *Syrian goddess* to be meant, that was the special object of the worship of the Syrian women. But why not Him whom the *Hebrew women* desired,—the promised *seed of the woman*, the *Messiah* ?

[N.B. Since this was written, indeed printed, I have met with a very similar criticism, and similar conclusion on the point, in Mr. Faber's work on the Prophecies, (Ed. 5.) i. 380—385, repeated in his S.C. ii. 164 : also with the following expression of Professor Lee's opinion to the same effect, in his work on Eusebius' Theophania, lately published ; Preface, p. cxxvi : "This, occurring as it does in a context speaking of deities, was probably intended to designate the *Messiah* ; who was the desire of women, as it should seem, among the ancient Hebrews."]

Theodore's version agrees with Mede : *Επι επιθυμιαν γυναικων και επι ταρτα Θεου ο συνηρει* which, says he, was not true of Antiochus Epiphanes ; as he, not satisfied with his wives, had also concubines. *Victorinus* too understands the expression *desire of women* in the same sense ; and applying it to Nero revived, as the Antichrist, speaks of the total change of character that he would then manifest ; "Ait Daniel, Desideria mulierum non cognoscet, cum prius fuit impurissimus." B.P.M. iii. 420.

* *עַל-כִּנּוֹ* ; either in *his stead*, or *place*, as the words mean in verses 7, 20, 21 previous ; that is, instead of the God of gods, or the god of his fathers, or any god noted in the preceding verse as rejected by him : or perhaps, as Wintle and other commentators prefer to explain them, *in his seat*, viz. in the seat of the God of gods ; an expression which would then somewhat agree with the descriptive clause in St. Paul's prophecy of the Man of Sin (2 Thess. ii. 4), "sitting in the temple of God," &c.—Faber on the Prophecies, i. 401, explains it, "when he is established ;" i. e. seated in *his own seat* : and in his S. C. (ii. 178.) in *his office*, or *official station*.

† *לְאֱלֹהֵי מַעֲדֵים יִכְבֹּד*. The *ל* prefix here may be explained either from the governing verb *to honour*, or *do honour to*, which follows : as this verb has sometimes elsewhere the same proposition marking the dative in construction with it ; e. g. Psalm lxxxvi. 9, *וַיִּכְבְּדוּ לְשִׁמְךָ*, "They shall honour, or do honour to, thy name ;" and indeed in the clause of the verse before us next succeeding :—or else in the sense "*for* a god : " just as in Judges viii. 33, "The children of Israel went a whoring after Baalam, and made Baal Berith *their god* ;" literally "*for their god* : " *וַיַּשְׁמִימוּ לָהֶם בַּעַל בְּרִית לְאֱלֹהֵיהֶם*.

ties down the meaning, as it seems to me, to some notable ruler, either of these false professors, or of the power just

(*Margin*, the god Mahuzzim) :* and † a god whom his fathers knew not shall he honour with gold, and with silver, and with precious stones and pleasant things.‡ 39. Thus shall he do in the most strong holds with a strange god,§

* מַחֲזִיז, *Mahoz*, in the singular means a *fortress*. It is used *literally* in verse 7 of this chapter; and in Psalm xxxi. 3 and elsewhere, is thus applied *figuratively* to God; "Thou art my rock, and my fortress."—In the present passage the question occurs whether the plural noun is to be taken, so as our English translation renders it, in the literal topical sense of *fortresses*; in which case it must be the genitive after Eloah, "the god of fortresses;" or whether, with the *Margin*, as an *appellative* of certain gods so called. In common with most commentators,—and in accordance also with the Greek and Vulgate, ("Deum Mahuzzim in loco suo venerabitur,"—Θεον Μαυζεμι επι τοις αυτις δοξασει,)—I cannot hesitate to reject the former, and adopt the latter explanation. I am induced to do so by two obvious considerations, not to mention others: 1st, that the *god of fortresses*, the rendering of the clause offered by the former explanation, could only be a god answering to the Pagan *Mars*, and consequently one not merely not unknown to the ancient Romans, but one honoured by them almost above any other: 2ndly, that it is an historic fact that an appellative precisely answering to the word Mahuzzim was actually given to departed martyrs and saints under the Papal Apostacy; to which Apostacy and its chief it is plain (without entering into historic particulars which belong rather to the text) that this prophecy may *possibly* apply.

Grammatically considered, the appellative *Mahuzzim* will answer in regard of its derivation and use to the appellative *Baalim*; a word derived from *Baal*, signifying *Lord*, or *Master*, and used to designate the well-known Syrian gods.

Theodoret thus comments on the whole clause.—Των πατερων αυτη παντων την οικειαν φυσιν εγνωνοτων, και τον επι παντων Θεον σφας αυτες ονομασαι μη τετολημεν, ουτοι Θεον ισχυρον και δυνατόν (τετο γαρ σημαίνει το Μαυζεμι) εαυτον προσαγορευει. Το γαρ επι το πρ αυτη αντι του εαυτον τεθεικε.

† The ׀ might be rendered *even*, in the exegetic sense which not seldom attaches to it. In that case the *eloah*, or *god*, next mentioned will be in apposition with Mahuzzim: a case of apposition admissible, notwithstanding that *Mahuzzim* is plural and *Eloah* singular; much as in the somewhat parallel example of the conjunction of Baal and Elohim in Judges viii. 33, quoted in the note preceding: though indeed the analogy there is not quite strict. If rendered *and*, as usual, this god must be considered as one honoured *in addition to* the Mahuzzim: his particular and separate specification marking him as pre-eminent among them; though probably, since no different distinctives are added, of the same character.

‡ Literally, "things of desire." See Note II, p. 151.

§ וְעָשָׂה לְמַבְצְרֵי מַעֲזָיִם עִם אֱלֹהֵי נֹכַר, This is a clause very difficult and obscure. The *Vulgate* translation is, "Et faciet ut munit Mahuzzim cum Deo alieno;" the *Greek*, Και ποιησει τοις οχυρωμασι των καταφυγων μετα Θεου αλλοτριου; the *Syriac*, "Transibitque ad urbes munitas contrà Deos alienos."—Of modern commentators *Mede* translates, "And he shall make the strong-holds of the Mahuzzim withal (or jointly) to the foreign god." *Bishop Newton*, "Thus shall he do to the defenders of the strange god whom he shall acknowledge." *Wintle*, "And he shall provide for fortresses of Mahuzzim together with God." *Faber*, very much as *Bishop Newton*, "And unto the upholders of his tutelary gods together with the foreign god," &c. *Cunninghame* (*Investigator*, iii. 280), "And he shall make for his fortified cities Mahuzzim, together with the strange god." *Maramensis* (*Investigator*, iv. 193), and he shall make them "i. e. the images and temples which he understands to be the "pleasant things" of the verse preceding) "into the strong-holds of the Mahuzzim, together with the

before mentioned as brought on the scene by the ships from Chittim, the same that would place the abomination

strange god." (It is to be observed that פָּשַׁע like, the Latin *facio*, has the meaning *to make*, as well as that of *to do*.)

To all of these versions, as well as to the authorized English, there are objections grammatical, or of some other kind.—Mahuzzim, being an *appellative* before, must be an appellative here, and not *strong-holds*, as the English version and Greek. Mede overlooks the ל . Mr. Cuninghame, and I think the Vulgate, construe as if it were מְבַצְרֵי , not מְבַצְרֵי . Bishop Newton and Faber give that same noun the figurative sense of *defenders*, *upholders*; which sense, however, it has nowhere else in Scripture, being always used literally to signify *fortresses*, as in Numb. xxxii. 17, 36, Josh. x. 20, xix. 35, Isa. xvii. 3: besides that they suppose it to designate the *priests* of the Mahuzzim; an application of the figure singularly inapt, as it seems to me; especially considering that the Mahuzzim themselves bear in that very title a figurative name of almost precisely the same character. Nor does Houbigant, quoted by Newton, at all justify it. Maramensis seems to be as little justified in explaining the "pleasant things" with which the Mahuzzim are to be honoured, as *temples*; an explanation essential, however, to his solution of the clause in question: since it is that which furnishes him from the context preceding with what he may apply as a pronominal accusative, understood, designating the things which the Wilful King will *make into Mahuzzim's strong-holds*.

I think, if the present reading be retained, the clause must be construed thus; "And he shall practise and prosper" (so Dan. viii. 12, 24,) "in the strong-holds of Mahuzzim, together with a strange god:" meaning by their strong-holds their *temples*; as the *arx*, or *citadel* was often the site of the tutelary god's temple of old; for example the Parthenon at Athens, the Capitol at Rome, and, I may add, the Sanctuary of strength at Jerusalem.—But then there occurs this objection. The "together with" makes the *foreign god* a sharer in this his *prosperity*. The which seems to me so incongruous with the general character of the prediction, that I cannot but believe there is some mistake in the present Hebrew text, and that a final ל has fallen out from the מְבַצְרֵי ; an omission the rather supposable perhaps, from the circumstance of a ב beginning the word following. (The slight change of vowel points involved in this supposition viz. פָּ for פַּ , is of little importance.) Then, the text thus simply corrected, Mr. Cuninghame's translation becomes admissible, "And he shall make for fortified cities Mahuzzim:" or the following, "He shall *make Mahuzzim into fortresses*, as well as a strange god." Of which two the latter translation most approves itself to my mind: because it both furnishes a reason for the appellative *Mahuzzim*,—how they would be so called because somehow made into מְבַצְרֵי , or *fortresses*; and also explains the cause of the apostate self-deifying King's honouring them, and his consistency in so doing; inasmuch as *he* would *make them into* what they were, as objects of worship; and consequently, in setting them up for the popular veneration and honour, would be honouring himself, as their creator, still more.—All this applies also to the *strange god* spoken of in apposition with the Mahuzzim; which god would apparently be of the same fraternity with these latter, only more eminent: the כִּנֹּר being here used, I conceive, in the conjunctive sense of *like as*, *as also*; a sense which it has in Eccles. ii. 16, and elsewhere. See Gesenius,—I may add that the word כִּנֹּר *strange*, is similarly used in Gen. xxxv. 2 of the *strange gods* carried with her by Rachael.

Theodorel's paraphrase of verse 39 is as follows. Καὶ ποιήσει τοῖς οχυρώμασι τῶν καταφυγῶν μετὰ θεῶν αλλοτρίων, ὃν ἐγνωρίσῃ, καὶ πληθύνει δόξαν, καὶ ὑποτάξει τὰς πολλὰς, καὶ γῆν διελείνεν ἐν δώροις. Ἀναστήσει γὰρ, φησὶν, ἑαυτῷ ναὸς, καὶ ἀργύρῳ καὶ χρυσῷ καὶ λίθοις τιμίοις αὐτὰς καλλωπύσει, καὶ ὑποτάξει αὐτοῖς πολλὰς, τὰς εξαπατῶμενας δηλονότι τοῖς τερασίν, ἢ ταῖς κολάσεσιν χαυνῶμενας. Τοῖς δὲ ὑπηκόοις καὶ ἀσεβείν ἀίραμένοις καὶ γῆν δωρησεται πλείστην.

making desolate : the Syrian *King of the North* (the only other previously-mentioned potentate whom that article might refer to) being excluded both by considerations elsewhere specified,¹ and by the chronology of the passage : a chronology now brought down into *Christian* times by the context immediately preceding. And as to the other two solutions that have been offered, and which would explain this King either of *revolutionary atheistic France*,² or of an *infidel Antichrist yet future*,³ they too seem equally excluded by the marks laid down of this King's chronological date, and political and religious origin and connexion. For did atheistic France rise up as the ruling Head either of the antichristian Apostacy of the fifth and sixth centuries, or of the *Roman* state and power from Italy and Chittim?⁴ Or

whom he shall acknowledge and* increase with glory : and he shall cause them to rule † over many, and he shall divide the land for gain." ‡

¹ p. 142, &c. *suprà*.

² As Faber on the Prophecies, i. 404, and S.C. ii. 160.

³ Maitland, Burgh, &c.

⁴ The difficulty occasioned to this theory of explanation by the definite article that I speak of appears plainly in Mr. Faber's translation, prefixed to his historic sketch, p. 401. For he omits the definite article of the Hebrew, and translates, "And a king shall do," &c. §—The reader will please to observe that there is on this point no various reading.

Let me add too a brief notice of the *early Reformers'* view of the Mahuzzim. "The Pope," said Luther in his Table Talk, (pp. 274, 281,) "was the true Antichrist; his castle and fort *the Mass*. *Mass* cometh from *Mahuzzim*; i. e. a collecting of alms or tax for the sake of the priests."—Joye, from Melancthon and Oecolampadius, says: "The idol of destruction, or wasting Image, he calleth the god Maozim: that is a strong god of diverse churches, set or hanged up. The Hebrews call all images strange gods, and heathen rites abominable destructions; because wheresoever they be set up and honoured, in churches or in abbeyes, there have we a certain token that the same churches and abbeyes shall be made even with the ground, as Christ prophesied of Jerusalem."

Rosenmuller's comment is: "*Deus munitionum* bellicus aliquis Deus erit; cujus tutelæ rex ille committet munitiones et præsidia, quibus sacrum præstat suum regnum, ita ut nihil æque ac munimenta, et quidquid est bellicorum præsidiorum, æstimet; adeoque, licet ab omni aliâ religione alienus, tamen hoc Numen quod sibi ipsi quasi creavit, studiosè colat." The comment seems to me very worthy of remark, and will be referred to again.

* There is no *and* in the original. The clause has therefore by some been rendered, "Whom acknowledging he shall increase the honour;" whether to them, or to himself.

† *Over*; as Esther ix. 1, Judges viii. 23. 1 Sam. viii. 11.

‡ Or, *for a price*; מְדוּנָה. The word is used 2 Sam. xxiv. 24, of the purchase-price to be paid for Araunah's field; "Nay, but I will buy it of thee at a price." In Micah iii. 11 it signifies the price, reward, or hire, paid for mercenary priests' service; "The priests teach for hire."

§ In the second Edition of his Sacred Calendar, ii. 163, published after my

again, could the characteristics of a king that was to rise before the *time of the end* mentioned in verse 40, and to prosper, some long time apparently,¹ till the indignation against the Jews was accomplished, be predicated of an *infidel Antichrist*, yet future, with a duration of but three and a half literal years, all *within* the time of the end?² Thus, I say, these two other suggested solutions of the Wilful King of the prophecy seem to me to be as plainly inadmissible as that which would refer it to Antiochus Epiphanes: whereas, on the other hand, the *Pope* and *Papal power* seem to answer to the description, not merely in respect of his origin, as having been the head of the Apostates of Christendom from the sixth century, but in every other particular also.

For he was alike *their* head, and the head also (in his time) of the same *fourth great dominant power*, the *Roman*, which had been introduced a little before into the Angel's prophetic sketch with "the ships from Chittim;" just accordantly both with the description here given of the Wilful King, and with that other memorable prefiguration also, long before shown to Daniel,³ which depicted the last ruling chief of the *fourth great heathen empire* as a *little horn*, with emblems betokening the *chief of a religious apostasy*.⁴—His *supremacy in power*,—a supremacy that might well be equalled even to

I believe that some expositors of this class explain the French people as here answering to the *King of the North* in the prophecy, because of its being a northern kingdom in Christendom. But surely it is required by every propriety that the King of the North and King of the South should, even to the end of the prophecy, be understood of princes or powers standing on the ground respectively, and governing the territory, of the Seleucidæ and the Ptolemies.

¹ Compare the "many days" of verse 33.

² The difficulty is not obviated by the explanation which some expositors of this class give to the abomination of desolation in verse 31, as if one to be set up by an infidel Antichrist, yet future. And the objection to it not merely from the context of the present prophecy, but from our Lord's prophecy in Matt. xxiv. 15, is one which, as it seems to me, they neither have nor can overcome.

³ Dan. vii. 20—25.

⁴ The horn had eyes as of a man, like an *ἐπισκοπος*, or *overseer*.

first Edition, Mr. F. has corrected this inadvertence. "And *that* king shall do," is now his version: the reference being, as he supposes, to the seed or progeny of the Chittim, or Roman Empire mentioned above, xi. 31.

that of Alexander the Great, of whom the same expression is used,¹—is another point of correspondency.—And so too his *character and pride*, as exalting himself above every god ; and thus, and therefore, disregarding alike the Pagan gods of his Roman ancestors, and the true God, and Christ, “ the desire of women ; ” (for so I take the phrase ;²) and against the latter speaking marvellous things and blasphemies :—all which is but another version of what is said of the Antichrist alike in Dan. vii, 2 Thess. ii, and Rev. xiii ; and which, in respect of its application to the Pope, has been already elsewhere in other parts of this book abundantly illustrated by me.—As to what is said of the Wilful King's honouring the god *Mahuzzim* (a god whom his fathers knew not⁴) in place alike of his ancestors' God, and the true God, it seems to me to have been well and consistently explained, by reference to those *saints*, and their *relics* and *images*, which the Apostacy from its first development regarded and worshipped as the *mahuzzim*, or *fortresses*, of the places where they were deposited :⁵—

¹ It is because of this common application of the phrase, “ He shall do according to his will,”—as well to Alexander as to the king here mentioned,—and also of the different meaning of the English word *wilful* (a word used by us of *disposition* and *temper*, whereas the prophetic phrase only indicates *absolutism of power*) that I object to the appellation,—the wilful King. I have observed on this before, Note † p. 150.

² See my critical Note, p. 151.

³ See vol. iii. p. 144, &c.

⁴ Let me observe in passing, that it seems to have been from this prophetic clause that the general patristic expectation respecting Antichrist arose, that he would put aside, and be an enemy to *idols*, the gods of his Roman ancestors ; “ *idola seponens*,” as Irenæus says. Which indeed the Papal Antichrist was, though a patron of *image* and *saint-worship* : asserting somewhat paradoxically the total difference of the two things ; and declaring that he who called *images* *idols*, was anathema. The real difference was this : the one was his creation, and under his management, in Western Christendom : the other not.

⁵ See on this, Mosheim, vi. 2. 4. 4.—Sir I Newton traces the progressive steps of the Apostacy to this point ; first, the celebrating the *γενεθλια*, or martyrdom-days, of the martyred saints at their tombs ; then making these tombs places of prayer ; then attributing to the saints mediatorial functions ; then connecting the favourable exercise of these functions with honour paid to their relics, and afterwards to their images. Whence those bodies, relics, or images, came to be regarded as pledges of the departed saints' protection, and the saints themselves the defenders and *fortresses*, as it were, or *mahuzzim*, of the places or persons dedicated to them. In fact they were called by this very name. So Basil in one of his Homilies ; *Λειτουργία τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ταύτην φρουρουμένην τοῖς μεγάλαις πυργοῖς τῶν μαρτύρων διατηρήσον*. And again ; *Οὗτοι εἰσιν οἱ καθ' ἡμᾶς χώραι*

saints which the Papal Chief of anti-Christendom, on the grant of the Pantheon at Rome, solemnly adopted as tutelary deities, including the Virgin Mary as their head and Eloah ;¹—which in the second Council of Nice he prevailed to have recognized as fit objects of worship, with apostate Christendom's most solemn sanction ;²—and which afterwards in the West he elected and canonized as Mahuzzim, as his own peculiar prerogative, and by his own sole authority.³ Thus being the authorita-

διαλαβοῦντες,* δίδοναι πύργοι τινες συνεχεῖς ασφαλείαν τῶν ἐναντίων καταδρομῆς παρεχόμενοι. Also Chrysostom ; Τοῦτο τὸ σῶμα τειχίζει τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην ὁ παρτος πύργου καὶ μυρίων ἐπὶ περιβολῶν ασφαλεστέρον. And again ; Τα τῶν ἁγίων σῶματα τούτων τείχους παρτος ἀδαμαντος ασφαλεστέρον ἡμῖν τειχίζει τὴν πόλιν.—The Greeks in their Preces Horariæ thus still invoke the Virgin Mary as a Mahoz ; “ O thou Virgin Mother of God, thou impregnable wall, thou fortress of salvation ” (תִּשְׁבֵּץ יִצְחָק, compare 2 Sam. xxii. 51) : and the Latins too with titles (see Note ³ below,) just similar.

¹ See Vol. iii. p. 255. He consecrated it to the honour of *all the saints*, in place of all the Pagan gods of his Roman ancestors' worship ; and to *the Virgin Mary*, as their head, in place of Cybele the mother of the gods.

² It was under Adrian, then Bishop of Rome, that the Council was summoned and held : and very mainly through his influence and authority that the iconoclastic Decrees of the previous Council of Constantinople, which had stigmatized the saints and their images as δαιμονικά οὐκ ὀφειλόμενα, (the very word here used in the Greek Version to express the Hebrew *mahuzzim*,) were reversed, the worship of saints and their images restored, and punishments awarded to those who maintained that God was the only object of religious adoration. See Mosheim, viii. 2. 3. 13.

³ Compare Rosenmüller's comment on the text, p. 155 *suprà*.—As to the historic fact, it was at first the office of Provincial Councils, with a Bishop presiding, to settle which of the more recently departed might be regarded as saints and mediators, the demand for new saints having become large in corrupted Christendom ; and the Pope was only referee on appeal in the matter :—then at length the Pope claimed it as his peculiar prerogative to create saints ; the first saint so created by him being Udalric, Bishop of Augsburg, canonized A.D. 993. See Mosh. ix. 2. 3. 4, and x. 2. 3. 4. Mosheim's words,—“ The judgment of the Roman Pontiffs was respected in the choice of those that were to be *honoured* with saintship,” till “ The Church of Rome engrossed to itself the *creation* of these *tutelary divinities*, which at length was distinguished by the title of *canonization*,”—are like a comment on the prophetic words, “ Mahuzzim whom he shall acknowledge and *increase with honour* ; ” and (if my reading be correct) “ *He shall make into fortresses the Mahuzzim*.”—See on this Pope Alexander's Bull, Hard. ix. 1552. Under *Pagan Rome* it was *the Senate's* prerogative to grant an *apotheosis*.

For examples of saints first regarded in the Latin Church as Mahuzzim, see my Vol. i. p. 309. I may refer to the case of Hilary Bishop of Poitiers, who died A.D. 368, as one still illustrated by a pillar with the inscription ; “ Divo Hilario, urbis propugnatori fidelissimo, sanctissimo, certissimo, Pictavorum Episcopo.”

As an illustration of the manner in which the Pope still honours the Virgin Mary as a Mahoz, indeed as the chief, or Eloah, in the celestial hierarchy of the

* Compare what Daniel says of the Apostate King *dividing the land* for gain.

tive saint-maker,¹ or saint-voucher, he did in promoting their worship promote yet more his own. How he caused them to “*rule over many*,” attaching to each country, town, monastery, and church its patron-saint, and how effectually he thus “divided the land among them both *for gain*,” and “*at a price*,” is a further point of correspondence with the Apostate King of the prophecy, which these interpreters have well explained ; and which I have myself also after them illustrated elsewhere fully from history.²—Let me add that as the Head of that Apostacy under which the saints were many of them to fall, (to try them, and make them white, &c,) the Apostate King's character of *persecutor of the saints* is also not obscurely pre-intimated.³ How this characteristic applied to the Popes of Rome I need not repeat.

Such I conceive to have been the intent of the Angel's prophecy, and that it thus had its fulfilment in the great and then future Papal Antiochrist. And mark the intimation given in verse 36 as to the term of his continuance in power :—viz. that it was to be “*till the end of the indignation* ;” meaning doubtless thereby the indignation against the Jewish people.⁴

saintly Mahuzzim, I subjoin an extract from the authorized Litany in honour of the Virgin, called the Litany of Loretto, and edited for the use of the Roman Catholics in this kingdom by the Rev. P. Gandolphy. (Mr. Cuninghame, p. 178, has given it at length.)

“We fly to thy *patronage*, O holy Mother of God ! Deliver us from all dangers, O ever glorious and blessed Virgin, *Tower of David*, *Tower of ivory*, Ark of the covenant, *Refuge of sinners*, Help of Christians, Queen of Angels, Queen of prophets, Queen of apostles, Queen of martyrs, *Queen of all saints* !—We fly to thy patronage, O holy Mother of God ! Despise not our petitions in our necessities ; but deliver us from all dangers !”

In Vol. iii. p. 367 I have alluded to the Mariolatry in Rome, and elsewhere in Italy.—Compare the end of Note † p. 153.

¹ I beg the reader's attention to my criticism on the first clause of verse 39.

² See especially Vol. ii. pp. 9, 17, 26, &c, with the illustrative Notes. How it was “*at a price*” appears in Note ³, p. 25 : *Cœlum est venale Deusque.*” See too ib. p. 69—72, in further illustration of the Pope's dividing the land at a price. Also compare what is said in our Homily on Peril of Idolatry, part 3, both on the *Mahuzzim*, and on *dividing the land for gain*.

³ Mr. Faber objects the *absence* of this mark, in proof that the Wilful King here mentioned was not the Pope. Let me suggest, besides what I have said in the text, that the direct mention of this characteristic is wanting also in St. Paul's prophecy of the *Man of Sin* ; which yet Mr. F. explains of the Papacy.

⁴ Wintle on verse 36 notices the same point ; citing that famous observation on Obadiah, which I have also myself elsewhere cited, that “when Rome shall be laid waste there shall be redemption for Israel.”

4. So we come to the *fourth* sectional subdivision of the prophecy.¹ And as in Balaam's far-ranging prophecy

¹ 40. "And at the time of the end * shall the king of the south push at him.† And the king of the north shall come against him like a whirlwind, with

• **בְּעֵת קֵץ**; Gk. *εν καιρου περας*. This is a very important phrase, and one needing careful investigation, in order to the right understanding of this part of the prophecy.

קֵץ is the common Hebrew word for *time*; and used thus generally just below Dan. xii. 1, **בְּעֵת קִצּוֹ**, *at that time*. To express the *mystical times* of Prophecy, "*Time, times, and half a time*," other words are used:—in Dan. xii. 7, the sequel of the present prophecy, **מִלְּעַד** (the same word that is used in Gen. i. 14, "for signs and for *times*,");—in Dan. vii. 25, **שִׁבְעָה**; the same word that is used also in Dan. iv. 16, &c, to express the *seven times* that were to pass over Nebuchadnezzar.

Again **קֵץ** is a word equally common, in the sense of *end*. So Psalm xxxix. 4, of the end of a man's life; Ezek. vii. 2, of the end of a kingdom; also in the present prophecy, Dan. xi. 27 *supra*, "For yet an *end* at the appointed time;" meaning the end of the Syrian king's schemes of subduing Egypt.

The two words occur *together*, as here, only I believe in Dan. xi. 35, "To make them white even to the time of the end, **עַד-עֵת קֵץ**, *εως καιρου περας*,—Dan. xii. 9, "The words are closed up and sealed until *the time of the end*," (same Hebrew and Greek,)—and Dan. viii. 17, "Understand, for at (or *to*) the *time of the end*, **לְעֵת קֵץ**, shall be the vision." In the two first of which passages the *epoch of the consummation* seems clearly referred to; in the third, if our English version *at* be retained, *certain latter times*: that is times later than that of the quadruple division of Alexander's kingdom, and flourishing of the four kingdoms consequent; in fact (if my explanation be correct, given in Part v. Chap. iv,) those of the rise of the Turkish Empire. But the **לְ** may be rendered *to*, not *at*: and then the *time of the end* will be here, as in the other cases, the epoch of the consummation,—the *term* of the vision about the Turkman. (N. B. in Dan. xi. 13, **לְעֵת קֵץ שָׁנִים**, "at the *end of the times*, even *years*," said of Antiochus the Great's certainly then returning against Egypt, it is the *end of times*, not *time of end*.)—Compare the *εν υστεροις καιροις* of 1 Tim. iv. 1, and *εν εσχρατῳ χρονῳ*, or *εσχρατου των ημερων*, of Jude 18, and 2 Peter iii. 3: used the *former* of the *times of the great apostacy*, which was to end in the Popedom; the *latter* probably of the times more immediately preceding the consummation.

It is in the larger and less strict sense, and as tantamount to the *υστεροι καιροι* of St. Paul, that Mede and the two Newtons here take the phrase; and so too Wintle on Dan. viii. 17. Certainly to myself it seems that the stricter sense is the more natural. Yet they are possibly justified in their explanation by the *υστεροι καιροι* or *χρονοι* of the New Testament; especially as the definite article is not prefixed to the word **קֵץ** in the Hebrew. Prof. Lee, in his Preface to Eusebius' Theophania, would have "the last days" of the Old Testament prophecies to signify in still larger sense the whole time of the Gospel dispensation.

† **יִתְנֶגֶחַ עִמּוֹ**, the Hithpael of **נָגַח**. This verb is used in the *Kal*, Exod. xxi. 29; "If the ox were wont *to push* with his horns," &c: and the *Piel* of the same verb applied in the *literal* sense, Ezek. xxxiv. 21, Dan. viii. 4, and *figuratively*, as here, Deut. xxxiii. 17, 1 Kings xxii. 11.

Wintle says that one manuscript omits the **עִמּוֹ**, *at him*. And so perhaps the Greek translator read the clause. For he renders it, *συγκερατισθησεται μετα του βασιλεως του νοτου*, "He shall push with, or *at*, the king of the south."

the prediction of the overthrow, first of Ashur, and then of Eber, by ships from Chittim, was followed by one respecting the fall of *the Chittim power* itself, ("He shall afflict Ashur, and he shall afflict Eber, and *he* too shall chariots, and with horsemen, and with many ships: and he * shall enter into the countries † and shall overflow and pass over. 41 He shall enter also into the glorious land; ‡ and many countries § shall be overthrown: and these shall escape out of his hand, even Edom and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon. || 42. He shall stretch forth his hand ¶ also upon the countries, and the land of Egypt shall not escape. 43. But he shall have power over the treasures of gold and silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt; and the Lybians and Ethiopians ** shall be at his steps. †† 44. But tidings out of the east and out of the north shall trouble him: ‡‡ therefore he shall go forth with great fury to destroy, and utterly to make away many. §§ 45. And he shall plant the

making the *apostate king*, before spoken of the nominative. This various reading is one important to be observed, if the "time of the end" be construed strictly.

* Mark here the pronominal ambiguity: for *he* may refer either to *the king of the north*, or *the apostate king*, the Antichrist. And hence in fact a variance, as will be seen, in the historic explanation. The early Fathers explained it in the latter sense.

† בארצות, "into *lands*"; the Hebrew word being as general, and as little distinctive of any particular lands, as the word *lands* in the English.

‡ בארץ חזק, the same expression as in verse 16 preceding, and also in Dan. viii. 9.

§ Many is feminine in the Hebrew; and therefore some such word as this must be understood.

|| Compare Isa. xi. 14; a prophecy in which Edom, Ammon, and Moab are similarly conjoined: conjoined, however, as those who are *not* to escape, when the Lord restores his people Israel. "They shall spoil them of the east together: they shall lay their hand upon *Edom* and *Moab*: and the children of *Ammon* shall obey them." See too Jer. xxv. 21; where they are mentioned together as those that would have to drink of the wine-cup of God's fury.

¶ An expression indicating the *exercise of power* over, or against (ב), the countries. So in Exod. vii. 19, viii. 5, &c, of Moses stretching out his hand over the rivers of Egypt; also in Isa. v. 25, Ezek. xvi. 27, &c, of God doing so in judgment.

** ולבנים וקשמים; the *Cushim* meaning the Abyssinians, perhaps inclusive of those inhabitants of Upper Egypt that immediately adjoined Abyssinia: the *Lubim* the inhabitants of the northern coast of Africa, west of Egypt. So Acts ii. 10, "The parts of Lybia about *Cyrene*."—They are mentioned together in 2 Chron. xvi. 8, as having united in the attack on King Asa.

†† Gesenius explains the clause, "*At his steps*"; that is, *in his train*." The word is the common one used to signify a man's steps or paces: as in 2 Sam. vi. 13.

‡‡ Here mark another ambiguity as to the reference of the pronoun. By the "*him*" that is thus to be troubled, is the *King of the North* meant, or the *Apostate King*? The early Fathers, having understood the *he* in verse 40 of the latter, naturally explained this verse also of the same Apostate King, or Antichrist. And they applied it in illustration of what is said in Dan. vii, of the Little Horn of the fourth Beast cutting off *three* out of its ten horns:—the three horns so plucked up being explained by them to mean the Lybians, Egyptians, and Ethiopians.

§§ Wintle "To devote to utter perdition;" the verb being one of devoting by a curse. Theodoret's translation is: 'Ἡξει ἐν θυμῷ πολλὰ τε ἀναθεματίζει καὶ τοὺς ἀφανίζει πολλοὺς.

perish for ever,") so does this section of Daniel's prophecy, with its sequel next following, seem to me a prediction of the same also. But it is a passage which has more than one serious ambiguity and obscurity attached to it.

The primary difficulty of the passage, considered critically, and with a view to its historical explanation, arises out of those words at its very commencement, "*at the time of the end.*"¹ Taken in their strictest and most proper sense, they must indicate the epoch of the end of the present *αιων*, or dispensation: a sense which attaches to them in the two other places in which they occur in this same prophecy. And then the predictions they introduce must be considered as for the most part still future.—If, however, the phrase may be construed less strictly, viz. in the sense of *the latter days*, or *later part of the times of the Christian dispensation*, then the solution of Mede and Bishop Newton becomes admissible, who explain the *King of the South*, and what is said of him, of the *Saracen* and his attacks on Papal Christendom; and what is said of the *King of the North* of the *Turk's* attacks on Papal Christendom also, at a later æra. And certainly it tends strongly to confirm

tabernacle of his palaces * between the seas,† and in the glorious holy mountain:‡ yet he shall come to his end, and none shall help him."

¹ See Note * p. 160, just preceding.

* מִפְדֵּנָי. Gesenius and Wintle cite, in illustration of the meaning of this word, a passage from Jonathan's Targum on Jer. xliii. 10, where the same word is used, and where it signifies *beauty* and *splendour*. Thus it is here thought to mean his *royal military tents*.

† Compare Joel ii. 20; "His face toward the east sea, and his hinder part toward the utmost sea;" and Zech. xiv. 8; "In that day living waters shall go out from Jerusalem; half of them toward the former sea, and half of them toward the hinder sea;" where the Dead Sea and the Mediterranean seem to be meant.

‡ לְאֶחָר צְבִי קֹדֶשׁ. The word אֶחָר may be a *mountainous chain* or *range*, as well as a *single mountain*. Thus it is used of the hill country of Judah in Josh. xxi. 11: and so too Exod. xv. 17, "Thou shalt plant them in the *mountain* of thine inheritance;" and Deut. iii. 25, "Let me go over, and see the good land that is beyond Jordan, that *goodly mountain*, and Lebanon." Of which passages Adam Clarke, on Isa. v. 1, says; "Judæa in general was a mountainous country, whence Moses sometimes calls it *the mountain*."—Compare on the other hand Psalm ii. 6, xliii. 3; where the *holy mountain* is used specially for *Mount Zion*.

this as the true solution, that both the little that is here said of the King of the South's proceedings, and the fuller and more particular prediction of those of the King of the North, well agree with the history of the Saracenic and Turkish invasions of Christendom.¹ The *Saracen*, after occupying Egypt, and so standing on the ground of the Ptolemies,² did push from thence against Western as well as Eastern Christendom; and both conquered Spain and Sicily,³ and even attacked the Pope and Rome itself, in expeditions up the Tiber.⁴ Again the *Turk* came afterwards against apostate Christendom like a whirlwind, with chariots⁵ and horsemen, and with many ships; and, overflowing like a flood, entered into the glorious land of Judæa and Jerusalem:—moreover, though Edom, Ammon, and Moab, or the Arabs of the neighbouring desert, escaped from his hand, yet did he further extend his dominion over Egypt, the Upper as well as the Lower; and over Lybia also, or Northern Africa; so that from all the three Lybian principalities of Tunis, Algiers, and Morocco, “they were at his steps,” i. e. sent forth auxiliary forces at his command. Of the terribleness of which invader to the Popes of Rome the Papal Councils for some four or five centuries furnish abundant evidence; as also the solemn deprecatory processions at Rome, and efforts of successive Popes at rousing the secular powers of Western Christendom against him.⁶—And supposing the sense

¹ I here presume that the “against him” of verse 40 is to be taken as the true reading: and the *him* understood, in its most natural sense, of the apostate king before spoken of.

² Wintle in explaining this of the Saracens, cites a quotation in Bochart from a book called *Juchasin*, in which the appellation *King of the South* is given to the Saracen Caliph.—All the *Arabian* part of the first Ptolemy's dominion was occupied by Mahomet ere he attacked any neighbouring country; then the *Cœle-Syrian* province, which also was a part of Ptolemy's rightful dominion, was conquered by the Caliphs; and then *Egypt*;—whence at length they extended their conquests further westward.

³ A part, as I think I have elsewhere observed, of the Pope's own Metropolitan Episcopate.

⁴ See Vol. i. p. 441.

⁵ I mean the *amafai* which generally accompany a Scythian or Asiatic army. Gesenius explains the word *כִּנִּי* as chariots, or *waggon*s.

⁶ Even up to the sixteenth century. There was a deprecatory procession at Rome, for example, at the time of the 5th Lateran Council.

to be thus far as stated, (I shall presently notice an alternative solution,) and the Turkish invasion of Christendom to have been predicted in these latter verses, then the most natural, though not the *necessary* explanation of the pronoun *him* in verse 44 following, ("And tidings out of the East and out of the North shall trouble *him*,") must refer *it* too to the Turkman, as being the subject of all the four verses previous. Which being so, *he* must be considered as the Prince that will go forth with great fury, and plant the tabernacles of his pavilion between the seas in the mountains of Jerusalem, (it is curious that a prophecy somewhat accordant therewith has been long rife among the Turks,¹) and there come to his end, and none help him.

But the expression "*the time of the end*," in verse 40, offers so serious a difficulty in the way of all this explanation, that it seems to me, notwithstanding this singular coincidence of the countries subjected and not subjected by the Northern King of the prophecy, and those subjected and not subjected by the Turkman of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, that the explanation must be received with very considerable doubt.²—Construed strictly, this chronographic phrase must indicate the time subsequent to the sounding of the seventh Trumpet; that is, the time subsequent to the French Revolution. And if we so take it, I would suggest whether the reading of the manuscript Wintle mentions, and of the Septuagint, may not be the true one:³ I mean that which omits עָפֵי, "*at him*;" by which omission all intimation of a governor of Egypt pushing against the Pope, and against Papal Christendom, at the time of the end (a thing under present political circumstances so

¹ I heard this myself in 1819 from a Janissary Tartar attached to the British Embassy in Constantinople, who spoke of it as a common subject of talk in the Turkish coffee-houses. It was to the effect that the Moslem crescent would be forced back in the latter days from Constantinople, first to Brusa, and thence to *Damascus*; and that it would there continue waning till the end of the world.

² The view given in Apoc. xvi. 12 of the end of the Turkman power by *exhaustion*, like as of the drying up of the inundation of Euphrates, seems also scarcely consistent with the view given in the text preceding.

³ See Note † p. 160 *suprà*.

improbable) is eliminated out of the prophecy. Then the prediction is changed into one of the Southern, or Egyptian King, pushing for aggrandizement,—apparently against the Northern King; that is, against the power holding the chief part of the Seleucidæan kingdom, now the Turkish Sultan: and thereupon the latter coming against him with a strong force; and in the sequel certain other events happening afterwards.—Certainly we have just recently, at our “*time of the end*,” seen something not very unlike this ourselves. The Egyptian Pasha, or Prince, has pushed against the Turks for a time successfully; and the Turks come against him with horsemen, and carriages of war, and many ships,—I mean the ships of his allies, as well as his own: and the result of the campaign been the sweeping away of the Egyptian power from the afresh contested *Syrian* province, even as by a whirlwind.—Should the above be the true solution of this part of the prediction of what would happen at the time of the end, I should incline, under the actual circumstances of the case, (for the grammar does not forbid it,¹) to construe the “*he*” of the latter part of verse 40 of the Pope and Papal co-operating powers; just as the old fathers referred it to Antichrist.² Then the prediction that follows will be to this effect:—that on, or after, this pushing of the King of the South, and his overthrow by the King of the North, the Papal Chief (including some chief secular power supporting him) will “overflow into the countries;” that is specially, I conceive, into the countries of Syria and Judæa, in all ages a scene of dispute between the kings south and north of it: and that, having gained dominion in the first instance over Lybian Africa, Egypt, and Abyssinia, he will then enter Syria, and pitch his tents between the seas

¹ See the examples alluded to in Note ¹ p. 138, of pronouns in the earlier part of the prophecy having reference to other persons, and not those last spoken of.

² I believe universally. See Note * p. 161. just preceding. Irenæus says of the Antichrist; “*Transferet regnum in Jerusalem:*” as if from Rome to Jerusalem. Compare this idea with what is said of the Beast’s destruction after and separate from that of his seven-hilled city, the mystic Babylon, as noted p. 114 *suprà*.

in Judæa's glorious holy mountain.—Recent events add probability to this explanation. France has made herself again the champion of the Popedom. Algiers has submitted, and become secularly a province of *France*; ecclesiastically of *Rome*. Morocco and Tunis may not improbably follow the fate of Algiers. Egypt is on terms of the strictest alliance (of course as an *inferior*) with France. Abyssinia seems not unprepared for the same.¹ And the eyes of both France and the Pope are fixed on Syria and Palestine, as a country which must not escape them. I subjoin an illustrative statement or two on this last point, which to myself seem really striking;² and with which the remainder of the prediction suits well: “He” (i. e. the Roman Antichrist, together with his allied and supporting antichristian powers,) “shall pitch his tents between the seas in the holy mountain-district of Judah:—and he shall there come to his end, and none shall help him.”

5. It does not need that I here enter at all fully or particularly into the fifth and last sectional subdivision of this prophecy of Gabriel.³ Its subject-matter is that

¹ The fact of French Jesuit missionaries, and other agents, having intrigued in Abyssinia, is well known. Through the influence of the former the Church Missionary Society's missionaries have been expelled the country. And it has been an object with them to gain a port also, and make a settlement there.

² “If it be a literal temple at *Jerusalem*, as Dr. Todd conceives, in which this prophecy is fully to be accomplished, while other prophecies seem to point to *Rome*, is there nothing in the past and present history of the Church,—in the struggles of Rome to seat herself in the Holy Land, not only by the arms of the crusaders, but in the secret movements which at this moment (known only to a few) are gathering the conflict of the Church to the East, around *Jerusalem* itself,—is there nothing here to suggest the thought that several localities may be combined together, as in the prophecies of our Lord's birth;—that on the scene of the past battles of the Church the final blow may even now be struck;” &c. Quarterly Review for Dec. 1842, Review of Todd, p. 238.

So again Charlotte Elizabeth, in her *Judah's Lion*. “She (*Rome*) has her agents even *here* (sc. at *Jerusalem*):—her crafty counsels influence the springs of government, opposing the liberal projects of other states, and carrying forward her own device of universal empire; of which she longs to make *this our Jerusalem* the eastern metropolis.” p. 305.—In the *Tablet*, a Romish journal before referred to by me, there will be found, she has assured me, what will well justify this statement.

³ Dan. xii. 1. “And at that time shall Michael stand up, the great prince which standeth for the children of thy people: and there shall be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation even to that same time: and at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in

which in more than one important point chiefly concerns the Millennium, and consequently rather belongs to our next chapter. Suffice it therefore at present to call attention to *three* points in it; *two* clearly declared, the *other* more ambiguously and obscurely. The *first* is, that there will be then (viz. at the time when either the Turkman, or the Papal Antichrist, shall have pitched his tents in Judæa) “a season of tribulation such as never was since there was a nation:” an expression probably proverbial; but which from having been used by our Lord in his prophecy of the siege and destruction of the ancient Jerusalem by the Romans, brings the horrors of that siege irresistibly before the mind, as the standard of comparison.—The *second* is, that God's faithful servants then alive, (whether Gentiles or Jews, or both,) “all that are written in the book,” shall (after partaking apparently in the tribulation) be delivered.—As to the *third*, it is one that has reference to the chronology of the consummation; and both from its importance, and the measure of obscurity attending it, one that needs a fuller explanation.

It was the Angel's saying then, we read, that the

the book. 2. And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt. 3. And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever. 4. But thou, O Daniel, shut up the words, and seal the book, even to the time of the end. Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased. 5. Then I Daniel looked, and, behold, there stood other two, the one on this side of the bank of the river, and the other on that side of the bank of the river. 6. And one said to the man clothed in linen, which was upon the waters of the river, How long shall it be to the end of these wonders? 7. And I heard the man clothed in linen, which was upon the waters of the river, when he held up his right hand and his left hand unto heaven, and swore by him that liveth for ever that it shall be for a time, times, and an half; and when he shall have accomplished to scatter the power of thy holy people, all these things shall be finished. 8. And I heard, but I understood not. Then said I, O my Lord, what shall be the end of these things? 9. And he said, Go thy way, Daniel: for the words are closed up and sealed till the time of the end. 10. Many shall be purified, and made white, and tried: but the wicked shall do wickedly: and none of the wicked shall understand; but the wise shall understand. 11. And from the time that the daily sacrifice shall be taken away, and the (or *an*) abomination that maketh desolate set up, there shall be a thousand two hundred and ninety days. 12. Blessed is he that waiteth, and cometh to the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days. 13. But go thy way till the end be: for thou shalt rest, and stand in thy lot at the end of the days.”

wonder, or mystery,¹ should come to an end after a time times and half a time, or 1260 days: also that from the time of the daily sacrifice being taken away, &c, there should be 1290 days; and at the end of 1335 days an age of blessedness begin. Now with regard to these several periods, we may, I conceive, conclude unhesitatingly that they are all three to be measured from one and the same commencing epoch; viz. that stated in verse 11 about the daily sacrifice, and abomination that would make desolate.² Nor, I think, can we well doubt, that the interval between the 1260 and the 1335 days gives us the duration of the great struggle and troubles of the consummation; or that the 1290 days are specified as marking (at *their* expiration) some notable epoch in the course of that "*time of the end*." But whether these periods are to be reckoned as *years*, on the year-day principle, or simply and literally as *days*, seems more doubtful: because this whole prophecy of Dan. xi. and xii, is not, like those of Dan. vii, viii, or Apoc. xi, xiii, enunciated connectedly with any *individualizing symbolization* of the powers prophesied of;³ save and except that in verse 36 "*the King*" is the *individualizing appellative* given to *one power* noted near the conclusion. I beg the reader to consider this my distinction.—Then, as to the epoch from which, on either hypothesis, as before said, the periods are to be reckoned, (an epoch marked by the fixing of some desolating abomination)

¹ "How long to the end of *the wonders*?" verse 6: meaning, I conceive, How long from the beginning to the end of the *grand wonder* of the prophecy, viz. that concerning the Apostate King. There was no wonder in what was foretold about the Kings of the North and South.

² Mr. Faber in his Sacred Calendar, makes the 1260 and 1290 prophetic days to run parallel with each other for the larger half of their length; counting the 1290 days, or years, (which he singularly placed first,) from the desolation of the Jewish temple, A. D. 70, down to Wicliff, A. D. 1360; and the 1260 from Phocas' Decree, A. D. 604, down to A. D. 1864. But the 1335 (in my opinion most inconsistently) he makes to be quite a new period, beginning A. D. 1865, at the end of the 1260. Its inadmissibility seems to me obvious. May he not, however unconsciously, have been led into the idea, with a view to help a certain millennial theory of his own which we shall have to state in the next chapter?

Jerom, like the mass of modern interpreters, makes both the 30 and the 45 days an addition to the 1260. "Beatus, inquit Daniel, qui, interfecto Antichristo, dies suprâ numerum præfinitum quadraginta quinque præstolatur. Quare autem post interfectionem Antichristi 45 dierum silentium sit, divinæ scientiæ."—So too Porphyry.

³ See Vol. iii. pp. 223, 224.

there is one thing most important to note, though hitherto, I believe, universally overlooked,—viz. that the *definite article* is wanting before the word *abomination* in verse 11 :¹ so that the correct rendering of the clause would be, “ From the time that the daily sacrifice shall be taken away, and *an* abomination that makes desolate set up, there shall be 1290 days.” By this not only is the desolating abomination of xi. 31,—the same that we saw reason to interpret of the Roman armies that desolated Jerusalem under Vespasian,—not specifically referred to, but it is almost² *specifically excluded* from being the subject of reference. A point this of no little consequence ; since it at once removes the difficulty, felt by almost every expositor of prophecy, of calculating these prophetic periods from the epoch of the Roman overthrow of Jerusalem ; whence measured they conduct to no terminating chronological points, that can at all satisfy the conditions of the prophecy.—What the “ abomination making desolate ” intended, is another question. Calculating on the *year-day* principle, we cannot but in the first instance think of the setting up of the abomination of the *Papacy* by “ the King ” of verse 36 : that which was the grand wonder or mystery of the prophecy ;³ and whereby, in the *causal* sense, (just as in the case of the *desolating transgression* of Dan. viii. 13,) the mystical, and ultimately too the literal Jerusalem, might be said to have been desolated, or had desolation brought on it :—an event this of which the *primary* commencing epoch was shown to be about A.D. 530 ; from which epoch the corresponding period of the 1260 years in Dan. vii and Apoc. xiii would seem pretty certainly, as before shown, to be calculated. The circumstance of a period of not 1260 years only, but also one of 1290 years, reckoned from that same commencing epoch,

¹ The word is עֲוֹן. Compare Note † p. 140, on the word in Dan. xi. 31. —In our translation this omission of the article is unattended to.

² I say *almost*, because there is not the same uniform attention to the article in Daniel as in the earlier Hebrew : although quite enough for my present argument.

³ See Note ¹ p. 168 : and compare St. Paul's phrase, “ The *mystery* of iniquity,” used of the Papal Apostacy in 2 Thess. ii. 7.

proving in historic fact to end at two very remarkable æras in these latter days,—the one that of the French Revolution in 1790, the other of the Greek Insurrection in 1820,—must be allowed, I think, to furnish an additional corroboration of this view : as also the circumstance of Daniel's full prophetic interval of the seventy-five years being likewise the interval between the two most notable commencing epochs of the Popedom.¹ So that on the whole I have ventured, though not without hinting the doubtfulness of its application to the present prophecy,² to adopt it.—Another abomination making desolate, (indeed the only other of past times that I can think of) was that of *Mahommedism* : by which, as the *agent*, alike Christendom and Jerusalem were desolated :³ and dated from the rise of which, the 1260, 1290, and 1335 years would end about 1866, 1896, and 1941, A.D. respectively.—But it seems to me quite possible (and I again beg to place the admission before my reader) that, accordantly with the principles laid down in my chapter on the year-day, these three periods *may* be periods of *literal days*. In which case they must be measured from either the Turkman's (if the last king of the North) or the Papal Antichrist's setting up of the abomination of his apostacy in his last desolating invasion of the holy mountain-district of Judah, just a little while since considered :⁴ the *literal* 1260 *days*, with its adjunct periods, supervening in that case as the notable term and limit to the long period of the *mystical* 1260 *days* ; in other words, of the 1260 *years*.

As to the very remarkable statement about “ many that sleep in the dust of the earth ” then awaking, and Daniel himself “ standing in his lot at the end of the days,”—I shall, as before intimated, here pass it over in silence ; reserving its consideration, as a fitter place, to the next Chapter.

¹ See Vol. iii. pp 254—257, and 392—400.

² p. 168.

³ See the Greek Patriarch's observation, Vol. i. p. 425, on the Caliph Omar's entering the Patriarchal Church of Jerusalem ; “ The abomination of desolation is in the Holy Place ! ”

⁴ So Jerom on Dan. xii. speaks of Antichrist perishing on the Holy Mount Olivet.

The result of my examination of this prophecy (which has proved very much longer and more laborious than I anticipated when I undertook it)¹ is, when compared with the Apocalyptic prophecy, as follows. Just as in the Apocalypse the Antichrist is described as drawn, together with his Antichristian confederacy, to Armageddon, —some country or place without the territorial limits of the ten kingdoms of the Popedom, which, it was observed, had by some been conjectured to be *Judæa*,²—so we have inferred from this prophecy in Daniel, that either the Turk, or the Pope, is to be gathered in military strength to that very country, here clearly defined as “the glorious holy mountain.” Nor does it seem undeserving of remark that the extent of the hill-country of Judah, between the two seas, has been estimated at about *fifty miles square*: and so with the exact circuit of the 1600 *stadia* noted of Armageddon.³—Again, just as we saw in the Apocalyptic sketch indications of the *Jews* mingling their Hallelujah with other saints of God, on occasion of Antichrist's overthrow,⁴ so we see here in Daniel the time of the Antichrist's (unless it be rather the Turk's) final overthrow, made to coincide with that of the end of the indignation against Judah, and of the deliverance of Daniel's people.⁵—And let me not fail to add, in corroboration of these views, that there are three other well-known prophecies in the Old Testament,—viz. in Ezekiel,⁶

¹ It is right to state that I have not printed the result of my own researches, without the careful and kind revision of a relative skilled in the Hebrew language.

² See p. 84 *suprà*.

³ See p. 84, 85, 88; also pp. 114, 115.

⁴ See pp. 110, 112, *suprà*.

⁵ This note of Antichrist's time then coming to an end is given previously to the prophecy of the final catastrophe. For in xi. 36 we read of his “prospering till the indignation is accomplished:” as well as in xii. 7, “When he shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people, all these things shall be finished.”

⁶ I refer to the prophecy in Ezek. xxxix, about “Gog's coming up from the North, and falling on the mountains of Israel;” (“Gog the chief prince of Meshech and Tubal,” verse 1;) whereupon God “will send a fire on Magog, and on them that dwell carelessly in the isles,” verse 6: after which, “and the fowls of the air assembling to God's great sacrifice, and eating the flesh of the mighty, and being filled with horses and chariots,” &c. (verses 17—20,) “God's glory in

Joel,¹ and Zechariah,²—which seem all to point similarly to some grand destruction of an anti-christian confederacy in the mountains of Judah or Israel, immediately

the judgment would be recognized by the heathen; and the house of Israel, brought back from its captivity, know the Lord." Verses 21—25.—Which last intimation that Israel's conversion was to follow after, not precede, Gog's destruction, clearly shows this to be an event *premillennial*; not *postmillennial*, as the destruction of Gog noted in Apoc. xx. 8, 9. Besides which difference the statement *there* is that Gog would then be destroyed by *fire* only: whereas *here* other instruments of death, (*hailstones* especially, Ezek. xxxviii. 22, as in Apoc. xvi. 21,) were to bear their part:—moreover *there* the destruction was to be *total*; *here* a *sixth part to escape* (Ezek. xxxix. 2): the germ probably of those that would 1000 years after, on re-apostatizing, attack the camp of the saints, and the beloved city.

As to *Magog*, the notice of him in Gen. x. 2 is as follows: "The sons of Japheth; Gomer, and *Magog*, and Javan, and Tubal, and Meshech," &c: it being added verse 5, "By these were the isles of the Gentiles divided in their lands." So that the original European stock might partly have come from him.—Even if, however, *Magog* was primarily father of the Scythians, as some would have it, yet by the Gothic and Hunnick irruptions he became a father of the present Romano-Gothic kingdoms of Western Europe; and is clearly noted by the prophet as so situated in verse 6, when conjoined with "them that dwell in the isles."—In precise accordance with this view Coquæus observes, as quoted by the Benedictine Editors of Augustine, C. D. xx. 11; "Eusebius, Libro ix. de Demonstratione Evangelicâ, cap. 3, arbitratur Gog esse *Romanum Imperatorem*, *Magog Romanum Imperium*. Ambrosius, Libro 2, de Fide, capite ultimo, de *Gothis* cogitat."

Let it be observed that there is predicted in Ezekiel a double destruction:—one of *blood*, on Gog and his armament; another of *fire*, on *Magog* and the careless ones in the isles; i. e. the countries of the Mediterranean and of Western Europe. Compare Apoc. xviii, xix. 20, 21.

¹ Joel iii. 1, &c: "Behold in those days, and in that time, when I shall bring again the captivity of Judah and Jerusalem, I will also gather all nations, and will bring them down into the valley of Jehoshaphat, and will plead with them there for my people and my heritage Israel." . . . "Let the heathen come up to the valley of Jehoshaphat: for there will I sit to judge all the heathen round about. Put ye in the sickle," &c. "Multitudes, multitudes in the valley of decision!" "The sun and the moon shall be darkened, and the stars shall withdraw their shining. The Lord also shall roar out of Zion, and utter his voice from Jerusalem: and the heaven and the earth shall shake: but the Lord will be the hope of his people, and the strength of the children of Israel.—And it shall come to pass in that day that the mountains shall drop down new wine," &c.

² Zech. xii. 2, &c. "Behold I will make Jerusalem a cup of trembling unto all the people round about, when they shall be in the siege against Judah and against Jerusalem. In that day I will smite every horse with astonishment, and his rider with madness. In that day I will make the governors of Judah like an hearth of fire among the wood, and they shall devour all the people round about. In that day shall the Lord defend the inhabitants of Jerusalem; and the house of David shall be as God, as the Angel of the Lord before them. In that day I will destroy all the nations that come against Jerusalem. And I will pour upon the house of David, and on the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the spirit of grace and of supplication; and they shall look on me whom they have pierced," &c.

Compare Zech. x. 3—5, xiv. 4: also Ps. lxxvi. 3, Is. xxix. 7, Micah v. 8.—Lowth, on Zech. xii. 2, suggests as probable that some of the Jews will return before the rest, and possess themselves of Jerusalem; then the Mahomedan nations confederate against them; then the rest of the Jews return, &c.

at or before the final conversion and restoration of the Jews, and the commencement of the consequent glorious predicted times of blessedness.

After all which agreeing evidence, it seems to me that we shall probably not err in looking confidently for the coincident occurrence of the two grand events following: viz. 1st, the homeward return of the Jews from captivity, in fulness and strength like as when the mighty Euphratean stream of their conquerors is forced backward by the mightier influence of the tide of the Southern Ocean ;¹ 2. the gathering into, and the destruction in Judæa, of the Papal Antichrist, and perhaps too of the Mahomedan Turk.

CHAPTER V.

THE MILLENNIUM.

“ And I saw an angel coming down² from heaven, having the key of the bottomless pit,³ and a great chain in his hand. And he laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, which is the devil and Satan, and bound him a thousand years ; and cast him into the bottomless pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him, that he should deceive the nations⁴ no more, till the thousand years should be fulfilled : and after that he must be loosed a

¹ Psalm cxxvi. 4 : “ Turn our captivity, O Lord, as *the rivers in the south*.” —Surely what I have hinted above is the meaning of this beautiful figure. The idea of streams dried up in the southern desert flowing again (of course in their old channels) on the rains commencing,—an idea suggested by Lowth, Horne, and other commentators in explanation,—ill suits the main point that the figure is evidently meant to illustrate, viz. the *turning back again* of the Jewish captivity. On the other hand, that which I suggest is a figure perfectly correspondent with the thing ; and one which to the captive Jews in Babylon must have occurred as a figure equally appropriate and grand. For the force of the tide on the river, coming up as it did as far as Bussorah, must have been familiar to their minds : and appeared to them fully as striking as it did to the Macedonian soldiers of Alexander ; when first brought from the tideless coast of the Mediterranean, to see the ocean tides of the Persian Gulf, or of the Indian Sea. ² *καταβαίνοντα*.

³ *της αβυσσος* the same word that was used before in Apoc. ix. 1, xi. 7, xvii. 8. See my Vol. i. p. 414.

⁴ *τα εθνη*.

little season. And I saw thrones ;¹ and they sate upon them ; and judgment was given unto them : and *I saw* the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, and the word of God, and whosoever² had not worshipped the beast, neither his image, neither had received his mark upon their foreheads, or in their hands : and they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years. But the rest of the dead lived not again³ until the thousand years were finished. This is the first resurrection. Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection : on such the second death hath no power : but they shall be priests of God and of Christ, and shall reign with him a thousand years.

“And when the thousand years are expired, Satan shall be loosed out of his prison : and shall go out to deceive the nations which are in the four quarters of the earth, Gog and Magog, to gather them together to battle ;⁴ the number of whom is as the sand of the sea. And they went up on the breadth of the earth, and encompassed the camp of the saints about, and the beloved city. And fire came down from God out of heaven, and devoured them. And the devil that deceived them was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, where the beast and the false prophet *are* ;⁵ and shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever.

“And I saw a great white throne, and him that sate upon it ; from whose face the earth and the heaven fled away, and there was found no place for them. And I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God :⁶ and the books were opened : and another book was opened, which is the book of life : and the dead were judged out

¹ So the Greek; *θρόνους*, without the article.

² *Οἵτινες* either *those whosoever* ; *those* being the accusative after *I saw* ; or, *of those whosoever* ; *of those* being the genitive after *ψυχας*.

³ This is according to the reading *ανεζησαν*. The reading of Griesbach, Scholz, and Tregelles, is *εζησαν*. the same word as in verse 4. In Apoc. ii. 8 this latter word is used of Christ's resurrection ; ‘ *Ὁς εγενετο νεκρος και εζησε*.

⁴ *εις πολεμον*, to war. Scholz and Tregelles read *εις τον πολεμον*. Griesbach, in common with the received version, omits the *τον*.

⁵ This verb is not in the original.

⁶ *Θεσ*. But Griesbach, Scholz, and Tregelles read *εναντιον τα θρονου*, before *the throne*.

of those things which were written in the books, according to their works. And the sea gave up the dead which were in it. And death and hades gave up the dead which were in them : and they were judged every man according to their works. And death and hades were cast into the lake of fire. This is the second death.¹ And whosoever was not found written in the book of life was cast into the lake of fire.

“ And I saw a new heaven and a new earth : for the first heaven and the first earth had past away;² and there was no more sea.”—Apoc. xx. 1—xxi. 1.

We now enter on the great subject of the MILLENNIUM. In the Apocalyptic revelations, the vision of the Beast and False Prophet being cast into the lake of fire was followed by that of the binding of the Dragon, now again explained to be the old Serpent, the Devil, and Satan,³ (the same that from the beginning even to the end had been the Spirit ruling in the hearts and the politics of the children of disobedience,) by an Angel that descended from heaven, and shut and sealed him up in the bottomless pit, or abyss, for 1000 years ; so as that he might during that time have no more power to deceive the nations :—it being added, however, that he would afterwards be loosed for a little season. On the other hand thrones of judgment and royalty appeared set in the vision, whereon Christ and his saints were seen to take their sitting : it being the privilege of these latter to live and reign with Him the thousand years.⁴ St. John specifies particularly, as if conspicuous among them,⁵ the

¹ Scholz and Tregelles read more fully thus ; *ἐτος ὁ θάνατος ὁ δεύτερος ἐστὶν ἡ λίμνη τοῦ πυρός*. Griesbach and Mill omit the last four words.

² *παρηλθόν*. Griesbach, Scholz, and Tregelles read *ἀπηλθόν* had *departed, passed away*. In either case the aorist form of the verb is adopted ; but in the sense of the *pluperfect*, “ *had past away*.” So *ἀπηλθόν*, verse 4.

³ See Vol. iii. p. 13, Note ¹, on the same phrase, as used in Apoc. xii. 9.

⁴ That is, plainly, *the same* thousand years. The article prefixed four times to that phrase, (viz. in verses 3, 4, 5, and 7,) after its first mention as the term of Satan's binding in verse 2, identifies the period. So Pareus justly observes ; in answer to Brightman's theory of the saints' millennium of reigning being one that would *follow after* Satan's millennium of incarceration.

⁵ It seems to me that the souls of them that were beheaded, &c, were seen not as the only persons that took seat on the thrones, but only among them. This is a point important to note, as a contrary view of the intent of the phrase has by some been supposed and argued from.

souls of them that had been beheaded for the word of God and the witnessing of Jesus ; evidently the same individuals that he had beheld gathered under the altar, in a symbolic vision long antecedent, the victims of the persecutions of Rome Pagan ;¹ and others also, whosoever had not worshipped, and did not at the time of the judgment worship,² the Beast or his Image.—In order thus to reign with Christ they *rose to life again* : whereas “ the rest of the dead lived not again till the thousand years were finished.” This was the *first resurrection*. “ Blessed and holy,” it was said, “ is he that hath part in the first resurrection : on such the second death hath no power : but they shall be priests of God and of Christ ; and shall reign with him a thousand years.”

And here the famous question opens, In what way are we to understand this vision and prophecy of the Millennium ? What the first resurrection spoken of, literal or figurative ? Who the persons who partake of it ? What the nature of the devil’s synchronous binding and

Assuredly there is nothing in the text to negative my idea. For 1st, it is not unusual either in common or in prophetic narrative, to specify but part only of objects that may have been seen ; so as, for example, in John xx. 18. Mary Magdalene only mentions having seen *Jesus*, though she had actually seen *two angels* also, and again in this Chapter Apoc. xx. 12, the *dead* only are mentioned as those seen by St. John before the judgment-seat, though we know that *all the living at the time* are also then to receive judgment : indeed in the very verse under consideration *Christ* is not specified as seen enthroned ; though we know he must have been there ; as (verses 4, 6) it was with him that the risen saints reigned. And 2ndly, we know from abundance of other Scriptures, as Dan. vii. 22, Apoc. iii. 21, v. 10, &c, that *the saints generally* are to be admitted to a participation in Christ’s throne and reign.

¹ Πεπελεκισμένων a verb derived from πελεκυς, an *axe* ; which, together with the *fascies*, was conspicuous in the insignia of the consuls and other officers of the Roman Government, and signified their having authority to punish with death. Hence the passive verb came to signify being put to death by sentence of him to whom the power of the axe belonged, whatever the mode of execution ; and not the mere particular death of decapitation. So Vitranga.—Under the emperors, as I have elsewhere observed, the *sword* came to be the ensign of this judicial power, in place of the *axe*, (See my Vol. i. p. 145 ;) though not indeed to the supersession of the *axe*. For this was still used as an instrument of punishment at Rome ; for those I presume that were condemned by the *consular* and other inferior courts, distinctively from the *imperial*. So we read in Dion Cassius that Caracalla found fault with the executioner of Papinian, ὅτι ἀξίνη αὐτὸν καὶ βίβει διεχρησάτο.

² οἱ τίνες οὐ προσεκύνησαν. Mark here the use of the first aorist ; and its possible comprehensive significance of time past, as reaching continuously to time present, so as expressed by me in the text. So βασανισαὶ is used in Apoc. xi. 10.

incarceration? What the state of things on earth corresponding? What the chronological position and duration of the Millennium? What the sequel of events, on the devil's being loosed again at its termination? Finally, what the relation of this millenary period and its blessedness to the New Jerusalem, afterwards exhibited in the Apocalypse; and what also to the paradisiacal state predicted in the Old Testament prophecies, as to be introduced on the Jews' conversion and restoration?—I purpose in the present chapter to discuss and answer the general question, *What the first resurrection*, with which the Millennium is to open: then in the next, to consider more in detail, upon the principle of interpretation thus previously established, the probable *order of events introductory* to its establishment, and *state of things during the Millennium*, and *after it*.

With regard then to our present subject,—viz. THE MILLENNIAL FIRST RESURRECTION,—it is to be observed that there have been *four* principal solutions offered of it; in brief as follows.

The *first*,—which was that of Papias, Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian,¹ and others of the earlier Christian Fathers,²—supposed this *resurrection* to be literally that of departed saints and martyrs, then at length resuscitated in the body from death and the grave:—its *time* (agreeably with the order of the vision in the Apocalyptic narrative) to synchronize with, or follow instantly

¹ Let me cite Justyn Martyr and Tertullian as fittest exponents of this class of patristic expositors. 1. *Justin Martyr*. Εγώ δε, και ει τινες ορθογνημονες κατα παντα Χριστιανοι, και σαρκος αναστασιν γενησεσθαι επισταμεθα, και χιλια ετη εν 'Ιερουσαλημ οικοδομηθαισιν και κοσμηθαισιν και πλατυνθαισιν, ως οι προφηται Ιεζεκιηχ και 'Ησαιας και οι αλλοι ομολογουσι. So in the Dial. cum Tryph. (Ed. Colon. p. 307. And again, ib. p. 309. Ανηρ τις ε ονομα Ιωαννης, εις των αποστολων του Χριστου, εν Αποκαλυψει γενομενη αυτη, χιλια ετη ποιησει εν 'Ιερουσαλημ τους τω ημετερω Χριστω πιστευσαντας προεφητευσεν και μεσα ταυτα την καθολικην και, συνελοσσι φαναι, αιωνιαν ομοθυμαδον αμα παντων αναστασιν γενησεσθαι και κρισιν. And he speaks of this as the παλιγγενεσια of those that expect Christ in Jerusalem.—2. *Tertullian*, "Post mille annos, intra quam ætatem includitur sanctorum resurrectio, pro meritis maturius vel tardius resurgentium: tunc, demutati in atomo in angelicam substantiam, transferemur in cœleste regnum." Adv. Marcion, iii. 24. This latter passage is a little abbreviated.

² As Hippolytus, Cyprian, Victorinus, Methodius, Lactantius. &c.

after, the destruction of the Beast Antichrist, on Christ's personal second advent:—the *binding of Satan* to be an absolute restriction of the powers of hell from tempting, deceiving, or injuring mankind, throughout a literal period of 1000 years, thence calculated:—the *government of the earth*¹ during its continuance to be administered by Christ and his risen saints; the latter being now *ισαγγελοι*, in nature like angels:²—and under it, all false religion having been put down, the Jews and saved remnant of the Gentiles been converted to Christ, the earth renovated by the fire of Antichrist's destruction, and Jerusalem made the universal capital, that there would be a realization on earth of the blessedness depicted in the Old Testament prophecies, as well as perhaps of that too which was associated with the descent of the New Jerusalem in the visions of the Apocalypse:³—until at length this Millennium having ended, and Satan again gone forth to deceive the nations, the final consummation would follow; the new-raised enemies of the saints, Gog and Magog, be destroyed by fire from heaven; and then the general resurrection and judgment take place, the Devil and his servants be cast into the lake of fire, and the millennial reign of the saints extend itself into one of eternal duration.⁴

¹ The world to come, ἡ οἰκουμένη ἡ μελλουσα, of Heb. ii. 5.

² Luke xx. 36; "But are *as the angels*, being children of the resurrection." The angelic nature of the risen saints at the Millennium is clearly stated by some of these Fathers. So *Methodius*. Εσομένης γὰρ καὶ μετὰ τούτου τοῦ αἰῶνα γῆς, ἀνάγκη πᾶσα εἶναι καὶ τοὺς οἰκῶντας οὐκεὶ τεθνήσκουσιν καὶ γαμήσοντας καὶ γεννησόμενους, ἀλλ' ὥς ἰσαγγέλους ἀμεταστροφῶς ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ τὰ ἀρίστα πράσσοντας. Also *Tertullian* and *Justin Martyr*, ubi suprâ. The latter expressly quotes Christ's saying, Luke xx. 36; declaring that the just, when raised, should neither marry nor be given in marriage, but be *ισαγγελοι*, like angels. And so too *Lactantius*, vii. 6. "Ut similes angelis facti summo Patri ac Domino in perpetuum serviamus, et simus æternum Deo regnum." The reader should observe this; as quite different representations have been given of the early Fathers' views of the millennarian state.

³ I have used the word *perhaps*, because on this point there was a difference of opinion among the fathers I speak of: *Lactantius* making the New Jerusalem state *post-millennial*, while others reckoned it as a picture of *millennial glory*.

⁴ So, for example, *Justin Martyr* expressly. Speaking of the filthy garments on the High Priest Joshua in Zechariah's vision, as not unfitly depicting the blasphemies heaped on Christians by the Jews he adds: "ἅ ῥυπαρά ἐνδύματα, περιτεθέντα ὑφ' ὧν πᾶσι τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος Ἰησοῦ γενομένοις Χριστιανοῖς, δείξει αἱρομένα ἀφ' ἡμῶν ὁ Θεός, ὅταν πάντας ἀναστήσῃ, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐν αἰωνίῳ καὶ αλύτῳ

The *second* theory of interpretation,—one suggested in the Christian Church about the fourth century, (very much in consequence of the abuse and misapprehension of the literal view just detailed, as if of carnal tendency,¹) and which is best known from its full development by Augustine,—supposed the resurrection meant to be *spiritual*, viz. that of dead souls from the death of sin to the life of righteousness:—that the *time* of its commencement was to be dated from Christ's first coming and ministry, (for it explained the Apocalyptic millenary vision as altogether retrospective;) at which time the Devil, the strong man armed, was according to Christ's own saying bound and expelled from the hearts of his disciples, and so their reign over him, though indeed but a *regnum militiæ*,² made to begin:—that it was a resurrection, moreover, not then completed, but one which would still go on wherever the Gospel was preached; its subjects being *the election of God* (so the *nations*, or *ἔθνη* of verse 3, whom Satan might not deceive, were explained,³) and its term of continuance all that remained of what Augustine regarded as the world's sixth chiliad of existence,⁴ even until Antichrist's coming

βασίλεια ἀφθαρτοῦ καὶ ἀθανάτου καὶ ἀλυσίου καταστήσῃ, τοὺς δὲ εἰς κόλασιν αἰώνιον πυρὸς παραπέμψῃ. 1b. 345.—“*Irenæus* too, v. 32, speaks of the millennial reign as *principium incorruptelæ*.” And so again *Lactantius*, quoted p. 178 Note ².

¹ Augustine himself tells us that he was induced by reasons of this kind to abandon the older chiliastic theory, and embrace this other. “*Quæ opinio*” (viz. that of the literal and corporeal primary resurrection of the saints at Christ's coming, to the enjoyment of a millennial sabbath) “*esset utcumque tolerabilis, si aliquæ deliciae spirituales in illo sabbato adfuturæ sanctis per Domini præsentiam crederentur. Nam etiam nos hoc opinati fuimus aliquando. Sed cùm eos qui tunc resurrexerint dicant immoderatissimis carnalibus epulis vacaturos, &c., . . . nullo modo ista possunt nisi à carnalibus credi.*” C. D. xx. 7. 1. A strange conclusion, surely! that because some perverted the doctrine to carnal views, (as the heretic Cerinthus very early, and others after him) therefore it should be rejected: though Augustine knew that the earlier fathers had quite otherwise held it; and indeed himself too, at one time, as we find it expressed in his 259th Sermon: “*Regnabit enim Dominus in terrâ cùm sanctis suis, sicut dicunt Scripturæ; et habebit hic Ecclesiam separatam atque purgatam ab omni contagione nequitiae,*” &c.

² C. D. xx. 9, 2.

³ Those “*ex quibus prædestinata constat ecclesia.*” C. D. xx. 7. 4.—The *abyss* into which Satan was cast, Augustine viewed as the hearts of the “*innumerable multitudo impiorum:*”—Primasius, as God's judgments, which are a great depth.

⁴ I have before mentioned that Augustine followed the Septuagint chronology; according to which Christ's first coming had taken place at, or about, the middle of the world's sixth chiliad. See Vol. i. p. 373.

at the end of time :—which last enemy's manifestation and persecution of the saints, (including the Jews then at length converted,¹ as well as the Gentile Church,) was supposed to be prefigured under the emblematic appellation of Gog and Magog :—the destruction of whom by fire from heaven would introduce the literal and *universal* resurrection of the dead, (a resurrection both of good and bad,) and, consequently thereon, the final judgment : after which that eternal blessedness of the saints would begin in heaven, which alike the Old Testament prophecies, and the Apocalyptic prophecy in its two last chapters, (so they explained the matter,) prefigured under the symbol of the glorified Jerusalem.²

The *third* solution,—one first suggested, I believe, after the Reformation by Foxe, (though with a certain peculiarity,) ³ but best known as that of Grotius and Hammond,—supposes the *resurrection* meant to be *ecclesiastical* ; and to have had its commencement from the time of Constantine, when Paganism was overthrown, and Christianity and the Church, from a state of prostration and apparent death, visibly raised up again to life, and enthroned. The date which they thus assign, as that of the commencing fulfilment of the Apocalyptic millennial vision, does not imply their making that vision retrogressive or retrospective, as did Augustine's theory of solution ; but the contrary :—because they explain the Apocalyptic Beast to be Rome *Pagan* ; the destruction of which, or rather of the Pagan domination in the

¹ “ Ultimo tempore ante iudicium Judæos in Christum nostrum esse credituros celeberrimum est in sermonibus cordibusque fidelium.” C. D. xx. 29.

² This view prevailed from Augustine's time, through the middle ages, nearly to the Reformation. In the sixth century *Primasius* and *Andreas* advocated it ; in the 8th and 9th, *Bede* and *Ambrose Ansbert*. At p. 445 of Vol. i. I have noted the general consternation of Western Christendom on the approach of the year A. D. 1000 ; a consternation arising out of this view of the prophecy.—Even after the Reformation various Protestant Doctors still held to it, with certain modifications ; as, among others, *Luther* himself, *Bullinger*, *Bale*, *Paræus*, &c. : the exacerbation of Papal tyranny under Gregory VII. A.D. 1073, being supposed by them to mark the end of the Millennium. On the other hand, certain Romish expositors (e. g. I think *Alcasar*) thought to see evidence of Satan's loosing in the then rise of Waldensian heretics, followed by Wicliff, Huss, &c.

³ I mean especially as viewing the loosing of Satan not only in the Othman invasions of Christendom in the xiiiith century, but also in the rising to its acmé at that time of the Papal arrogance, tyranny, and impiety.

Roman Empire, through Constantine's instrumentality, they regard as the event symbolized in the preceding (that is the ninth) chapter of the Apocalypse. The Millennium of triumphant Christianity, thus and then begun, they explain to extend through the period of one thousand years *thence following*; i. e. from the 4th to the 14th century: at which latter time they consider the rise of the Othman Turks from Scythia, and their attack on Christendom, to have fulfilled what is said in the prophecy about Gog and Magog coming up and encompassing the camp of the saints. Upon the destruction of which Turkish Mahomedan power, whensoever it may take place, they look for the fulfilment of what was figured by the great white throne, and the standing of the dead before it, (verses 11, 12, &c.) in the universal resurrection, final judgment, and subsequent heavenly and eternal blessedness of the saints.—An important modification of this view, one which admits *the Beast* to mean *Popery*, has been proposed by Mr. Gipps in England and Professor Bush in America. Of this a notice is subjoined below.¹

¹ The two expositions, though drawn up I believe quite independently of each other, are essentially similar.

1. Mr. Gipps premises that the word *ἠπορεύθησαν*, being in the *aorist*, must have the sense of the *imperfect*, "Whosoever were not (at that time) worshipping the Beast;" and hence argues the synchronism of this Millennium of the *saints'* reign with the *Beast's* reign: so making (like Augustine) the vision retrospective; though retrospective, however, only to the time of the establishment of the *Beast's* reign. This premised, he explains the *first resurrection* to be the rising up of the *spirits of the martyrs* slain under the *Pagan Rome's* persecutions, (Apoc. vi. 9,) in the persons and preaching of Claude of Turin, the Waldenses, the Wicliffites, Hussites, &c, and other Witnesses for Christ throughout the period of *Papal* supremacy; and the *second resurrection* to be that of the Jews on their conversion, according to the prophecies of Ezek. xxxvii. and Rom. xi. 15, and of the multitude of the Gentiles with them, at the close of the Millennium of the *Beast's* reign. On which event he supposes that Gog and Magog will attack the converted Jews; so the prophecies of Ezek. xxxix and Apoc. xx on this point be alike fulfilled; and then the literal resurrection and judgment of the great white throne follow.

2. Prof. Bush similarly supposes the binding of the Dragon to have answered to Theodosius' utter overthrow of Paganism: this binding vision being not a sequel to Apoc. xix, but a resumption of the broken-off history of the fallen Dragon in Apoc. xii: also the *thrones* to mean the new thrones of the *ten Romano-Gothic kingdoms*; and the first resurrection, and living of martyrs with Christ, to signify the vigorous life of those that were opponents to the Dragon's successor, or Popes of Rome.

The *fourth* solution,—one introduced by Whitby, and advocated by Vitringa among others at the end of the xviith century, and by Mr. Faber among others in the present,—explains the *first resurrection* in question to signify a resurrection of the principles, doctrine, spirit, and character of the Christian martyrs and saints departed :¹ being thus one in part *spiritual*, in part *ecclesiastical*, and indeed in part too *national*; inasmuch as it is supposed that the Jews will be then nationally restored, as well as converted, to take a share in it. The *time* they consider as still future; and that it is to begin, agreeably with Apocalyptic order, after the destruction of the Beast, the *Papal Antichrist*: that then (the delusions alike of Popery and Mahomedanism having past away, and Satan been restricted from any more deceiving mankind) the doctrine of the martyrs long branded as heretical will triumph, their characters be appreciated, and their spirit revive afresh, as did that of Elias in John the Baptist; the Church meanwhile founded on their principles flourish universally, the earth enjoy for 1000 years paradisiacal blessedness, and the separate spirits of the martyrs and saints in heaven sympathize with its joy.—Thus far, for the most part, the advocates of this view agree. On the meaning, however, of the implied *second resurrection* there exists among them a very important difference of opinion. While Vitringa, like the advocates of all the three other theories already sketched, supposes it to be the literal resurrection of the dead, small and great, connected with the judgment of the great white throne, Dr. Whitby and Mr. Faber explain it as the rising up again of antichristian principles, immediately at the end of the Millennium, in the persons and confe-

¹ So too Archbishop Whateley, in the Chapter on the Millennium in his *Essays on a Future State*. “It may signify not the literal raising of dead men, but the raising up of an increased Christian zeal and holiness;—the revival in the Christian Church, or in some considerable portion of it, of the *spirit* and *energy* of the noble martyrs of old (even as John the Baptist came in the spirit and power of Elias); so that Christian principles shall be displayed in action throughout the world in an infinitely greater degree than ever before: and this for a considerable time before the end of the world; though not perhaps for the literal and precise period of 1000 years.”

deracy of Gog and Magog.¹—Besides which there is a difference also in their explanations of the *New Jerusalem*. Alike Vitranga and Whitby would have it to signify the blessedness of the *earthly* Church, now enlarged and purified, the bride of Christ *during the Millennium*. But Mr. Faber explains it as *post-millennial*: supposing it to include the whole company admitted to heaven and life eternal from among men; that is, as settled by the judgment of the great white throne, after the general resurrection.

Such are in brief the four most famous solutions of the Millennial prophecy that have been offered in the Christian Church, from the time of the publication of the Apocalypse down to the time now present. Now with regard to *two* of them, (I mean *Augustine's* and *Grotius's*) it will not, I think, need any lengthened consideration to convince us of their total inadmissibility. 1. As to *Augustine's theory*, it may suffice to observe that the millennial vision is in the Apocalyptic narrative *essentially* and *necessarily* subordinated to, and consequent upon, those of Apoc. xiii and xix, which describe the reign and the destruction of the Beast: for among the partakers of the millennial reign those “that had not worshipped the Beast”² are expressly specified; and the reign itself can scarce be any other than that which the heavenly chorus in Apoc. xix had just before rejoiced over, as established on the Beast's destruction;³ not to speak of Christ's bridal also.⁴—Besides which, this millennial enthronization of the saints with Christ

¹ So too Mr. Brown, in his recent work on the Millennium.

² Οἱ τῶν βελζιβουλῶν προσεκύνησαν τὸ θηρίον. The circumstance of the verb being in the aorist, not the pluperfect, does not at all invalidate this argument; the aorist being often so used in the Apocalypse; besides that Augustine's view regarded the whole Millennium as antecedent to the rise of the Beast, or Antichrist.

³ xix. 6; “Hallelujah, for the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth.”

⁴ xix. 7; “Let us rejoice and be glad, for the marriage of the Lamb hath come, and his wife hath made herself ready.”—Vitranga, from whom I have copied the arguments in this case, considering the *New Jerusalem* to be the *bride* spoken of, and the time of its manifestation the Millennium, argues from this also. But I pass it over, because the chronological position of the New Jerusalem vision is a point much disputed, and perhaps doubtful. This will be remarked on in my next chapter.

is plainly identical with that which Daniel describes in his 7th chapter ; which latter is spoken of as taking place on and after (not before) the destruction of the Little Horn of the fourth Beast, i. e. the Antichrist.¹ Yet once more, it must be considered, by Protestants at least, as a direct historical contradiction to this theory, that for above 1200 out of the 1800 years, during which it would represent Satan to have been bound and restricted from deceiving the nations, and Christ with his saints to have been reigning, I say that for above 1200 years of this period, there should have prevailed over both Eastern and Western Christendom the two grand Satanic delusions of Popery and Mahommedanism. Had Augustine himself lived to see this, I am well persuaded, considering his evangelical views of Christian doctrine, that he would have been the first to repudiate his own Millennial theory, as that which had been falsified beyond dispute by plain matter of fact.—2. As to *Hammond's* and *Grotius'* theory, it is an essential preliminary to it that we admit the Apocalyptic Beast to have been Rome *Pagan*, not Rome *Papal*: a point as to which, after all that has preceded in this Commentary,² it will I trust be the reader's judgment that it would be a mere waste of words to offer any fresh evidence in refutation of it. Besides which there is that same *historic* objection to it as to Augustine's theory, of its making the dark ages, and times of the domination of Popery and Mahommedanism, to be those of Christ's reigning on earth and the Devil's incarceration :—not to add that by expounding what is said respecting Gog and Magog, of the Turk

¹ The following tabular comparative view of the two prophecies is copied from Mede by Vitringa.

Dan. vii.		Apoc. xx.	
2.	Thrones placed (<i>positi</i>).	4.	I saw thrones.
10.	The judgment sate.		They sate on them.
12.	Judgment was given to the saints.		Judgment was given to them.
	Saints obtained the kingdom.		They lived and reigned with Christ 1000 years.

² See Part iii. Chapters iv—vii.

and his invasion of Christendom, it makes the "*little time*"¹ of Gog and Magog's insurrection to mean a period, according to these interpreters' own reckoning, of already above 500 years; that is, dating from the rise of the Turkish *Othman* dynasty: or, if we more rightly compute the interval, of near 800; since we ought to date it from *the Turkman* power's earliest epoch of rise, in the dynasty of *Seljuk*.²—Nor will the modification of the view, as proposed by Mr. Gipps or Professor Bush, at all better bear investigation.³

Thus it is clearly *Whitby's* theory alone that can, with any show of plausibility, compete against the earlier and more literal explanation of the millennial prophecy given by Papias and Irenæus, which I have sketched the *first* in my list. Nor, I think, if we do but carefully sift it, will *its* refutation be found less clear and complete, (though it will necessarily occupy us much longer,) than that of the others. I proceed to show this, alike from evidence of the Apocalyptic context, and of other scripture.—And,

¹ μετα ταυτα δει αυτον λυθηναι μικρον χρονον.

² So Vitringa.—See the last-mentioned point fully discussed and established in my Vol. i. p. 473, &c.

³ With regard to *Mr. Gipps*, his assumption of the aorist προσεκυνησαν having necessarily the sense of the imperfect is most incorrect. Witness the examples already referred to, Vol. i. p. 297, in Apoc. vi. 1, xi. 10, xxi. 1, &c.

With regard to *Professor Bush*, his fundamental supposition that in Apoc. xx. 1, the history of the Dragon, or Spirit of Roman Paganism, is resumed from Apoc. xii,—his being *cast down from heaven*, in the great revolution begun under Constantine and completed under Theodosius, answering to the figure of his being *shut up in the abyss* of Apoc. xx,—is, I conceive, in the Apocalypse itself distinctly negatived. For whereas, according to Professor Bush, this Dragon ought to have been from after Theodosius' time shut up, so as not to deceive the nations, he is in Apoc. xii, xiii. represented distinctly as after that time not only sending out floods from his mouth to overwhelm the woman, and driving her into the wilderness, but afterwards, with a view to prosecute his enmity against the remnant of the woman's seed who kept the word of God and the testimony of Jesus, himself evoking the seven-headed beast, Antichrist, which was *but his creature, from the abyss*; giving him up his throne, and, by deceiving the nations to believe on him, furnishing him *all through his reign* with power and great authority. Besides that *the abyss* is expressly said to have been opened in Apoc. ix. 2; with reference (as I believe proved) to a time included in Professor Bush's *millennium* or Satan's incarceration in it.

As to Messrs. G. and B.'s view of the *first resurrection*, and of the cotemporaneous *binding of Satan*, and *reign of the saints*, precisely the same insuperable *historic* objections occur against it as against the theories of Augustine and Grotius.

Ist, The *Apocalyptic context* is against Whitby's theory.

No doubt the term *resurrection* and its cognate words are often used *figuratively*, as he says, to denote a revival *national, official, or spiritual*. In Ezekiel's celebrated vision,¹ the figure of the dry bones gathering together, and re-adjusting themselves into form, and then into life, may very possibly signify simply the *political* resuscitation of the Jews.² In St. Luke, the prodigal's *spiritual* revival was designated by the phrase, "He is alive again."³ And again, in the Apocalypse itself, both the Beast's *living again*, after having had the wound with the sword, and the two Witnesses *living again*, after being killed by the Beast,⁴ indicated a revival of the persecuting empire, and revival of the witnessing line, cause, and testimony respectively. But in these and all such cases, we must mark most carefully one rule that is observed,—a rule the propriety of which will approve itself at once to every discriminative mind ;—viz. that of making the *resurrection of corresponding character* with the *death*, from out of which it is a revival. Thus in Ezekiel it was a change from *national extinction* to *national revival* ; in Luke from *spiritual death* to *spiritual life* ; in the Apocalyptic visions from *political and official annihilation* to *political and official resuscitation*.⁵ So strict and constant is the observance of this rule, and so stringent its requirement by the proprieties of diction, that it needs but, in any doubtfully expressed case of *resurrection*, to ascertain the nature of the *death* revived from ; and, if this can be ascertained, an explanation of the resurrection conformable thereto must almost necessarily be the true one.—And what then the *death* in the present case ? What is stated in the prophecy seems unequivocal, and forces us to explain it as

¹ Ezek. xxxvii.

² I say *very possibly*, because not Christian expositors only, but Jewish, have supposed an actual cotemporary resurrection of the faithful dead of Israel to be also meant. I shall again refer to this in a later part of this chapter.

³ Luke xv. 32.

⁴ Apoc. xiii. 3, xi. 11.

⁵ So again in Luke ii. 34 ; " This child *κεῖται εἰς πτώσιν καὶ ἀνάστασιν πολλῶν ἐν Ἰσραὴλ*, is set for the *fall and rising again* of many in Israel."

natural individual death. For, *first*, there are specified as one class among these dead, those that had been *be-headed* for the witnessing of Christ:—not *a representative two or three*, let it be observed, but all that had been so martyred *generally*: nor, again, those had just recently been so slain, but those specifically that John had seen on the fifth Seal's opening, long before, under the altar, the victims of the persecutions of Rome Pagan: and who, (by the way) if a revival of *their martyr-spirit* had been the thing intended, must doubtless be considered to have had that revival long before, in the series of faithful witnesses raised up afterwards against the Papal Apostacy, the which were prophetically depicted under the emblem of the two witnesses clothed in sack-cloth.¹—To the same effect, *secondly*, is the use of the term "*the dead*," τῶν νεκρῶν, generically, in the announcement on the seventh Trumpet's sounding of what was to be fulfilled under it; a Trumpet which comprehended within it the seven Vials, and so the epoch, at the close of the seventh Vial, of this millenary resurrection. "We thank thee," it was said,² "O Lord God Almighty, because thou hast taken to thyself thy great power, and assumed the kingdom: and the nations were angry, and thy wrath is come; *and the time of the dead to be judged*; and that thou shouldest give reward to thy servants the prophets, and to the saints, and to them that fear thy name, small and great; and shouldest destroy them that destroy the earth." Already the fulfilment of what was to come first in the above summary of the events of this Trumpet of consummation had been figured to St. John as taking place:—viz. the pouring forth of the vials of God's wrath; and at length, with the last of them, the full and utter destruction of them that destroyed and corrupted the earth. It remained that the rest should be fulfilled,—viz. his taking the kingdom, judging *the dead*, and giving reward to his servants the prophets and saints:—that is, precisely what *here* begins to be

¹ Just as Mr. Gipps' theory views them.² Apoc. xi. 17.

figured; *a part* of the *dead*, viz. the prophets and saints, being now adjudged to have the reward of a participation in Christ's millennial kingdom;¹ the rest, —*οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν νεκρῶν*,—reserved to receive judgment on the expiration of the thousand years.² The identity of the beheaded martyrs and saints *here* spoken of, with the dead spoken of as to be judged, and the prophets as to be rewarded, in xi. 17, is in fact allowed by Vitringa.³ And if the harshness that was shown to attach to any but the *literal* construction of "*the dead*" in that earlier passage,⁴ do *there* preclude all *figurative* interpretation of the phrase, the literal sense must from its parallelism attach to the same phrase *here* also.—To the same effect, *thirdly*, is the argument from what is said just afterwards of "*the rest of the dead*," and *their reviving* and resurrection. For there is, I am persuaded, no explanation of these phrases, such as to satisfy the conditions of the case, except that which refers them (as do alike Irenæus' theory, and those of Augustine and Grotius) to "*the dead small and great*," mentioned after the account of Gog and Magog as rising *literally* from death and the grave, to judgment before the great white throne. Indeed, though a Whitbyite, Vitringa himself so explains their meaning. Which admitted, *the dead* mentioned just before as *first raised* must surely on every principle of consistency be explained also of persons *literally* dead, and their resurrection as a *literal* resurrection. Nor can even the alternative solution of the phrase by other Whitbyites, explaining *the rest of the dead*, and their *living again*, of the revival of the extinguished *Antichristian cause and party* in the persons of Gog and Magog, overcome the stringency of the argument hence derived. For as a *remnant* must needs have been once *on*, and *of*, the same piece as *the part*

¹ The verb *κρίνεσθαι* is applied to the *good* as well as *bad*. So Apoc. xx. 12, 13. And so too *κρίμα*, and other cognate words; as e. g. John ix. 39.

² The circumstance of *two acts* constituting the fulfilment of this clause, removed from each other by this large interval of time, applies also, as I believe, to our Lord's saying in John v. 28; which will be observed on afterwards.

³ See his Commentary, p. 683.

⁴ See my Vol. ii. pp. 436 437

whose abstraction left it a remnant, so must the λοιποὶ τῶν νεκρῶν and the νεκροὶ first raised (in whatever sense νεκροὶ) have been once conjoined together, in respect of the *time* as well as the *character* of the death which is thus alike predicated of both: just as in Apoc. ix. 20, where “*a third of the men*” having been first spoken of as *killed*, (that is, *politically*) by certain plagues, and then “*the rest of the men*,” that were not so killed, as not repenting, it is evident that a community of the same political life attached to the whole of the men *at one and the same time*, immediately previous to the plague which killed a third of them. But as to any community in *political* or *official* death between the two parties *here* spoken of, just before the millennial resurrection, the thing is impossible. For how could both the *Christian* body or cause and the *Antichristian*, be dead in this sense *at one and the same time*?¹ The death of the one is the life of the other.—As to the objection that Whitby, Faber, and Gipps have very confidently made to our thus explaining the phrase,—viz. because, they say, this remainder, being spoken of as “not to rise *till* the thousand years are finished,” must consequently be supposed to rise *immediately* on the Millennium expiring, whereas “the dead small and great,” of verse 12, were not to rise till after the subsequent interval (short indeed but yet an interval) of Gog’s rise and destruction, —I say, as to this objection, it is founded on a quite mistaken assumption of the requirements of the “*till*” in the clause. The tempest-angels of Apoc. vii were charged not to blow *till* the servants of God were sealed:² but it was not until after the further interval of a little space, subsequent to the completion of the sealing, that the first Trumpet sounded, and the tempests began. Again the *till* in Matt. i. 25, “till she brought forth her

¹ Besides which how is it, were this explanation by Dr. Whitby correct, that ἀνέστησαν, or some such word, is not used on mention of Gog’s expedition; to indicate, so as in the case of the millennial saints, the resuscitation of the long-fallen cause with which he is identified?

² ἀχρις ἂν σφραγισθῶμεν τοὺς δούλους τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν. Apoc. vii. 3.

firstborn son,"¹ (quite independently of the controverted point so famous in the Roman Church about the V. M.) involves, from the nature of the case, yet an additional interval of time after the childbirth. And so too in other passages.² Which being the case, and the objection thus shown to be groundless, it might surely be fairly required of such expositors of the Whitby school as have urged it, that they should admit with Vitranga the superior probability, if not absolute necessity, of the explanation of "*the rest of the dead*" that I contend for: viz. as meaning literally the rest of men dead in their graves; contradistinctively to the martyrs and saints spoken of just before as raised to live and reign with Christ. Which admitted, the *literal* character of the *death* of these martyrs and saints follows as a matter of course; just as it does on the two grounds previously stated:—and, as before said, from the literal character of the *death*, by almost necessary consequence,³ the literal character of the *resurrection* also.⁴

In corroboration of which conclusion the three following additional arguments suggest themselves; each, like the former, derived from or connected with the Apocalyptic description. *First*, were a *spiritual* resurrection of the martyrs intended, and one from political or official death, one might surely expect to find their death previously mentioned or figured. Which however no where appears: the last previous notice of the *witnesses* being their ascent to heaven in the cloud;⁵ and the subsequent but premillennial visions of the three flying Angels still indicating *activity* and *life*, not *deadness* in the Christian cause. *Secondly*, in case of its being the resurrection of

¹ Καὶ οὐκ ἐγινώσκεν αὐτὴν ἕως ἃ ἐτεκε τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς τὸν πρωτότοκον.

² I see in Cuninghame's "Examination of Faber," which has just met my eye, another apposite example from Luke xxiv. 49; "Remain in Jerusalem *till* ye shall have been endued with power from on high."

Cyril in his Catech. xv. argues to the same effect, in reference to the *till* in 1 Cor. xv. 25: "He must reign *till* he hath put all enemies under his feet."

³ I say *almost*, because in some cases the death of an *individual* so involves the death of his *principles* and *cause*, that it is hard quite to separate them.

⁴ Compare Matt. xiv. 2, where Herod, having literally *slain* John the Baptist, says, "This is John the Baptist; he is *risen from the dead*," in the same literal sense of the phrase.

⁵ xi. 12. See Vol. ii. p. 410, &c.

the martyr's cause, how, I beg to ask, could it be *the first*, and not rather *the second* resurrection; seeing that the Apocalypse has itself distinctly and elaborately described a *previous resurrection* of the martyr cause and line in the vision of the two Witnesses' death and resurrection, before the seventh Trumpet's sounding?—*Thirdly*, there is the important consideration, that as to any notable revival of the *spirit* of the old martyrs in times of Millennial blessedness, such as the Apocalypse implies, with the Devil bound and the saints triumphant, it is almost a contradiction in terms. The spirit of Elias might and did revive in John the Baptist; because he, like his predecessor, had to witness in a corrupt generation for the truth, even unto death. But here, where the similarity?—Mr. Gipps, one of the most decided, as well as most able, of all the modern opponents of the literal chiliastic theory, so strongly felt the force of this consideration, that it induced him almost of itself to abandon Whitby's theory as untenable: though only indeed for another on the same spiritualizing principle, which seems equally untenable, as I have shown elsewhere.¹

Thus on much various evidence discoverable in *the Apocalypse itself*, I come to the same conclusion that Mr. Gipps did on but a part of it, as to the decided inadmissibility of Whitby's millennial theory: and consequently (all the other theories having been similarly discussed and similarly shown to be inadmissible) to the further conclusion that that of Irenæus and the early Chiliasts,—in other words the *literal* theory of the First Resurrection, is the true one. Let me just add, ere I pass from this part of my argument, that the application to the saints and martyrs raised to reign with Christ of the word *ψυχαι* *souls*, (which some have strongly objected to us,) forms no real objection. For it is a term referring generally to their state *just previous*; and specially marking the identity of some of the enthroned

¹ p. 183.

individuals with those *ψυχαι* that St. John had seen long previously, after their slaughter, under¹ the altar: one therefore which no more indicates that they were still mere *ψυχαι*, *incorporeal souls*, than the title *νεκροι*, in verse 12, (“I saw *the dead*, small and great, stand before God,”) implies that these last were still, at that very time of their standing before Him, *dead men*.²

Such is the proof deducible from *the Apocalyptic passage itself*, in favour of the view I advocate of the *first resurrection* in Apoc. xx. being a literal one; and consequently of the *resurrection of the just*, (as it is elsewhere called,³) being *premillennial*. As the point, however, is one so controverted, as well as so surpassingly interesting and important, it is clearly incumbent on every earnest inquirer after truth to consider the *scripture evidence* that may bear upon it on a larger scale. This constitutes the *second* branch of my argument. Nor, I think, will its examination fail to issue in a deeper fuller persuasion of the truth of the *premillennial* theory of Christ’s second advent, and the cotemporary resurrection of the saints.

II. For there seem to me some *four* or *five* several particulars of proof in general scripture prophecy, to the effect stated; all independent of each other, and for the most part, of a very decisive character.

1. I may argue from Christ’s *parable of the tares and wheat*,⁴ as furnishing, to my mind, a decisive negative to the counter-theory which makes a Millennium of universal holiness and blessedness to precede Christ’s advent and the saints’ resurrection. The kingdom of heaven, He

¹ Apoc. vi. 9.

² Let me add another example or two, as the point is important, and one on which arguments have been frequently founded. Luke vii. 15; “And the *dead man* sat up;” *ὁ νεκρὸς ἀνέκαθισεν*. Matt. ix. 33, “The *dumb man* spake;” *ὁ κωφὸς ἐλάλησε*. So again, Matt. xi. 5, xv. 31, Luke vii. 22, &c.—Thus it seems quite needless to urge the frequent use of *ψυχαι* for *persons*, by way of explanation.

³ Luke xiv. 14.

⁴ Matt. xiii. 24, &c.

said, or Christian Church, would in its earthly state and history resemble a field first sown with wheat, then, by an enemy, with tares. These both were to grow together intermixed,—the tares with the wheat, the wheat with the tares,—until the harvest; that was, until the end of the *αιων*, or age. Then at length (not before) the tares should be eradicated. “As therefore the tares are gathered and burned in the fire, so shall it be at the end of the age. (*αιωνος*.) The Son of Man shall send forth his angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all things that offend, and them which do iniquity; and shall cast them into a furnace of fire: there shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth. Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father.”—This predictive sketch seems to allow no possible place, or room, for the intervention of any such spiritual Millennium as Whitby’s and Vitranga’s before that which is emphatically called the *end of the age*. And the parable is brought to bear still more strikingly and decisively on the point now in question, by the statement added, that the righteous¹ are then to shine forth as the sun in God’s kingdom;² a statement implying that the *resurrection* of such as shall have been previously numbered with *the righteous dead* will then take place. For the glory of the saints *living* at the time of Christ’s coming, and the end of the *αιων*, is not to anticipate that of them that *sleep*;³ nor the glory of the *latter* to begin till their *resurrection*.⁴

2. St. Paul’s prophecy of the *Man of Sin*, in his Second Epistle to the Thessalonians, seems to me distinctly to identify the time of *Christ’s second coming*,

¹ *οι δικαιοι*:—a phrase, let it be observed, very distinct from that which designates the earthly Jerusalem, and its people then living, on their conversion, recovery, and national glorification in the latter day.

² Compare Dan. xii. 2, 3.

³ 1 Thess. iv. 15.

⁴ So Phil. iii. 21; “Who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body;” and 1 Cor. xv. 43; “sown in dishonour, *raised in glory*.”—The Councils of Florence and Trent indeed decreed that the souls of the saints departed do already behold the face of God in heaven and in glory. But this is a Papal doctrine, not Scriptural.

and of the cotemporary *gathering of the dead saints from their graves* (as well as of the saints then alive) to meet Him, with that of the *destruction of the Papal Antichrist*.—For let but the prophecy be considered. “We beseech you, brethren, concerning (so the word is¹) the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and our gathering together unto Him,² that ye be not soon shaken in mind, or be troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter as from us, as that the day of Christ is at hand. Let no man deceive you by any means. For that day shall not come except there come first the apostacy;³ and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, &c.—And now ye know what withholdeth, that He might be revealed in his time. For the mystery of iniquity doth already work: only he that now letteth will let, until he be taken out of the way. And then shall that Wicked One be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming.”—What, I ask, was the occasion and intent of this prophecy? The first verse that I have quoted expressly and professedly defines it. The Thessalonian Christians were agitated under an impression (whence-soever originating⁴) that the day of Christ’s advent and

¹ ὑπερ της παρουσίας. I have in a former Note on this clause, Vol. iii. p. 77, given some references from *Rosenmüller* in evidence of the sense *concerning* attaching to ὑπερ; and mentioned *Macknight*, *Schleusner*, *Whitby*, &c, as all here giving that meaning to the word. The last-named, *Whitby*, is specially observable, on account of his being an eminent anti-premillennarian. He enumerates, we saw, as examples of ὑπερ being used in this sense, Rom. ix. 27, *Ἡσaias κραζει ὑπερ του Ισραηλ*, where our translation renders it *concerning*; and also 2 Cor. vii. 4, ix. 3, Phil. i. 7: adding, “Phavorinus saith it is used ὁμοίως τῷ περὶ.”—So too *Arrian*, in the Introduction to his History of Alexander the Great: *Ἄλλοι μὲν δὲ ἀλλὰ ὑπερ Ἀλεξανδρου ἀνεγραψαν· οὐδ’ ἐστὶν ὑπερ ὅτου πλείονες* having just before said, *περὶ Ἀλεξανδρου*.—On the other hand I doubt if ὑπερ ever bears the *adjurative* sense *by*, which our translators here give it.

² ἡμῶν ἐπισυναγωγῆς ἐπ’ αὐτον.

³ ἡ ἀποστασία.

⁴ Its origin is thus stated: “That ye be not soon shaken in mind, or be troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter, as from us;” i. e. says *Whitby*, “neither by any pretended *revelation*,—nor by *word* spoken by us, and by others misunderstood,—nor by *anything contained in our former epistle*, as Chap. iv. 15, v. 2:” (unless, he adds, the allusion be to ii. 16).

Thus this eminent opponent of the pre-millennial advent, admits, as do also most other commentators, a reference to St. Paul’s 1st Epistle to the Thessalonians

appearing (*παρουσία*) was imminent;—that advent which was associated in the apostle's mind with *the saints' gathering* to Him. And how does St. Paul meet and correct it? By telling them that some great and famous apostasy must first intervene:—an apostasy of which the seeds were even then sown and germinating; and which would at length have the *Man of Sin* as its child and head: not till the end of whose reign would Christ's expected advent occur; the brightness of his advent being in fact that Man of Sin's extinguisher and destruction.—It were surely nothing less than violence to the sacred text to explain Christ's *παρουσία*, or *advent* so spoken of, as any other than his promised *personal* second advent. Four times is the expression used in this sense in St. Paul's former Epistle to the Thessalonians; and in this sense exclusively and alone.¹ In the introductory verse of the present chapter, the connexion with it of the *ἐκκλυσιαγωγῇ*, or *general gathering* of the saints into Christ's presence, fixes the same meaning to the *παρουσία* or advent of Christ *there* meant;² and by necessary consequence (considering not the proximity of the two clauses only, but their argumentative connexion) to the *παρουσία* of verse 8 also. In effect the early patristic expositors always so understood it; and Whitby himself virtually allows this to be the most natural and

in the clause, "*nor by letter as from us.*" On the other hand Mr. Faber, also eminent as an anti-premillennarian, argues against this explication of it. For he sees that if this reference to St. Paul's former Epistle be admitted,—then, since the *παρουσία*, or coming of Christ, in 1 Thess. iv. 15 was *indisputably* his *personal coming to judge the quick and dead*, there must necessarily be attached the same meaning to the *παρουσία* here noted in 2 Thess. ii. 1, and consequently to the *παρουσία* of Christ in verse 8. But, says he, the expression "*by letter as from us,*" shows that it was a *forged* Epistle that St. Paul referred to.—Now it seems to me that the explanation generally given is the most natural one. Certainly the *ὡς δι' ἡμῶν* does not necessarily imply a forged letter. Still as the case he supposes is *possible*, I am content to waive the disputed point, and to make my argument altogether independent of it. ¹ Viz. ii. 19, iii. 13, iv. 15, v. 23.

² In proof let the reader consider Whitby's primary and alternative explanation of the *ἐκκλυσιαγωγῇ* of the saints, connected with his primary explanation of the *παρουσία*, as Christ's coming to destroy Jerusalem. It may mean, he says, the gathering of Jewish converts to *Christian churches*; who, till Jerusalem's destruction, many of them worshipped separately in their *synagogues*!—Were the Thessalonian converts then, or St Paul himself, among these semi-Jewish separatists; so as to answer to the *ἡμῶν* in the clause, "*our gathering to Him?*"

proper sense to attach to the phrase.¹ Nor is it any thing, I think, but an instinctive dread of the premillennial inference deducible from such an understanding of it, that can have induced him and Mr. Faber to give it the different meanings,—one of Christ's coming to destroy Jerusalem,² the other of Christ's coming, still providentially, not personally, to inflict judgment on the apostate Roman Empire.—I say of the premillennial inference. For, admitting the *παρουσία* to be *Christ's second personal coming*, it follows instantly and necessarily that there can intervene no Millennium of universal holiness and gospel-triumph before it. The whole interval between the apostle's time and Christ's second coming is represented in this comprehensive sketch as occupied and spanned, from beginning to end, by the great apostacy:—an apostacy even then sown and secretly germinating, as before said, and which was soon to break out into fuller development;—then to reach its culminating point in the headship and domination of the Man of Sin, the Papal Antichrist;³—and under that domination to continue and prevail, even until his and its destruction by the brightness of Christ's coming.⁴

And let me just remark, ere passing on, that the *pre-millennial inference* drawn from the two passages of Scripture above commented on, seems strongly confirmed

¹ Considering, he says, the uniform use of the phrase *παρουσία Χριστου* in the first Epistle, "it may be thought more reasonable to refer this passage to the same (i. e. the second personal) advent."

² Such Whitby sets forth in his exposition as *primarily* the meaning of the term, referring illustratively to the prophecy in Matt. xxiv: at the same time that he allows a reference to Christ's personal second advent as a *secondary* meaning, for the reason stated in the Note preceding. But, though doing so in verse 1, he shuns construing the word in the same sense in verse 8.

³ Compare my sketches of the prophetic portraiture and the historical realization. Vol. iii. p. 77, 144, &c.—Alike Vitranga, (p. 780) Faber, and Whitby admit the propriety of this historical application of the predicted Man of Sin: the last mentioned expositor giving it as an *alternative* solution of the prophecy; the two others giving it, and no other. So too Mr. Gipps.

⁴ Compare what St. Paul writes in 2 Thess. i. 7—10, of Jesus Christ's "revelation from heaven with his mighty angels, in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ; when he shall come to be *glorified in his saints*, and admired in all them that believe, in that day." How and when glorified in his saints? Surely when his saints are gathered to him, to admire and reflect his glory, at the first resurrection.

by St. Peter's remarkable statement about the scoffers of the last days, just immediately preceding Christ's second advent ; that they will be saying, "Where is the promise of his coming ; for *all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation.*"¹ How could they so say if a spiritual millennium had intervened previously ?

3. The same conclusion follows from the not obscurely-predicted *synohronism of the departed saints' resurrection* with the commencement of *Israel's promised conversion to Christ*, as well as *the cotemporary blessedness of the world.*—To make this important part of my argument clearer, I must trace it somewhat fully, and from the fountain-head ; keeping *Israel* in the first instance chiefly in view.

Every promise to man made afterwards was wrapt up (if I may so say) and contained in that original and primary promise made to our first parents after their fall, "The seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head." Now on this promise we have what I may call an inspired comment, in the apostle's saying, "For this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that He might destroy the works of the devil."² And, as Satan's work was the introduction of both natural and moral evil,—of a curse alike on man and the creation made for man,—("for the creation was subjected to vanity, not through any voluntary act, but by reason of him who subjected it," i.e. as I suppose, the Devil,³) therefore the undoing of his work involved a twofold restoration and removal of the curse ; the moral restoration of man, and physical restoration of this created earth of his habitation. Nor, I think, is it mere unfounded conjecture to suppose that Adam, Abel, Enoch, so understood, and hoped *themselves* to

¹ 2 Pet. iii. 4.

² 1 John iii. 8.

³ Rom. viii. 20. Some commentators prefer to understand *Adam* as the subject of the outward creation to vanity ; he having done so by his sin. I conceive it *must* be either *Adam* or the *Devil*,—the tempter to original sin, or the sinner ; seeing that the curse on the creation followed the sin. Which of these, is immaterial to my argument.

profit by it.¹—The promise was not jeopardized by the judgment of a flood of waters which God would bring on the earth to destroy all flesh : for, together with his declaration of the coming judgment, God made the saving declaration to Noah, “ But with *thee* will I establish *my covenant* : ”² that is, my original covenanted promise made to Adam.—And, again, in the tenth generation after Noah, when the world was afresh beginning to be filled with an apostate population, and so the covenant to be afresh endangered, He virtually repeated it to Abraham ; “ Get thee out of thy country to a land which I will shew thee ; and *in thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed* : ”³—adding soon after, in very remarkable terms, a grant of *the land itself* to which he was called, as if in some way particularly connected with the accomplishment of the previous comprehensive promise : at first, “ Unto *thy seed* will I give this land ; ”⁴ then, “ To *thee* will I give it, *and to thy seed*, for ever.”⁵ It is not the mere human expositor that has noted the fact of these terms of the promise having apparently given to Abraham a *personal* interest in the land as *its inheritor*, and similarly to Isaac and Jacob after him :⁶ else we might argue that the promise of Abraham’s possessing it was fulfilled in his seed’s possessing it.⁷ But one inspired seems so to explain the matter :⁸ and perhaps God himself, long before.⁹—But how then was the promise to be realized by him and them ? He was but a stranger and sojourner in the

¹ By the use of propitiatory sacrifices these early patriarchs expressed their hope in the promise. ² Gen. vi. 18. ³ Gen. xii. 3. ⁴ Gen. xii. 7.

⁵ Gen. xiii. 15. And so again, xv. 7, xvii. 8. In the former of these two passages the notable term *inherit* is introduced for the first time in the Bible ; “ I am the Lord that brought thee out of Ur of the Chaldees, to give thee this land to *inherit* it.” In xvii. 8 the strong expression is used ; “ I will give unto *thee*, and to thy seed after thee, the land wherein thou art a stranger, *for an everlasting possession*.” ⁶ Gen. xxvi. 3. xxviii. 13, xxxv. 12.

⁷ So Gen. xli. 4 ; “ I will surely go down with thee (Jacob) to Egypt, and I will also surely *bring thee up again* : ” i. e. in his seed ; unless it be his corpse.

⁸ Viz. St. Stephen, Acts vii. 5 ; “ And God gave him none inheritance in it, no not so much as to set his foot on : yet He promised that He would give it to *him* for a possession, and to his seed after him.”—Irenæus, v. 32, dwells much on this intent of the promise to Abraham. ⁹ Exod. vi. 4.

land ; not having had, nor expecting in this life to have,¹ so much as a foot of it in possession :—indeed it was expressly intimated to him, in a vision that had a horror of great darkness as its meet accompaniment, that he was himself to die and be buried in a good old age, like his fathers before him :²—whereas the inheritance promised implied fruition as a possessor, and that possession one *for ever*. The memorable act of his proceeding, according to the Divine command, to slay Isaac, the very son in whom the promise was to have its fulfilment, furnished occasion (as the inspired apostle explains to us) for the manifestation of his views on this point. “He accounted that God was able to *raise him up even from the dead* ;”³ and in fact did, as it were, receive him back from death, (and of course all Isaac’s seed in him,) in a type or figure.⁴ That is, I conceive, his faith realized the possibility, and rested on it, of the promise connected with Isaac having its fulfilment through the intervention of, and after, *a resurrection from the dead* :—a figure of the manner in which he himself, doubtless, as well as Isaac and Isaac’s seed, (Christ, the promised seed κατ’ ἐξοχήν, specially included,⁵) might expect to realize the promised inheritance.⁶ So “by faith he sojourned in *the land of promise*, (a place which he should after receive for an inheritance,) as in a strange country ; dwelling in tabernacles with Isaac and Jacob, the heirs with him of the same promise :”⁷ yet looking for the promised inheritance, with the world itself as its appendage,⁸ after death and resurrection : and for all in a state quite different from what was then before his eyes ; even as a world renovated, a Canaan made heavenly,⁹

¹ Compare the words “wherein thou art a stranger,” of Gen. xvii. 8, quoted above.

² Gen. xv. 15.

³ Heb. xi. 19.

⁴ ἐν παραβολῇ, *ibid.*

⁵ Compare Heb. ii. 14.

⁶ Compare Rom. iv. 17 ; “He believed in God that *quickeneth the dead*, and calleth things which are not, as though they were.”

⁷ Heb. xi. 8, 9.

⁸ Rom. iv. 13 ; “For the promise that he should be the *heir of the world* was not made to Abraham, or to his seed, through the law, but through the righteousness of faith.”

⁹ Heb. xi. 16.—Tertullian thinks there may have been a reference to the double blessing to the faithful seed of Abraham, the *earthly* blessing and the *heavenly*, in the double comparison of the number of his seed to the sand on *earth* and the

“ a city which had foundations, whose builder and maker was God.”¹

Meanwhile there had been revealed to him (it was in the vision that had the horror of great darkness accompanying it) a new and most important *appendix* in God's purpose to the old covenant of grace. The question was permitted to be asked by Abraham, (by Abraham not in his individual character, I conceive, but as the representative and federal head, like Adam before him, of his seed interested in the promised inheritance,) “ Lord God, *whereby shall I know that I shall inherit it* (the land)? ”² And, in answer, God told him that his seed (his *natural* seed evidently) should, after sojourning and suffering in a land not theirs, above 400 years, come out in the fourth generation ; and *as a nation* occupy that same land of Canaan.³ This therefore was to be after Abraham himself, and Isaac too, had died. So that there now opened before him the vista of a new line of covenant-promise, not annulling or superseding,⁴ but only subordinate to, and corroborative of, the older covenant-promise :⁵—the new promise being that of his

stars in *heaven*. “ Quid tibi videtur ; cūm Abrahæ semen post primam promissionem quā in multitudinem *arenæ* repromittitur, ad instar quoque *stellarum* destinatur, nonne et terrenæ et cœlestis dispositionis auspicia sunt ? ” Adv. Marcion iii. 24.

So Justin Martyr, after mentioning Abraham's call. Καὶ ἡμᾶς δὲ ἀπαντας δι' ἐκείνης τῆς φωνῆς ἐκάλεσε, καὶ ἐξηλθομεν ἡδὴ ἀπὸ τῆς πολιτείας ἐν' ᾧ ἐζῶμεν κατὰ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν ἄλλων τῆς γῆς οἰκητορῶν, κακῶς ζῶντες· καὶ συν τῷ Ἀβραάμ τὴν ἁγίαν κληρονομησομεν γῆν, εἰς τὸν ἀπεραντὸν αἰῶνα τὴν κληρονομίαν ληψόμενοι. Dial. cūm Tryph. p. 347.

¹ Heb. xi. 10.—Macknight on Heb. vi. says that “ the covenant with Abraham might with great propriety be termed the gospel of the patriarchs and of the Jews.”

² Gen. xv. 8.

³ Ibid. verse 16. See on this point chap. iii, in Mr. Brooks' Elements.

⁴ So St. Paul, Gal. iii. 17 ; “ This, I say, that the *covenant* that was confirmed before of God in Christ, the *law* which was 430 years after, cannot disannul, that it should make the promise of none effect. For if the inheritance be of the law, it was no more of promise : but God gave it to Abraham by promise.”

⁵ So Rom. iv. 11 ; “ He received the *seal* of circumcision ;—a *seal of the righteousness of faith*,” (and of course of the *promise thereto attached*,) “ which he had when yet uncircumcised ; that he might be the father of many nations.” See Macknight on Rom. ix. 8 ; also his Essay V, prefixed to the Epistle to the Galatians, Introduction, and § 3.

Compare the sign given to Moses in Exod. iii. 12 : a sign of something smaller and yet future, to assure him and his people of the fulfilment of something greater, and which in its full comprehensiveness embraced a yet more distant futurity. So too the sign given by Samuel to Saul, in proof of the latter possessing

natural seed as a living nation occupying the earthly Canaan ; as if for an actual guarantee and sign to perpetual generations of his *spiritual* seed (the holy election of grace out of the natural seed¹) at length after death, and through the medium of a resurrection, inheriting the same Canaan, *some way* at length *made heavenly*, and with God himself revealed therein as their God.² Besides which important object, this new national dispensation was made subservient in a thousand ways both to illustrate, and as a schoolmaster to train up the people for participation in, the earlier covenant of heavenly promise : setting forth, as appeared afterwards in its wonderful ritual and code of law, so strikingly as probably nothing else could have done, the vastness of the alienation caused by Adam's sin between a holy God and sinful man, and consequent vastness of the difficulty of effecting what the original covenant implied, in respect of man's (and inclusively the creation's) restoration and reconciliation : and the need consequently of an all-perfect atoner, Mediator, and Purifier, such as might indeed do the work, and realize the wonderful ideas, now also first fully set forth, of *redemption* and a *redeemer*.—No wonder that the faithful servants of God in every age should have found in the varying history of the Jewish nation,—of its rebellions and its punishments,—its stubbornness, and the treatment of its stubbornness,—its repentances and its partial restorations,—types of their own spiritual history and of God's unwearied faithfulness in his covenant to save.³ That nation, and its national history, seem to have been almost set forth to Abraham, in God's first announcement concerning it, as a sign and type of the spiritual history, and ultimate spiritual blessedness, of the spiritual seed. I say a sign of its ultimate spiritual

the kingdom, 1 Sam. x. 2, &c ; that to Hezekiah, in proof of his recovery, 2 Kings xix. 29 ; and that to Ahaz, Isa. vii. 14, in proof of Emanuel's not forsaking the land.

¹ The admissibility of Gentiles was scarcely revealed.

² This is always expressed or implied as the grand glory of the reward ; from Gen. xv. 1, " Fear not, Abraham ; I am thy shield, and thy *exceeding great reward* ;" to Levit. xxvi. 12, " I will be your God, and ye shall be my people."

³ Compare 1 Cor. x. 6.

blessedness. For the final and ultimate view of the *natural* Israel, (as well as of the *spiritual*) predicated in all prophecy concerning it,—from the prophecies by Moses¹ to those by Christ² and St. Paul,³—was that of its ultimate reconciliation with God, after a long and fearful alienation and judgment, and its consequent surpassing glory and joy.

And here then there might naturally arise a question with the believer of old, as he looked forward into the distant future, Would there be any coincidence in respect of *time*, as well as of *earthly scene*, between the fulfilments of the ultimate blessings predicted in respect of either covenant? in other words, a synchronization of the *spiritual* Israel's resurrection from the dead, and inheritance both of a renovated earth, and of God himself as its Redeemer, with the *natural* Israel's restoration to their renovated land and to their Saviour-God? A question this, bearing directly, the reader will see, on the point of our present investigation: and to which the scriptural answer, I believe, is this, that the chronological connexion of the two consummations was a thing intended; and neither unforeshown to, nor unforeseen by, the saints of God, alike before, and at, and after, the time of Christ.

On *Moses'* views in this matter there is scarce evidence sufficient to enable us to pronounce: though it seems that he understood the distinction of the two covenant-promises; and, as one written in God's Book of the living,⁴ looked for the reward of the same heavenly inheritance and country as his fathers:⁵ a country connected some way with that earthly Canaan to which, in fulfilment of the lesser covenant-promise made to Abra-

¹ Deut. xxx. 1—9

² Luke xxi. 24, Matt. xxiii. 39.

³ Rom. xi. 25, 26.

⁴ Exod. xxxii. 32; "And Moses said unto the Lord, Oh this people have sinned a great sin. Yet now if thou wilt forgive their sin—; and if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of the book that thou hast written. And the Lord said to Moses, Whosoever hath sinned against me, him will I blot out of my book." This Book is called in Psalm lxix. 28 and Isa. iv. 3 the *Book of the Living*; in Ezek. xiii. 9, the *writing of the house of Israel*; in Dan. xii. 1, simply *the book*. ("Thy people shall be delivered, all that are written in the book;") in Phil. iv. 3, and Rev. iii. 5, xx. 15, xxi. 27, the *Book of Life*; in Luke x. 20, and Heb. xii. 23, a *writing in heaven*. Compare also Apoc. vii. 4.

⁵ Heb. xi. 46.

ham, and in type of the spiritual seed's greater Prophet and Leader,¹ he was now conducting the nation of Israel.—But in the case of *David* (Christ's type in the *kingly*, as Moses in the *prophetic* character) an expectation does, I think, appear of this synchronism; even as by one taught the secret of God's covenant.² Himself raised to be King of Israel, and foreknowing that he was to be the father, according to the flesh, as well as type of King Messiah, (the very Saviour promised to Adam and to Abraham,) that Messiah's ultimate reign of glory, after certain previous and mysterious sufferings,³ was a subject on which he loved to dwell. And he *thus* spoke of it:—viz. as a reign that would be established on *earth*,⁴ a manifestation of his personal glory accompanying its introduction;⁵ with the *gathering of his saints* to Him, such as had made a covenant with Him by sacrifice,⁶ and an act and process also before heaven and earth of some tremendous judgment by fire, and opening of the pit of hell, upon the wicked:⁷—the result being a most blessed and universal reign of righteousness; *Zion*, now at length *restored and rebuilt*, forming the central point of the Messiah's manifestation,⁸ with “the seed of his servants to inherit it, and them that love his name to dwell therein:”⁹ and, on the view of this judgment, and report from *Zion* of his glory, the conversion of the distant heathen following, and so the whole earth becoming filled with his glory.¹⁰ Now among this seed of blessed inheritors, and saints then gathered to the King Messiah, as joined in covenant with Him by sacrifice, it would seem that *David himself* (who on earth felt as a *stranger* and *pilgrim*, like his fathers¹¹) expected to have a part.

¹ Deut. xviii. 15.

² Psalm xxv. 14. I of course do not intend to confine David's meaning in the phrase, “secret of the Lord,” to this point: but I think it was included.

³ Psalm xxii. &c.

⁴ Psalm viii. compared with Heb. ii. 6, &c.; Psalm xlvii, lxxii, xcvi, &c. &c.

⁵ Psalm l. 2, cii. 16, &c.

⁶ Psalm l. 5. Compare 2 Thess. ii. 1.

⁷ Psalm ix. 16, 17, l. 3, xcvi. 3—5, &c.

⁸ Psalm xlviii. 1, 2, 11, lxxxvii. 1, 2, 3, xcvi. 8. xcix. 2, &c.

⁹ Psalm lxix. 36.

¹⁰ Psalms lxxii. xcvi, xcvi, xcvi, &c.

¹¹ Psalm xxxix. 12, cxix. 19.

For, while contrasting in one place death feeding on the wicked, and the upright having dominion over them *in the morning*, he expresses his belief of God redeeming *his* soul individually from the power of the grave:¹ and moreover elsewhere uses the same phrase, *the morning*, κατ' ἐξοχην, to express the time of God's *deliverance of Israel*, and overthrow of evil on the earth.² To which it may be added that, having in one place spoken of his waking up after God's likeness (evidently at his resurrection) as the supreme object of his satisfaction,³ he yet elsewhere notices the establishment of *Messiah's kingdom on earth* as the ultimate object of his prayers⁴ and in yet another place, connectedly with a description of the same earthly reign of King Messiah, God's having made an everlasting covenant with *himself*, ordered in all things and sure, the which was all his salvation and all his desire.⁵

In the *Prophets* the same coincidence of time between Israel's restoration and the saints' resurrection is also expressed, only much more clearly. Take, for example, *Isaiah's* prophecy in chapters xxiv—xxvii. He there speaks of some terrible shaking of the earth under God's judgment, and the host of the high ones, and kings of the earth, being then as prisoners gathered into the pit of their prison ; of the contemporaneous reigning of the Lord of hosts *in Mount Zion* and *in Jerusalem*, before *his ancients* (or *Sanhedrim Council*, such as on the thrones of Apoc. xx. 4) with a glory that should make the sun itself ashamed : of the Lord's then opening *to all people* a feast of fat things, and destroying the veil of the covering cast over them, and *swallowing up death in victory*, and wiping away tears from off all faces, and taking away the rebuke of his people from off all the

¹ Psalm xlix. 14, 15 :—a passage quoted by Macknight in his Essay V, prefixed to his Comment on the Galatians, to the same effect.

² Psalm xlii. 5 (Marg.) "God shall help her *when the morning appeareth*." Compare Psalm cx. 3, where also, I think, the *resurrection morning* is referred to.

³ Psalm xvii. 15.

⁴ Psalm lxxii. 19, 20 ; "And blessed be his glorious name for ever, and let the whole earth be filled with his glory! Amen and Amen!—The prayers of David, the son of Jesse, are ended."

⁵ 2 Sam. xxiii. 1—5.

earth, and punishing with his great and strong sword the crooked serpent, and purging away the iniquity of *Jacob*, and causing them that come of *Jacob* to take root, and *Israel* to blossom and bud, and fill the earth with fruit. Now St. Paul expressly identifies the fulfilment of those words, “He shall swallow up death in victory,” with the time of the *saints’ resurrection*;¹ while the prophet as expressly identifies it with that of the *natural Israel’s restoration*: at the same time that the other details of his prophecy are, I may say, almost the same, point by point, as those of the Apocalyptic prefiguration of the events introducing the Millennium. To the same effect are the prophecies in Isaiah’s two last chapters: where the *restoration of Israel* is connected with the “*new heavens and new earth* :” and moreover with that punishment of transgressors, of which Christ also speaks, as of a punishment to be adjudged *at his coming*,² “the worm that never dieth, and the fire that is never quenched.”³ Further evidence might be easily added from this same evangelic prophet, did my limits permit. As it is, I have only space for a citation from two or three of the other prophets.—And first, *Hosea*. “The iniquity of *Ephraim*,” he says, “is bound up; his sin is hid: the sorrows of a travailing woman shall come upon him: he is an unwise son: for he should not stay long in the place of the breaking-forth of children. *I will ransom them from the power of the grave: I will redeem them from death: O death, I will be thy plague; O grave, I will be thy destruction;*”⁴ where again St. Paul may be cited,⁵ in proof of the *resurrection of the saints* being the thing meant in the latter verses, and consequently of its chronological coincidence with Israel’s restoration.—To much the same effect is the prophecy in *Micah* v. 3.⁶—As to *Ezekiel’s* celebrated vision of the dry bones,⁷ if the case be more equivocal, yet I may observe that according to the exposition of

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 54.² Compare Mark ix. 24, Matt. xiii. 42, xxv. 41.³ Isa. lxvi. 24.⁴ Hosea xiii. 12—14.⁵ 1 Cor. xv. 55.⁶ See Vol. iii. p. 240, Note 2.⁷ Ezek. xxxvii.

many Christian Fathers,¹ derived perhaps from Jewish Rabbies, those bones and that resurrection are to be construed, not simply of the *living* Jewish people, and *their* fall and resuscitation, but of the Jewish saints *departed* also, and their bodily resurrection, in common with Christian saints, at the time of Israel's restoration.—Yet once more, (to close my Old Testament citations,) there is the memorable case of *Daniel* xii. 2, 13: in which chapter the resurrection of the just, and their shining as the sun in the firmament, is made to occur at the time of Israel's last trouble and deliverance, near about the end of the 1260 days; and the declaration made in chronological terms yet more exact, that at the end of 1335 days, or years, the time of blessedness would begin, and *Daniel himself stand in his lot* (i. e. his *inheritance*²) at the end of those days.³

I have hinted that it was thus that the *Jewish* expositors that lived between the return from Babylon and destruction of Jerusalem understood the passages cited: in proof of which statement I subjoin a few extracts.⁴

¹ For example, *Irenæus*, v. 15, after citing the whole vision in proof of the doctrine of a resurrection, sums up thus: "Demiurgo et hic vivificante corpora nostra mortua, et resurrectionem eis repromittente, et de sepulchris et monumentis suscitationem et incorruptelam donante." (Is. xxvi. 19, "Thy dead shall live, [together with] my dead body shall they arise," &c., is another Old Testament prophecy here also cited by him.)—So again v. 34.—Similar to this is *Tertullian's* explanation of Ezekiel's vision; (De Resurr. Carn. ch. 30;) though he allows that it may also signify the Jews' restoration; and *Cyprian's*, Testim. iii. 53: also *Cyril*, Hieros. Cat. 18. *Augustine* in his De Genesi ad Lit. x. 8, referring to it, says, "Apud Ezechielem prophetam demonstratur resurrectio mortuorum;" but adds presently after, "etiamsi illo loco non resurrectionem carnis, qualis propriè futura est, sed inopinatam desperati populi reparationem per Spiritum Domini figuratâ revelatione prævidit."—So once more the *Author of the Quæst. et Respons.*, appended to Justin Martyr's Works, Quæst. 45. Ἦν δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἐζεκιηλ τοῖς παντὶ σπασίᾳ, καὶ οὐρα, καὶ ἡ τοῦτων ἀναστασις· δεικνύσι δὲ τῷ προφήτῃ ταύτην τὴν σπασίαν ὁ Θεός, προηγούμενος μὲν μηνύων δι' αὐτῆς ἐσομένην διὰ Χριστοῦ πάντων κοσμικὴν ἀναστασιν τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν ψυχὰν γωγίαν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν τῶν ἀπογνοῦντων ἑαυτοὺς τῷ δεδουλωσθαι, ὅτι ἐλευθεροὶ ἐσονται τῆς τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλείας. ² κληρονομία.

³ דַּיָּוָה. The article must be observed. It fixes the meaning to the days just before mentioned, viz. the 1335 days. It is violence to the text to give it any other meaning.

⁴ 1. On Hosea vi. 2, "After two days will he revive us; in the third day He will raise us up, and we shall live in his sight," the *Chaldee Targum* (a comment it is supposed of the time of *Ezra*) thus expounds the passage. "Vivificabit nos diebus consolationis qui venturi sunt:—die resurrectionis mortuorum suscitabit nos; et vivemus cum ipso." (Schoettgen, vi. 6.)

And though a different construction has been put upon them by ancient as well as modern anti-premillennarians, as if they were *simply* prophecies of *the revival and resuscitation of Israel*, (as well as of *the world* with it,) from a state of national and religious depression,¹ still, while allowing that this is *in part* their subject, and its being so is of course an essential point in my argument,) yet I think that the Jews rightly viewed them as including also distinct predictions of the *literal* resurrection

2. On Hosea xiv. 8, the *Rabbi Eliezer the Great*, who is supposed to have lived just after the second temple was built, thus applies it to the pious Jews who seemed likely to die without seeing the glory of Israel; "As I live, saith Jehovah, I will raise you up in the time to come, in the resurrection of the dead; and I will gather you with all Israel." (Brooks' Elements, p. 36.)

3. The *Author of the Book of Wisdom*, a Jew of high antiquity, some say two centuries before the Christian æra, (see Gray's Key,) and at the latest of the first century, says in chap. ii, verses 7, 8, of the *dead*; "In the time of their visitation they shall shine, and run to and fro like sparks among the stubble; they shall judge the nations, and have dominion over the peoples; and their Lord shall reign for ever."

4. In 2 *Maccab.* vii. 9, the *second* of the seven brethren put to death by Antiochus is represented to have said, "Thou takest us out of this present life, but the king of the world shall raise us up, who have died for his laws, to everlasting life." The *fourth* brother (verse 14) said, "As for thee thou shalt have no resurrection to life." And the *youngest* showed that they expected this resurrection to life by virtue of the *covenant with Abraham*: saying, verse 36, "For our brethren, who now have suffered a short pain, are dead *under God's covenant of everlasting life*." For, says Macknight, Essay v. § 3, prefixed to his Comment on Epistle to the Galatians, "What covenant of everlasting life did God ever make with the Jews, under which they could die; unless it be the covenant with Abraham, in which He promised with an oath to give him and his seed *the land of Canaan for an everlasting possession*?"

The author of this second Book of Maccabees is judged to have lived a century or more B. C. at Alexandria.

5. When the *Rabbi Gamaliel* (St. Paul's Master) was asked by the Sadducees to prove out of the Scripture the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead, he is said to have cited among other passages, Deut. xi. 21, "That thy days may be multiplied, in the land *which the Lord swore to thy fathers to give them*;" Deut. xxxi. 16, "But *thou (Moses) shalt sleep with thy fathers*;" as well as Isa. xxvi. 19, "*Thy dead men shall rise*," &c: which last seemed to give explanation how the fathers, though asleep, were yet to inherit. (Mede, Book iii.)

6. Let me add the *Rabbi Saadiah Gaon*, thus interpreting Dan. xii. 2. "This is the resurrection of the dead of Israel, whose lot is to eternal life: but those who do not awake are the destroyed of the Lord, who go to the habitation beneath, that is Gehenna; and they shall be an abhorrence to all flesh." (Bickersteth on Prophecy, 277.)—This Rabbi, though of the late date of the tenth century, yet seems to have given the exposition of more ancient Jewish expositors.

¹ So *Vitringa* in his *Apocalypse*, p. 1159, and in his *Commentary on Isaiah* xxvi. 19: referring to the prophecies, not only of Ezek. xxxvii and Hosea vi. 2, but even of Dan. xii. 2, as to be taken in the same sense.—So too *Rosenmüller* on Ezek. xxxvii; who cites these same passages from other prophets. He also quotes *Jerome's* Comment on Ezek. xxxvii, to the same effect.—It is needless to multiply other names.

of the saints literally dead, coterminously with Israel's *figurative* resuscitation. For, in some cases at least, the language seems unequivocal ;¹ and the apostolic comment fixes the sense in others.²

And thus we come to consider more directly and fully what is the light of the *New Testament* on the point in question. Now with regard to Christ himself this is observable, not only that He did not reprove the Pharisees (the then disciples of the Rabbinical school referred to) for erroneous opinions about the resurrection ; but rather seemed to hold with them. For, by adopting their phrase “ *in Abraham's bosom,*”³ to designate the place or state of holy spirits departed from among them, the expectants of a joyful resurrection, He almost sanctioned their view of the resurrection as involved in, and guaranteed by, the covenant-promise of inheriting the land, made to their representative head and father Abraham ; and by adopting another of their phrases, *the resurrection of the just,*⁴ might also seem to sanction in a measure their views of its distinctive character : not to add that, on two different occasions, He assured to his twelve disciples a participation in the future government of *the twelve tribes of Israel*, at his *advent*, and in *his kingdom* ;⁵ which parti-

¹ I may especially rest on the prophecy in Dan. xii. 2, compared with verse 13 of the same chapter. *Clarius*, (an anti-premillennarian commentator in the *Critici Sacri*), constrained by the clearness of the language, writes thus on Dan. xii. 2, 13, and notices the general concurrence both of Jewish and Christian expositors in so explaining it : “ Hic apertissimè locus est de *Resurrectione* etiam Judæis sapientioribus consentientibus : tametsi cùm *Chilias* videantur sentire. —Omnium Catholicorum et peritorum Hebræorum consensu in hoc ultimo versu resurrectio promittitur.” And so too *Calmet*.

Even *Grotius* himself, the most bold perhaps of anti-premillennarians, after a very singular primary exposition of the passage on that principle, (as if “Thou shalt stand in thy lot,” meant *Præfecturam quam habes retinebis*, and “At, or to, the end of the days,” *ad plenam senectutem*), yet is forced to add, “Videntur tamen studio ita concepta verba ut illud *Quiesces* de morte sumi possit, et *Stabis* significare *ἀναστήναι*, (quomodo vertit Theodotion,) et *finis dierum* finem universi.” He takes notice of the article, “*the days*.”—So too *Porphyry*, says Wintle in loc.

² Hence Lowth on Isa. xxv. 8, allows that the prophecy can only be fulfilled at the general resurrection.

³ Luke xvi. 22.

⁴ Luke xiv. 14. See Macknight, Essay v. § 3.

⁵ 1st. Matt. xix. 28 ; “Jesus said unto them, Verily I say unto you, that ye which have followed me, in the regeneration, (τῇ παλιγγενεσίᾳ,) when the Son of Man shall sit on the throne of his glory, shall also sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.” In which passage the remarkable expression “*in the regeneration*,” or “*renovation*,” will be referred to under the next

cipation they could only have through and after a resurrection from the dead, so timed as the Pharisees expected.—Nor were the disciples led even by his latest instructions otherwise to view the matter. It seems to me very remarkable that after Christ's resurrection, just when He had been speaking to them of the things of "*the kingdom of God*," they asked him, "If he would at that time restore the *kingdom to Israel*;" as if the Jewish view of the synchronism of *Israel's restoration* and *Messiah's kingdom* was admitted in these conversations: nor were they corrected by Christ, but only told that it was not for them to know the times and seasons.¹—To the same effect was St. Paul's declaration, when pleading before Agrippa, that he was judged for the hope of *the promise made of God to the fathers*; "to which promise *the twelve tribes*, instantly serving God day and night, *hoped to come*:"² compared with his previous saying, "Of the hope and *resurrection of the dead* I am called in question."³ For there can be no doubt that the promise to which the hopes of the *twelve tribes* were instantly directed, was that of the restoration of the kingdom to Israel: which event consequently was thus distinctly associated by the Apostle with the resurrection of the just. Besides which we have, as before said, his memorable comment in 1 Cor. xv. 54, 55, on certain prophecies already cited from Isaiah and Hosea, which treat of the time and circumstances and blessedness of *Israel's restoration*: a comment which represents them as to be fulfilled at the time, and in the fact, of *the saints' glorious resurrection*.⁴

head. 2nd. Luke xxii. 28, 29; "Ye are they which have continued with me in my temptations: and I appoint unto you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed unto me; that ye may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom, and sit on thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel."

¹ Acts i. 7.

² Acts xxvi. 6, 7.

³ Acts xxiii. 6, xxiv. 21.

⁴ 1 Cor. xv. 54; "So when this corruptible shall have put on incorruption, then shall be brought to pass the saying that is written, Death is swallowed up in victory. 55. O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?"—In the former of these verses his reference is to Isa. xxv. 8: "In this mountain he will destroy the veil that is spread over all nations; he will swallow up death in victory." In the latter he refers to Hosea xiii. 14: "I will ransom them from the power of the grave; I will redeem them from death: O death, I will be thy plagues; O grave, I will be thy destruction."

4. And with this agree also the New Testament representations of the synchronism of *Christ's advent and the saints' resurrection* with the time of the general predicted *blessedness of the world*:—a blessedness originally connected in the Abrahamic covenant with the promise to Abraham's own seed and family,¹ and which in Old Testament prophecy is so intermingled with the promises just considered to *Israel*, that it is difficult altogether to separate the consideration of the one from the other: though I think it well for distinctness' sake here to attempt it.

Thus, as a *first* example, there is the passage from Matt. xix. 28, cited to illustrate another point under the former head,) which makes mention of the great future *παλιγγενεσία* or regeneration, For what the *παλιγγενεσία* spoken of but the state when Christ shall make all things new,² and this earth be restored to paradisiacal blessedness?³ In which state, however, and over which renovated earth, Christ here declares that the apostles (evidently raised from the dead for the purpose) shall, together with their Lord, have the authority and government.⁴

My *second* passage is that notable one in St. Peter's sermon, after the miraculous restoration of the lame man by the temple-gate, just after the Holy Spirit's effusion on the day of Pentecost:⁵ "Repent ye, therefore, and

¹ Gen. xii. 3, xxii. 18; "In thee (and in thy seed) shall all the families of the earth be blessed."—Compare Rom. xi. 12, 15; "If the casting away of them be the reconciling of the world, how much more their fullness?" "If the casting away of them be the reconciling of the world, what the receiving of them but life from the dead?"

² Apoc. xxi. 5; "And he that sate upon the throne said, Behold I make all things new."

³ I cite what follows from Schleusner on the word *παλιγγενεσία*. "Metaphoricè omnis magna et insignis pristini alicujus rei statûs instauratio, et institutio:—speciatim ille rerum humanarum status quo tristia tempora alia ac lætiora excipiunt fata. Sic. v. c. apud Græcos Scriptores *παλιγγενεσία* tribuebatur terræ, veris tempore formam suam mutant; et apud Stoicos mundi in statum meliorem restitutio *παλιγγενεσία* dicebatur." He adds that Lucian uses it of the butterfly bursting from its chrysalis; and that the Syriac translation renders it in Matt. xix. 28, "*in sæculo novo*."

⁴ Compare Heb. ii. 5.—The Jews supposed angels to be appointed over this earth and its several kingdoms, as I have observed Note ⁵, p. 119 *suprà*.

⁵ Acts iii. 19, &c. I subjoin the original Greek here also, from Scholz.

Μετανοήσατε οὖν, καὶ ἐπιστρέψατε, εἰς τὸ ἐξαλειφθῆναι ὑμῶν τὰς ἀμαρτίας· ὅπως ἂν ἐλθῶσι καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ Κυρίου, καὶ ἀποστείλῃ τὸν προκεχειρισμένον* ὑμῖν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν· ὃν δεῖ οὐρανὸν μὲν δεξασθαι ἀχρι χρόνων ἀποκαταστάσεως πάντων, ὃν ἐλάλησεν ὁ Θεὸς διὰ στόματος τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ προφητῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος.

* So too Rosenmüller. The sense is, *Him that was foreordained for you*. The

be converted, to the end that your sins may be blotted out; that¹ the times of refreshing may come from the presence of the Lord, and he may send Jesus Christ which before was ordained for (or preached unto) you: whom the heavens must receive until the times of the restitution of all things, of which God hath spoken by the mouth of his holy prophets since the world began." In order to the right understanding of this passage, two things need to be premised:—1st, that the word *restoration* or *restitution*, given in our received translation, is just the most accurate expression of the sense of the word ἀποκαταστας in verse 21, accordantly both with its use elsewhere and its derivation;² not *fulfilment*, as

¹ ὅπως αὖ. This is the most natural rendering of the conjunction. So Luke ii. 35, ὅπως αὖ ἀποκαλυφθῶσιν ἐκ πολλῶν καρδιῶν διαλογισμοί: *that the thoughts of many hearts may be revealed*: and Psalm li. 4, (Sept.) ὅπως αὖ δικαιώθῃς ἐν λόγοις σου *that thou mightest be justified in thy sayings*: &c. This is almost universally allowed by expositors,—anti-premillenarians, as well as others: e. g. by Whitby, Vitranga, Doddridge, Lightfoot. The critic Rosenmuller says; "Ὅπως αὖ, *eum in finem, ut*: nam particula ὅπως cū conjunctivo juncta notat *ut, ita ut*, Matt. vi. 5, xxiii. 35, Acts xv. 17, Rom. iii. 4." And so, as Whitby observes, Irenæus and Tertullian * expounded the phrase here of old.—Our English version renders it less literally as a particle of time: "*When the times,*" &c.

² Καταστας is the *actual state, condition, or constitution*; and consequently ἀποκαταστας most naturally a *new and different constitution* of things, generally by restoration to what it was originally. So the verb, Matt. xii. 13; Ἀποκατεσταθῇ ὅλης ὥς ἡ ἄλλη "His hand was *restored* whole as the other:" Matt. xvii. 11; "Εἰς ἀποκαταστήσει πάντα, *shall restore all things*:" Acts i. 6; Εἰ ἀποκαθίσταναι βασιλείαν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ, "*Wilt thou restore the kingdom to Israel*:" Jer. xvi. 15, Ἀποκαταστήσω αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν &c.—The substantive itself only occurs here, in the New Testament. And the three meanings which Schleusner gives to it in his Lexicon are;—1. "*Rei in primum locum reductio, restitutio*:"—2. *Omnis restitutio prioris statūs*;—3. *Reductio rerum in meliorem statum*." This is the more observable, as he adds the expression of his own *inclination* to take the word here in *Hesychius'* sense of τελειωσις; but, apparently because of the inadequacy of the authority, does not give that meaning. Kuinoel, with similar and equal inclination, is equally unable to discover a case in point: for he takes refuge in the Septuagint version of Job viii. 6, which is *not* to the point.

By *classical authors* the noun or verb are similarly used in the sense of *restoration*:—*surgically* of the setting or restoration of diseased or broken limbs; *astronomically* of the sun returning into his old sign in the Zodiac; *politically* of hostages or exiles returning to their country. See Schleusner and Scapula.—And so too by the *Jewish writers* Josephus and Philo, as Kuinoel observes on this passage; and also by the *early fathers*, as Ignatius, Irenæus, Origen.†

received text, followed by our English translation, is προκεκηρυγμενον, *before preached*.

* Tertullian thus: "Resipiscite ad abolenda delicta vestra, ut tempora vobis superveniant refrigerii," &c. De Resur. 23.

† It may be well to exemplify.—1. Ignatius, ad Smyrn. § 11; Ἀποκατεσταθῇ αὐτοῖς τὸ ἰδίον σωματεῖον said of the Church of Antioch being restored to the

Whitby and Faber on very slender and questionable authority propose to render it ¹:—2ndly, that the antecedent of the relative *ὡς* in the same verse, seems determined by the sense of the sentence to be the word *χρονων*, *times*. For though, with regard to this last point, the antecedent understood might well, on mere grammatical grounds, be the *παντων*, *all things*,² yet would there then be needed, to avoid absurdity, such a restriction in the sense of the *παντων*,³ as to make the construction far

¹ They ground this on Hesychius' and Phavorinus' explanation, *τελειωσις*,—on the Syriac and Arabic versions which render the clause, the one, "*Till the fulness of the time of all things*," the other, "*Till the times in which all things shall be perfected or finished*,"—and on Irenæus' version as represented by the Latin *dispositionis*, and Tertullian's *exhibitionis*;—without one really parallel passage to support them, from Scripture, the Classics, or the Fathers. On what they adduce we remark, 1. that *Tertullian's* version *exhibitionis*, whatever it mean, does not mean *fulfilment*:—2. that *Irenæus' dispositio* was probably in his own Greek *διαθεσεως*, and taken from Luke xxii. 29, "I appoint (*διατιθεμαι*) unto you, as my Father hath appointed (*διεθετο*) to me, a kingdom," quite in the premillennarian sense: also that his understanding *αποκαταστασις* as I do appears from his use of it in a passage where the original Greek has been preserved, Lib. i. ch. 10; *Τότε δε και την αποκαταστασιν των όλων εφη* (scil. the heretic Marcus) *γινεσθαι, όταν τα παντα κατελθοντα εις το εν γραμμα, μιαν και την αυτην εκφωνησιν ηχηση*:—3. that the *Arabic* version is doubtful, and the *Syriac* tantamount to "the dispensation of the fulness of times," spoken of in Eph. i. 10. (So Mr. Cuninghame:)—4. As to *Hesychius' explanation*, it means only, I conceive, that *consummation* which is by *restoration*.

² So Mr. Faber: the result of his twofold criticism,—viz. on *αποκαταστασις*, and on *παντων* as the antecedent before *ὡς*,—being to make out of St. Peter's words a direct anti-premillennarian statement, to the effect that Christ cannot return from heaven till the Millennium, as well as all else, be accomplished; seeing that the Millennium is itself a thing predicted!—Did it not occur to Mr. Faber that the *resurrection* and *heavenly* and *eternal* blessedness of the saints, *after the Millennium*, are also things predicted by the prophets; and consequently what ought also to be accomplished (on his view of the apostle's saying) before Christ's return? *

³ Restricted, as meaning simply *all those things prophesied of as to be restored, and of which the restoration had not then been effected.*

Church Catholic, of which it was a member.—2. *Irenæus*, i. 14: *Τον ἡλιον εν δεκαδυο μηνι τερματιζοντα την κυκλικην αυτου αποκαταστασιν*.—3. *Clemens Alex.* in his *Quid Divis*; *Αυτον αποκατεστησε τη εκκλησιᾳ*: *restored* the young man to the Church.—4. *Origen*, *Contrà Cels.* Lib. iv; *ὅτι εὐδ' αποκατασταθησονται*, said of the Jews being *restored to their country*.

* Even were *παντων* the antecedent, the plural form of *the times* would imply a certain duration in *the course of which* the restoration of these things would take place; and the natural sense of the whole sentence be, as if with the participle, "Whom the heavens must receive till the times of restoring all things whose restoration has been predicted;"—a statement of meaning not unlike the other: since, though the *αχρι* by itself would be indeterminate, yet would the sense of the passage fix the epoch of the advent as not at the *end*, but the *beginning*, of the times spoken of. Else, as before said, it would make Christ's advent later than the resurrection.—Compare on the *παντα* Matt. xvii. 11, quoted Note ² p. 211, just before; and on the grammatical question Note ³ p. 213.

less easy than with *χρονων* for the antecedent. Thus the intent of the apostle's statement must be this: "Whom the heaven must receive till those times of the *restitution*" (or, as we have seen it elsewhere called, *the regeneration*) "of all things; of which *times* the whole succession of prophets have spoken."¹—With which view of the clause the context of the verse immediately preceding bears the strictest agreement. For "the *times of refreshing*," there spoken of² are evidently the same as the "*times of the restitution of all things*," in this present verse: and in regard to the former, as well as the latter, Christ's second coming (a coming attended of course with the raising of the saints) is represented as the occasion of their commencement.³—And this is further to be observed, that in the *former* clause the important intimation seems added that *Israel's conversion* would synchronize with, or rather *introduce*, that coming: while in the *latter* (as just stated) the restoration of this fallen world is noted *as its almost immediate consequence*.

The learned Dr. Routh, Mr. Cuninghame says, having the question referred to him, answered decidedly that the *ὡς* must, in order to make sense, agree with *χρονων*. In case, however, of restricting the sense of the "*all things*" as above suggested, sense would on the other construction be also made: and instances of similar restriction might be found; though, I think, but rarely.

¹ Compare too verse 24; "Yea, and all the prophets, as many as have spoken, have foretold of *these days*:"—the apostles, who did not know the *times* and *seasons*, fancying that the desired consummation was then very near.

² *Κα.ποι αναψυχας*. The verb *αναψυχω* is used by the Septuagint in Judges xv. 19, 1 Sam. xvi. 23, and 2 Sam. xvi. 14, of Samson's *revival* from extreme thirst,—Saul's from the evil spirit, on David's playing the harp,—and David's from the weariness and sadness of his retreat from Jerusalem, on Absalom's rebellion.—Rosenmüller says; "*Αναψυξις, αναπαυσις*. Itaque *καιροι αναψυχας* sunt tempora quietis; id est summæ felicitatis, in regno Messiae expectandæ, quod Christus è cœlo rediturus olim inaugurabit."

³ Mr. Faber objects; "The syntax (referring *ὡς* to *χρονων*) forced and unnatural in itself, though *grammatically* possible, is *constructively* impossible. We may properly say, Until the times concerning which God hath spoken; but we cannot properly say, Until the times which God hath spoken."—I am not sure whether I rightly understand Mr. F. He surely cannot mean to say that the *ὡς* may not be explained as either for *περι ὧν*, or in the genitive from the Attic attraction: seeing that it is on one or other of these principles that the relative in the genitive must be explained, even though construed with *ταυτων*. The only possible sense which I can attach to his objection is, that out of two antecedents alike agreeing grammatically with a relative, the one nearest must necessarily be the one connected with it. A rule, I need not say, far from universal.

[As this sheet is passing through the press, I see that Mr. Faber in his "Eight Dissertations," just published (i. 8.) cites *Prof. Gaisford*, adjudging that *ταυτων* must be the antecedent, not *χρονων*. I must therefore beg to add the following decisive example, in justification of my view, from Jude 15: *Περί ταυτων των εργων αυτων ὡς ησεβησαν* where the antecedent of *ὡς* is *εργων*, not *αυτων*. This

My *third* passage is from Rom. viii. 18, &c. After speaking of himself and other true disciples, alike Gentiles and Jews, (for the mystery of Israel's temporary blindness had now broken on the apostles, and of the equal admission of believing *Gentiles* to the blessings of the Abrahamic covenant,) as those with whose spirits the Holy Spirit itself witnessed that they were children of God, and how that if children they would be then heirs, heirs of God and joint heirs with Christ, if so be that they suffered with him that they might be also glorified together,—St. Paul thus goes on: ¹ “For I reckon that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us. For the earnest expectation of the creature waiteth for the manifestation of the sons of God. For the creature was made subject to vanity, (not willingly, but by reason of him who hath subjected the same,²) in hope;—because

arises, I suppose, from considering the phrase consisting of the first noun, and connected genitive of the next grammatically, somewhat as if one. Compare such passages as Luke v. 9, *ἐπὶ τῇ ἀγρῇ τῶν ἰχθύων ἢ συνελθόν*. and 2 Pet. iii. 15, “following in the way *τῷ Βαλαάμ τῷ Βόσῳ ὃς μισθὸν ἀδικίας ᾔκρατησεν*. In which last passage the *ὃς* does not refer to the proximate noun in the genitive, *Bosor*, but to that preceding it, *Balaam*

Rosenmüller's view, let me further add, is similar to mine. “Winzerus rectè monet pronomen *ὧν* non ad *παντῶν* sed ad *χρονῶν* respicere: quod ex versu 24 intelligitur: ubi, post Mosem antea memoratum, omnes etiam reliquos vates *τὰς ἡμέρας ταύτας* annuntiasse declarat Petrus. Porro Winzerus observat ad Judæos orationem habere Petrum Scilicet, tanquam præmium fidei in Christum, sperare eos jubet *καιροὺς ἀναψύξεως* et *χρόνους ἀποκαταστάσεως παντῶν*, quæ phrases inter se non differunt. Jam vero *ἀποκατάστασις* de restitutione in pristinum statum in integrum, ut Græci, ita Judæi scriptores dicere consueverunt. Polyb. iv. 23.1, Diod. Sic. xx. 34; Septuag. Gen. xli. 13, Job viii. 6, Jer. xxiii. 8. Coll. Matt. xii. 13, Marc. iii. 5, viii. 25, Luc. vi. 10, Act. i. 6.”—So, he adds, the Jews expected Messiah to restore Paradise, making a “renovationem mundi physici:” and that St. Peter so expected, 2 Pet. iii. 7, &c. compared with Apoc. xxi. 1.—2nd Ed.]

¹ The Greek, of this important passage is as follows in Scholz's text.

*Λογιζομαι γὰρ ὅτι οὐκ ἀξία τὰ παθήματα τοῦ νῦν καιροῦ πρὸς τὴν μελλούσαν δόξαν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι εἰς ἡμᾶς. Ἡ γὰρ ἀποκαταδοκία * τῆς κτίσεως τὴν ἀποκαλύψιν τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀπεκδέχεται. Τῇ γὰρ ματαιότητι ἡ κτίσις ὑπέταγη (οὐχ ἐκούσα, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸν ὑποτάξαντα,) ἐπ' ἐλπίδι ὅτι καὶ αὕτη ἡ κτίσις ἐλευθερωθήσεται ἀπὸ τῆς δουλείας τῆς φθορᾶς εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῆς δόξης τῶν τέκνων τοῦ Θεοῦ. Οἶδαμεν γὰρ ὅτι πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις στεναρίζει καὶ συνωδίνει ἀχρι τοῦ νῦν· οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τοῦ Πνεύματος ἔχοντες, καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς στεναζόμεν, ὑποθεσίαν ἀπεκδέχομενοι, τὴν ἀπολυτρώσιν τοῦ σώματος † ἡμῶν.*

² Both Griesbach and Scholz mark the parenthesis.

* Literally a turning or stretching of the head in intent expectation.

† St. Paul not infrequently conjoins this word *σῶμα* in the *singular* with persons in the *plural*, though meaning their *bodies*, in the literal sense, plurally. So Rom. vi. 12, *ἐν τῷ θνήτῳ ὁμῶν σώματι*; also 1 Cor. vi. 19, 20, 2 Cor. iv. 10, &c.

the creature itself shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption, into the glorious liberty of the children of God. For we know that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together, until now. And not only they, but ourselves also which have the first-fruits of the Spirit, even we ourselves groan within ourselves, waiting for the adoption, to wit, the redemption of our body."—Now, on one point that has been controverted in this passage, viz. the meaning of the word *κτίσις*, rendered *creature* and *creation*, I am not careful. Unquestionably it *may* mean *the whole visible earthly creation*, animate and inanimate. And if it be so construed here, as the early Christian Fathers did in fact understand it,¹ and I think not without reason, then the premillennial conclusion I contend for follows immediately: the restoration of *this lower world* to its original paradisiacal state, and freedom from the curse consequent on man's sin, being in that case made to succeed after the redemption of the body, and visible glorification of the predestinated children of God;² in other words, upon and after *their resurrection*.³ But the word *may* mean also, as Whitby would have it, and as I am content for present argument's sake to admit, the *rational* creation of God in this world, that is *mankind*, simply and alone.⁴

¹ Irenæus says, v. 32, 36; "Oportet ergo et ipsum *creationem* redintegratam ad pristinum sine prohibitionem servire justis: et hoc Apostolus fecit manifestum in eâ quæ est ad Romanos; sic dicens, Nam expectatio creaturæ revelationem filiorum Dei expectat." And Tertullian, *Contrà Hermog.* Chap. ii.; "Tunc erit mali finis cum revelatio filiorum Dei redemerit *creationem* à malo utique vanitati subjectam."—So our English translation renders it here *creation*, as well as *creature*. And Schleusner on the word *κτίσις*, gives, as one meaning, "*Omnes res à Deo creatæ, omnis rerum natura, universum*;" referring to *this* passage in exemplification, as well as to Rom. i. 25, &c. Mr. Scott too, though an anti-premillennarian, so takes it.

² Compare verse 29.

³ Irenæus, v. 31, notes certain *heretics*, who expected the saints' glorification to follow immediately after death, and before their resurrection; "non suscipientes salutem carnis suæ, contemnentes autem repromissionem Dei, *simul atque mortui fuerint* dicunt se supergredi cælos et Demiurgum." And so Justin Martyr, *Dial. cum Tryph.* Οἱ καὶ λεγούσι μὴ εἶναι νεκρῶν ἀναστάσις, ἀλλ' ἅμα τῇ ἀποθνήσκειν τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν. Statements of doctrine which, while precisely agreeing with what Scripture tells us, contrast curiously with that of the Church of Rome, anathematizing in its Trentine Council as heretics, all who say that the souls of saints do not instantly go to heaven: a point observed on already Note ⁴ p. 193.

⁴ So Mark xvi. 15, "Preach the gospel to every creature," *πᾶσιν τῇ κτίσει*. Compare Col. i. 15, "The firstborn of every creature," *πρωτοτοκος πάσης κτίσεως* and in verse 23, "to every creature," *ἐν πᾶσιν τῇ κτίσει*.

In regard of whom the *earnest expectation* attributed to them by the apostle is well explained by Whitby: “desire and expectation being,” as he says, “ascribed in the sacred dialect to creatures in reference to things they want, and which tend to their advantage, *though they explicitly know nothing of them.*”¹ Now, this being premised, we have only to mark carefully two particulars in the passage, in order to see that still the same conclusion as before must necessarily be drawn from it. The one point is the distinction in it between *the creature* (i. e. *mankind* generally) spoken of, and *the saints*, or predestinated children of God, in particular:—a distinction expressed by the apostle,² as well as implied through the whole context. The other point is the object of the *creature’s* expectation,—I mean of the *creature* as distinguished from Christ’s elect saints. *We*, says the apostle, wait for *the adoption*, the *redemption of our body*. But the *creature* (or *creation*) generally has its earnest expectation bent upon the *manifestation of the sons of God*. Manifestation of whom? I pray the reader to mark this point. Clearly of the glorified saints, the predestinated sons of God. And to whom? Not surely a manifestation of them to *themselves*, (who ever heard of a revelation or manifestation of oneself in this manner to oneself?) but to angels, to men, to the universe: more especially to that same *creature, or creation*, whose longing expectation is directed thereto, and which is thereupon to receive its blessing and deliverance.—The anti-premillennial expositors are for the most part somewhat shy of this word *revelation*, with *its proper genitive*, in their comments; and confound the *saints’* hope with that of the *creation*.³ And no wonder. For I be-

¹ Hence, he says, the Messiah is called in Gen. xlix. 10, Προσδοκία τῶν ἐθνῶν, the *expectation of the Gentiles*, and in Haggai ii. 7, the *desire of all nations*.

² “Not only *they*,” he says in verses 22, 23, (that is the κτίσις or *creature* generally,) but even *ourselves*, which have the first-fruits of the Spirit, do groan,” &c.

³ Thus Origen; “They expect *the time* when those things shall be revealed which are prepared for them that are sons of God.” Whitby; “That which it (the κτίσις) groans for, is *its* redemption from corruption.” Macknight; “Though

lieve it would be hard to escape from the cogency of the expression, naturally construed, in the sense I argue for.

Let me just add, ere I go on, that this result to the creation in general from the manifestation of the glorified saints, the children of God, and children of the resurrection,¹ is, as I conceive, the same that our Lord intended in a most observable, but often misapprehended and often misapplied passage, in his intercessory prayer, John xvii. "I pray not," He says in the first instance, "for *the world*, but for them which thou hast given me out of the world;"² i.e. the election of grace. For which last his final prayer was,³ that they might all be *one*, (evidently at the time of their *glorification*,⁴ the only time of perfect unity which the Bible holds out to the Church,⁵) and that they might see and partake of his glory; of course after their resurrection. Then follows a notice, twice over, of the foreseen *effect of this their conjoint glorification on the world*: (it is to this I was alluding:) verse 21, "*that the world may believe that thou hast sent me*;" verse 23, "*that the world may know that thou hast sent me, and hast loved them as thou hast loved me.*"

5. A *fifth* argument against Whitby's theory of the *post-millennial* resurrection of the saints, and in favour of that of their *premillennial rising* at Christ's coming, to take part in his millenary reign, (for his appearing and kingdom synchronize,)⁶ is soon stated, but I think the Gentiles in particular knew nothing of the revelation of the sons of God, the apostle calls their looking for a *resurrection from the dead* a looking for that revelation: because the sons of God are to be revealed by their being raised with incorruptible bodies:—"and again, "their earnest desire of *immortality*" Scott is more honest in his comment: but neither suggests, nor obviates, the difficulty hence arising in the way of his own anti-premillennial system.

¹ Luke xx. 36; "And they are the children of God, being children of the resurrection."
² Verses 6, 9.
³ Verses 21—24.

⁴ "And whom God justified," says St. Paul, (Rom. viii. 30,) of the predestinate or election of grace, "them he also *glorified*;" meaning, I conceive, in *his purpose*.—So Jer. i. 5; "Before I formed thee in the belly I sanctified thee."

⁵ Compare John xi. 52, Ephes. i. 10.—I think had this point of divine revelation been duly considered, there would not have been advocated theories of an *earthly* ecclesiastical unity, so as they have been, alike by Romanists, Tractarians, Semi-Tractarians, the Plymouth Brethren, and by other Protestants too. Compare Vitringa, p. 1168.

⁶ So 2 Tim. iv. 1, "Who shall judge the quick and dead at his appearing and kingdom."

of great weight ; viz. that this resurrection, glorification, and participation in his kingdom are uniformly noted, I believe, as the reward of *hard service, suffering, conflict*. “Ye are they which have continued with me *in my temptations*, and I appoint unto you a kingdom,” &c : ¹—“The kingdom of heaven suffereth violence :” ²—“If we *suffer with Him* that we may be also glorified together :” ³ “Our light *affliction*, which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory :” ⁴ “He that *overcometh* shall inherit all things :” ⁵ &c. &c. So the faithful companions of the typical David’s time of hardship, exile, and suffering, had the fit rewards of office and promotion on his establishment in the kingdom. But can the righteous in the *millennial* dispensation come under the same category of hard service and suffering for Christ ? To whom, however, Whitby’s theory would equally assign a part in the first resurrection, and Messiah’s kingdom.

6. I might add perhaps yet *another* and different argument (or, I would rather say, illustration) from the term *sabbatism* applied by St. Paul to the *departed saints’ expected rest*.⁶ For if the word indicate, as it might seem to do, some *septenary* of time,—the which could scarce be any other than the *seventh millennium of the world*,⁷—then, without entering at all minutely into chronological details, it is evident from our present actual position *near the end*, on the lowest computation, *of the world’s sixth millenary*,⁸ that were we to postpone its commencement yet a thousand years,—in other words, were we to admit of a Millennium of earthly bliss still intervening before the *departed saints’* entrance on *their* promised blessedness, then their *rest*, even though this Millennium were to begin instantly, would be postponed long after the opening of the *seventh millenary* ; and consequently be, in the more proper and etymolo-

¹ Luke xxii. 28.

² Matt. xi. 12.

³ Rom. viii. 17. So Apoc. i. 9 ; 2 Tim. ii. 12.

⁴ 2 Cor. iv. 17.

⁵ Apoc. xxi. 7.

⁶ Heb. iv. 9.

⁷ This will appear in my last chapter.

⁸ See *ibid*.

gical sense of the term, no *sabbatism*.—But the full and more exact consideration of this last argument, as well as of the ancient Jewish and Christian Fathers' opinion concerning it, will find perhaps its fitter place in my concluding chapter. And I shall therefore here say on it no more.

So my millennial argument ends: and I conclude on *general Scripture evidence*, just as before on that of the Apocalyptic passage itself, that *Whitby's* theory is as untenable as those of *Augustine* and *Grotius*, and that the only true one is the *literal*:—which theory, held by the earliest Christian Fathers, has been revived substantially among us by Mede, Daubuz, and Bishop Newton; and been embraced by almost all modern prophetic expositors of note,¹ as well as by many others also whose studies, though not directly prophetic, have yet bordered on the subject, such as Mr. Greswell² and the late learned Bishop Van Mildert.³—For my own part I cannot but feel much struck at the *consistency*, as well as *variety*, of the evidence in its favour. If evidence has been brought from Scripture to shew the synchronization of the saint's resurrection alike with *Israel's conversion and restoration*,—with the *world's restoration to paradisiacal blessedness*,—and with *Antichrist's destruction* also,—it seems to appear from quite other scriptures that these various events, which thus synchronize with *it*, are likewise to synchronize with each other: viz. *Israel's restoration with the earth's restoration*, and each and either with *Antichrist's destruction*.⁴—Nor can I help being

¹ Mr. Faber is almost the only exception.

² See the Introduction to his work on the Parables.

³ Mr. Bickersteth has quoted the Bishop's opinion at length, in his Work on Prophecy. I give an extract. "Respecting the Millennium, or reign of the saints on earth for 1000 years after these events shall have taken place, there is room for a great variety of conjecture. Whether we are to expect that a resurrection and triumph of the saints shall precede the general and final resurrection, or whether to hold that it is not to be a reign of persons raised from the dead, but a renovated state of the Church, flourishing gloriously for 1000 years, after the conversion of the Jews, and the flowing in of all nations to the Christian faith,—it is not necessary to determine. The former interpretation seems to offer the least violence to the language of Scripture, and is supported by great authority." p. 275.

⁴ See pp. 110, 113, 170—173.

struck also at the agreement of the Apocalyptic statement, thus explained, respecting the first and second resurrection, with St. Paul's famous declaration on a similar subject in 1 Cor. xv. 23, 24, &c. "But every man in his own order: Christ the first fruits: *afterward*¹ they that are Christ's at his coming: *then* cometh the end,"² when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father; when he shall have put down all rule and all authority and power: for he must reign till he hath put all enemies under his feet. The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death." In this passage three several distinct epochs, as if with intervals of time between them,³ appear to be marked; that of Christ's own resurrection,—that of the saints' resurrection at his coming,—and that finally of his destroying the last enemy, death. All which seems exactly to correspond with our Apocalyptic theory of the *saints'* resurrection taking place *premillennially* on Christ's second coming, long after his own resurrection; and then, at the interval of yet a thousand years, on the completion of the resurrection, Christ's casting Death and Hades into the lake of fire.—On *Whitby's* theory the duration of the *εἰτα* of St. Paul would be reduced to a nothing.

As to the grand difficulty in the way of this theory which has been supposed to arise out of St. Peter's description⁴ of the earth's being burnt up before the promised new heavens and new earth, I shall only suggest two considerations. The *first* is that the *γῆ*, or *earth*, of the Apostle's conflagration is by no means certainly *the whole habitable world*; (indeed the parallel prophecy of Isa. lxxv. 17, 18, lxxvi. 22, &c, seems to forbid it;) or, in fact, any other than the *Roman earth*, which we have seen on Apocalyptic evidence is to be destroyed premillennially by fire at the time of Antichrist's destruction: moreover that He who saved a remnant out of the *wa-*

¹ *επειτα*.² *εἰτα το τέλος*.

³ That the *εἰτα* is generally so used, will appear from the following parallels: Mark iv. 17, *εἰτα θλίψις*, "*afterward* tribulation," &c; ib. 28, "first the blade, *εἰτα σῆκος*, *then* the ear;" 1 Cor. xv. 5, "first to Cephas, *then* to the twelve;" and 1 Tim. ii. 13, "Adam was first formed, *then* Eve."

⁴ 2 Peter iii. 10.

tery deluge, which is St. Peter's own topic of comparison, may well be supposed to have his ways of saving alive a remnant now again out of the *deluge of fire*. The *second* is that the passage offers in my judgment still greater difficulties to those who oppose the premillenarian view than to those who adopt it. For by St. Peter's words, "We, *according to his promise*, look for new heavens and a new earth, &c," we are almost absolutely forced to identify that new heaven and earth with the new heaven and earth promised in Isa. lxxv, lxxvi; (a promise probably alluded to also by Christ, Matt. xix. 28 ;) in the description of which *Jews* and *Gentiles*, distinct the one from the other, figure as the inhabitants, and its city the *earthly Jerusalem*.—Further, with reference to another objection urged alike from Dan. xii. 2,¹ and John v. 28,² as if indicating necessarily that the resurrection and judgment of the *just* and of the *unjust* are to take place at one and the same time, I must beg to make the suggestions following:—as regards Daniel, that it is doubtful whether the Hebrew original of the passage makes any assertion at all about *the resurrection* of the *unjust*;³ and, as regards St. John, that no

¹ "And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake; some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt. And they that be wise shall shine," &c.

² "The hour cometh when all that are in the graves shall hear his voice, and shall come forth; they that have done good to the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil to the resurrection of condemnation."

³ Let me refer on this very important but little considered point, to Professor Bush's *Valley of Vision*, p. 50. "The awaking is evidently predicated of the *many*, and not of the *whole*. Consequently the '*these*,' in the one case, must be understood of the class that awakes; the '*those*,' in the other, of that which remains asleep. There is no ground whatever for the idea that the latter *awake* to shame and contempt. It is simply because they do *not* awake, that this character pertains to them. The error in our translation has arisen from rendering the pronouns *אֵלֶּם*, *וְאֵלֶּם*, '*some*,' '*and some*,' instead of '*these*,' '*and those*,' referring respectively to subjects previously indicated. By the former method a distinction is constituted between those who *are awakened*; by the latter between those who *are*, and those who *are not* awakened." He illustrates his argument by the three following examples; the full force of which, however, he says, none but the Hebraist can understand: Josh. viii. 22; "So they were in the midst of Israel; *these* on this side, and *those* on that side:" 2 Sam. ii. 13; "And they sate down; *these* on the one side of the pool, and *those* on the other side of the pool:" 1 Kings xx. 29; "And they pitched, *these over against those*, seven days."

It appears to me, though from my want of skill in Hebrew a very imperfect

such inference can be justly drawn from the circumstance of their being in that passage from him conjointly mentioned. Independent of these considerations,¹ it is well known, and has been often observed, that the events of the two advents of Christ are often blended together in prophecy:² and if here the resurrections of the just and unjust are mentioned together, there are many other passages in which the resurrection of the just is spoken of separately; indeed as if constituting *the* resurrection distinctively.³ So that if from these two passages in John and Daniel, *considered by themselves*, we might reasonably have expected that the resurrections of the just and unjust would synchronize, we might just as reasonably perhaps have anticipated from the others, *considered alone*, that the resurrection of the just was one peculiar, and would take place separately. Which being the case, and the connexion of distant times, as I have said, not unusual in prophecy, it would, I think, be very unsound reasoning to infer a refutation of the *literal* theory of the First Resurrection, (especially evidenced as it is,) from this inconclusive passage in St. John, and the yet more inconclusive passage in Daniel.⁴

judge, that these examples are not so decisive on the point as Professor Bush seems to think. But if the meaning of the Hebrew in any such passage justify his view of the text in Daniel, I need not say how important it is.—Let me beg the reader to refer on this point to the quotation from the learned Rabbi Saadiah Gaon in my Note p. 207 *suprà*. He seems to have taken the passage in just the same sense as Professor Bush. Compare Macknight on 1 Thess. iv. 16.

¹ In the verse just preceding, "The *hour* is coming when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God," there is meant by the hour, the whole long period of the Christian dispensation, though beginning from his first advent and ministry.

² E. g. in the notable passage of Isa. lxi. 1, 2, "To proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord, and the day of vengeance of our God;" quoted but in part by Christ in his opening Sermon at Nazareth. Also Malachi iv. &c. &c.

³ E. g. Luke xiv. 14; "Thou shalt be recompensed at *the resurrection of the just*:" Luke xx. 36; "They are the children of God, being the children of *the resurrection*:" Acts xxiii. 6; "Of the *hope* and *resurrection of the dead* I am called in question." Again on 1 Cor. xv. 51, Whitby observes justly that throughout the chapter, as all expositors ancient and modern have remarked, the apostle by *the resurrection*, which is his subject, means simply *the resurrection of the just*. Neither in this chapter, (e. g. verse 52, "In a moment the dead shall be raised incorruptible," &c.) nor in 1 Thess. iv. 16, ("For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, and the dead in Christ shall rise first; then we which are alive," &c.) is a word said to suggest that there would be accomplished at the same time the resurrection of the wicked. And these (especially 1 Cor. xv) are the fullest prophecies existing on the subject.

⁴ Let me just add that were the two resurrections mentioned in Daniel syn-

CHAPTER VI.

SUGGESTIONS AS TO THE PROBABLE ORDER OF EVENTS INTRODUCTORY TO, AND STATE OF THINGS DURING, AND CONSEQUENT ON, THE MILLENNIUM.

In the Apocalyptic prophecy of chap. xix, the scene depicted as immediately preceding Christ's destruction of Antichrist, and the introduction of the Millennium, was that of a battle-field, to which both Antichrist and his confederate powers had been gathered, under the invisible guidance of three associated spirits of evil ; there to conflict against Christ's cause, religion, and people.¹ It also appeared, from other parallel prophetic notices given to St. John, that the voice of gospel-preaching wonderfully revived on the sounding of the seventh Trumpet, and the voice of protest against Antichrist's deadly errors ; and the warning-voice finally of a tremendous destruction by fire impending on Babylon and Antichrist, would be going forth previously far and wide ; and make itself heard not in professing Christendom only, but throughout the whole habitable world.² And this seemed also to be foreshown, that the destruction of Babylon by fire would precede (by however short an interval) that of Antichrist.—There was intimation given further, in the prefiguration of Babylon's overthrow, of the state of mind that would just at that time characterize its inhabitants, as if one of complete carnal security :³ an intimation well agreeing with Ezekiel's notice of the state of those in the isles of Chittim on whom destruction by fire would fall, nearly contemporarily with that of his antichristian Gog and Magog, viz. as " dwelling carelessly

chronous, the statement in verse 13 about Daniel himself rising to his inheritance at the end of the 1335 days, would fix at *that* epoch the resurrections of both.

¹ See pp. 88, 114 *suprà*.

² See pp. 72, &c, *suprà*.

³ Apoc. xviii. 7 ; " She saith in her heart, I sit a queen, and am no widow, and shall see no sorrow : therefore shall her plagues come in one day : " &c.

in the isles ; ”¹ and agreeing also exactly with Christ’s description of the state of those on whom judgment will fall at his coming : “ As it was in the days before the flood,—they were eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage, until the day that Noe entered into the ark, and knew not until the flood came, and took them all away, so shall also the coming of the Son of Man be.”² To which St. Peter adds the further prophecy of open scepticism prevailing to a vast extent, on the subject of the nearness of Christ’s advent : “ There shall come in the last days scoffers, walking after their own lusts, and saying, Where is the promise of his coming ; for since the fathers fell asleep all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation.”³ —It would seem therefore that in this state of things and of feeling in professing Christendom, all suddenly and unexpectedly, and conspicuous over the world as the lightning that shineth from the East even to the West,⁴

¹ Ezek. xxxix. 6.

² Matt. xxiv. 38, 39.

³ 3 Peter iii. 3, 4 : a passage already alluded to, and argued from, in reference to the pre-millennial question, at p. 197.

⁴ Matt. xxiv. 27, Luke xvii. 24.—In the context of this latter passage, verses 20, 21, there is an expression of our Lord which has, I believe, been universally misconstrued, and used in consequence to inculcate quite incorrect ideas of Christ’s coming and kingdom.—I therefore think it may be well to subjoin a criticism on the text, originally published by me in the Investigator.

“ Being demanded of the Pharisees, when the kingdom of God should come, He answered them and said, The kingdom of God cometh not with observation. Neither shall they say, Lo here ; or Lo there ! for behold the kingdom of God is within you.”

Οὐκ ἐρχεται ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ μετὰ παρατηρήσεως. Οὐδε ἐροῦσιν, Ἰδοὺ αἰδεΐ η, Ἰδοὺ ἐκεῖ· ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐντὸς ὑμῶν ἐστίν.

1. According to the *usual* interpretation of this passage, it was our Lord’s meaning that the kingdom of God was simply a *spiritual* kingdom ;—its seat the heart,—its rise and progress therein indiscernible.

To this there occurs the decisive objection, that the observation was addressed, not to his *disciples*, but to the *Pharisees* ;—i. e. to his *enemies*.

Moreover, it is obvious, from our Lord’s connecting the subject in the verses following, with his own *second* advent, that He was answering the Pharisees according to the intent of their question ; and speaking not of his *preparatory* spiritual reign over men’s hearts, but of its glorious *establishment* on earth, such as will be seen at his appearing and kingdom.

2. Sensible of the force of the first objection noted, Beza, Grotius, Doddridge, Whitby, Macknight, and others have adopted the *marginal* reading. Instead of *within you*, they translate the *ἐντὸς ὑμῶν among you* : and explain the passage of the Messiah’s kingdom already beginning to be preached among the Jews.

But to this the objection remains in full force, that the subject-matter of discourse was the kingdom as it is to be manifested at Christ’s *second* advent. Besides which, it has been reasonably objected “ that the *ἐντὸς* never has the

the second advent and appearing of Christ will take place: that, at the accompanying voice of the archangel meaning they give it in Scripture, and scarce ever in the Greek writers." (Scott.)

Nor, again can we well say of our Lord's *ministry*, by which He was then laying the foundations of his kingdom, that it "came not *with observation*." Was it not by observation, and very careful observation too, of the evidences which Jesus offered, that men were then to be convinced that he was the Christ? Were they not to search the old prophecies with this view, and compare them with his life, character, doctrine, miracles? Were they not to look into, and so discern, the signs of the times?—It was unquestionably *with observation* that its *foundations* were then laid.

3. My persuasion is that the clause we speak of has been hitherto totally misapprehended. It has been taken and commented on, *as a part of Christ's address to the bystanders*. I conceive that it should be connected with the "Lo here! or, Lo there!" *as a part of the exclamation of those men whom Christ speaks of*, as thus reporting to one another respecting the Messiah's conjectured advent.

Then the sense will be; "Neither shall there be anything so partially revealed, or secret, in the ultimate establishment and revelation of God's kingdom, as that there shall be occasion for any doubtful rumours on the subject: as "Look here! for the King is to be found within *our* city! or, Look there; for the King is within *your* city!"—"For as the lightning that lighteneth out of the one part under heaven shineth even unto the other, so shall also the Son of Man be in his day!"

It must be remembered that the Jews had their minds full of prophecies that spoke of the Messiah fixing his kingdom within their borders; though in what part of Judea He might first manifest himself, whether in Bethlehem, Jerusalem, or Galilee, they might doubt; each of those districts being mentioned in that connexion in prophecy. Hence the current but mistaken notion, that when He came to take the kingdom, He might possibly be concealed for a while, and have to be inquired after and sought out.

What can be more simple than this interpretation? What more agreeable to the general tenor of prophecy? What more in accordance with Christ's subsequent remarks on this occasion; or the "*cometh not with observation*," of the verse preceding?

I cannot think with Abdiel,* that Christ's glorious advent and kingdom may be said to *come with observation*, because *signs of its being near* will be observable. The signs of *proximity* are one thing; the *coming* or *manifestation* quite another. Observation is that fixed and attentive regard which we can direct to those objects and events only, that remain a certain length of time before the eyes: and to such objects and events it is then most specially directed, when they have enough of obscurity about them to leave us in a degree of doubt respecting their true character, and enough of interest to excite an anxious eagerness for the development. But so it will not be with the *coming* and *manifestation* of the King and kingdom. It will not come with observation. It will be instantaneous and irresistible in its light of evidence, as the flash of lightning.

The rendering of *εντος υμων*, it will be observed, is *within you*, in the sense of *within your city, or country*. This is in strict conformity with its frequent use by the Greek writers, as designating a *position within some local division or boundary*.—Now as it is common in topographical descriptions to put the *occupiers* of a locality for the *locality itself*, after certain *prepositions* such as *εν*, *εκ*, *δια*, &c.,† so are there instances of the same figure of speech after *adverbs* such as *εντος*. For example:

II. Ω. 199. *Κεις ἔσται ἐν τῇς ἐσθ' ὁπατον εὐρον Ἀχαιοῖς* within the *locality* of their *encampment*.

* Abdiel's Essays, Investigator, Vol. i. p. 35.

† So, *Εκ Μαρτηνῶν περὶ* (Herod.) said of a river flowing from *Mantiene*: *Παρ' Ἀθηναίων, ὡς βεβαίων οὐ, ἀρχαίαν* Thucyd. i. 2: &c.

and trump of God,¹ the departed saints of either dispensation will rise from their graves to meet Him,—alike patriarchs, and prophets, and apostles, and martyrs, and confessors,—all at once and in the twinkling of an eye: and then instantly the saints living at the time will be also caught up to meet Him in the air: these latter being separated from out of the ungodly nations, as when a shepherd divides his sheep from his goats,² one person

Xen. Anab. vi. 5. Ἐλαμβανον τα επιτηδεια εντος της φαλαγγος “ *Citra aciem*,” as Zeunius renders the word, *behind* it.

Cyrop. vi. 1. Εντος των σκοπων of one advancing from the enemies’ side *within* the piquets.

Anab. i. 10. Ὡν εντος ὁδοι εἰσι εἰσιναι των μη τετιμημενων *within* the ranks of *guards* that lined either side of the road.

Anab. i. 10.* Παντα ὅσα εντος αυτων, και χρηματα και ανθρωποι, εσωσαν said of Greeks in the camp preserving from the invaders all that was *locally* within their station.

To which I will only add a similar phrase from the Latin: “*Ea intra se consumunt Arabes* :” Plin. ii. 21 : i. e. *within their own borders*.

Thus to designate a *locality* it is perfectly legitimate to use *εντος*, with the genitive, of the *inhabitants*; e. g. *εντος των Γαλιλαιων*, for *εντος της Γαλιλαιας*; *εντος ὁμων*, for *εντος της χωρας ὁμων*.

To the whole of the passage, thus interpreted, the 24th of St Matthew (verses 26, 27) offers so exact a parallel, both as regards the lightning-like coming of Christ, and the incongruity with such a manifestation of surmisings and doubtful rumours on the subject, as both to illustrate and confirm what has been advanced. “If they say to you, Behold He is in the desert; go not forth! Behold He is in the secret chambers; believe it not!” Why? Not because his kingdom was spiritual, within their hearts, and so not to come with observation; but because, “as the lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth even unto the west, so shall the coming of the Son of Man be in his day.”

¹ 1 Thess. iv. 16, 1 Cor. xv. 52.

² Matt. xv. 31; “When the Son of Man shall have come in his glory, and all the holy angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory: and before him shall be gathered all the nations (τα εθνη); and he shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats.”

I conceive this to be distinctly a judgment on the *living* in *Christendom*; the same as that mentioned in Joel iii. 11, “Assemble yourselves, all ye heathen: thither cause thy mighty ones to come down, O Lord: let the heathen be wakened, and come up to the valley of Jehoshaphat: (Heb. *God’s judgment*;) for there will I sit to judge all the heathen (εθνη) round about. Put ye in the sickle, for the harvest is ripe,” &c.—For 1st, the term “*all the nations*,” here used by our Lord, can scarce be construed of *individuals*; as must be the case if we suppose *the dead* included, or the term used in any other sense than that in which he used it before in the same discourse, Matt. xxiv. 14, “This gospel shall be preached to *all nations*,” or *all the Gentiles*, (πασι τοις εθνεσι;) Luke xxi. 24, “Jerusalem shall be trodden down by *the Gentiles*, (υπο εθνων,) till the times of *the Gentiles* (καιροι εθνων) be fulfilled;” or ended †: i. e. I presume, the parenthetic times of

* This is quoted in Elsley from Macknight; incorrectly, however, as from the *Cyropædia*.—Nor is Macknight’s translation exactly correct. *Εντος αυτων* is not “things *with* them in the camp;” but things *within* them; i. e. within their position.

† I take the πληρωθωσι in its more usual sense when applied to nouns of time;

snatched from his company or occupation, and another left :¹ and all, both dead and living saints, changed at the moment from corruption to incorruption, from dishonour to glory, though with very different degrees of glory ;² and all welcomed alike (the faithful receiver of a prophet, as well as the prophet himself³) to enter on the inheritance and kingdom prepared for them from the foundation of the world ; and so, in a new angelic nature,⁴ to take part in the judging and ruling of the world.⁵—Meanwhile it would also appear that with a tremendous earthquake accompanying, of violence unknown since the revolutions of primæval chaos,⁶ (an earthquake under which the *Roman world*⁷ at least is to reel to and

the Jews' exclusion, and committal of the gospel to the Gentiles.—2. The nature of the judicial process implies the fact of the gospel having been made known to all the parties judged, and of Christ's disciples having been among them, and opportunities existed of showing them kindness or unkindness : the which could by no possibility be predicated of the great mass of the dead, or indeed of the living,—I mean of those living or dead in *heathen lands* ; but might fitly be predicated (compare Apoc. xviii. 24) of the people of Christendom.—3. The judgment here past on the wicked appears, on comparison, to be the same as that described Apoc. xix. 20 ; which says, "The Beast and False Prophet were both cast *alive* into a lake of fire burning with brimstone." For in Apoc. xx. 10. St. John declares, "And *the devil* was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, where the Beast and False Prophet are, and shall be tormented day and night for ever ;" thereby identifying the lake of fire into which Antichrist and his adherents were cast alive, with that intended for the devil's place of punishment ; just as the penal fire adjudged to the wicked of *the nations* is identified with the same in Matt. xxv. 41, "Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels."—Compare too Isa. lxvi. 24.

An *individual* judgment on the parties interested is described, I conceive, in the two preceding parables.

¹ Matt. xxiv. 40, 41.

² 1 Cor. xv. 42.

³ Matt. x. 41.

⁴ Luke xx. 36, "They are *ἀγγελοι*, being children of the resurrection."

⁵ Compare Heb. ii. 5, "He hath not subjected to *angels* the world to come whereof we speak ;" also Matt. xix. 28, Luke xix. 17, Apoc. iii. 21, xx. 4.

⁶ The structure of the earth's crust seems clearly to indicate violent previous revolutions : nor, I conceive, is there any thing whatsoever in the Mosaic history of creation opposed to this view ; as it only takes up our earth's history from its preparation for *man's* habitation. On the word נָבַר, *created*, it will suffice to compare its use in Isa. lrv. 17.

⁷ It is well known that the words *γη* and *οικουμένη* are often used in a limited sense of *Judæa*, or the *Roman earth*, (compare Matt. xxvii. 45, Mark xv. 38, Luke iv. 25, Apoc. xi. 10, Luke ii. 1. &c.) just as the Romans themselves called their world the *orbis terrarum* : and, after careful consideration of the various prophetic descriptions of the consummation, I incline to think that the meaning of the term, when used in these prophecies of the concluding revolutions of the earth on Christ's advent, is thus limited, and that it refers to the *Roman world*

as in Acts vii. 23, 30, ix. 23. So Cyril, (Catch. xv,) *ὅταν πληρωθῶσιν οἱ καιροὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων βασιλείας.*

fro like a drunken man,¹) the solid crust of this earth shall be broken, and fountains burst forth from its inner deep, not as once of water, but of liquid fire; of fire now pent up within it as in a treasure-house,² and intended

alone:—with this modification, moreover, that the circumstance of the separation of the Eastern and Western Empire, and political destruction of the former by the Turkish invasion, having caused the phrase to be used in the later Apocalyptic prophecies of Western or Papal Christendom only, it may be so in those of the consummation also.—The idea of some other and more universal conflagration at the *general* judgment is not hereby excluded.

How the *thrill* in such case would be felt through the *whole habitable earth* may be judged from the circumstance of the noise and shock of the great earthquake connected with the eruption of the volcano at Sumbawa in 1815 having been felt and heard 970 miles off.

¹ Isa xxiv. 20. In the 22nd verse we are told, "They shall be gathered together, as prisoners are gathered in the pit, and shall be shut up in the prison, and after many days shall they be visited."

² 2 Peter iii. 7; "The heavens and the earth which now are" (i. e. contradistinctively to those that were overwhelmed by the flood) "are by the same word *stored with fire*" (τεθησαυρισμενοι πυρι, so I understand the phrase) "being kept unto the day of the judgment," &c. It is only by this rendering of the τεθησαυρισμενοι πυρι that the apostle's evidently intended antithesis can be expressed, between the whole world *stored with water*, by which *as the instrumentality*, it in its appointed time perished; and the present world *stored with fire*, by which *it*, in its time, is also to perish: besides that in the received sense τεθησαυρισμενοι is a word not merely superfluous but inappropriate; "*stored up*" being a phrase used of things laid aside from present use, which certainly our present earth and atmosphere are not.*—Compare, as to the *water*, Psa. xxxiii. 7; (Sept.) τειθεισ εν θησαυροις αβυσσος and, as to the *fire*, Job xxviii. 5; rendered by the Chaldee, "Beneath the earth is *Gehenna*." (So Gaussen's Theopneustie.) Also Isaiah xxx. 33; "Tophet is ordained of old: for the king it is prepared: he hath made it deep and large; the pile thereof is fire and much wood: the breath of the Lord, as a stream of brimstone, doth kindle it."

Similarly Tertullian, Apol. 47; "*Gehennam, quæ est ignis arcani subterranei ad pœnam thesaurus*." In which view of the *fiery* interior of the earth, other fathers agreed: as Jerom on Jonah ii: "Infernus in medio terræ esse perhibetur."—As to the *fact* of its being *stored with fire*, it seems indubitable.

For, while the earth's form of an oblate spheroid, the chrystalline character of its primitive rocks, the evident action of heat on its earliest strata, and absence of organic remains from them, as if at that time from heat uninhabitable, and the proofs, alike in the animal and vegetable fossils of other subsequently formed strata, of a temperature once greatly higher than that of the earth's present surface, but gradually diminishing and approximating to it,—while, I say, geology presents to us in these phænomena a body of evidence irresistible, (if only we suppose the laws of matter the same formerly as now,) to the fact of our earth having been originally fluid from intense heat, and having gradually, in the course of ages, cooled down so as to allow of an outer crust, solid and mild in temperature, such as we now experience it,—geology also calls attention to another fact, viz. that this cooling down is only superficial. Of this the gradual increase of heat observed on descending to any depth below the surface,† and the ejection from time to time in all quarters of the globe of boiling streams of lava,

* As θησαυρισμα means a *treasure-house*, as well as *treasure*, θησαυρισμα τεθησαυρισμενον πυρι is in construction like τερχισμα τετειχισμενον τειχει.

† "In round numbers we obtain an increase of more than 1° of Fahrenheit's thermometer for every 100 feet of sinking." Edinb. Rev. No. 165, p. 27.

as the final habitation of devils :¹ that this, I say, shall then burst forth and engulph the vast territory of the Papal Babylon, and the godless of its inhabitants ;² thence spreading even to Palestine,³ and every where, as in the case of Sodom, making the very elements to melt with fervent heat :⁴ and that there the flame shall consume the Antichrist and his confederate kings,⁵ while the sword also does its work of slaughter ;⁶ the risen saints being perhaps (as would seem not improbable from both Enoch's⁷ and the Apocalyptic prophecy⁸) the at-

and other minerals from below the primitive granite, furnish sufficient indication. And the irresistible violence of these eruptions of the more central earth's boiling and inflammable materials, shows that there is as it were a train laid, that waits but the bidding of the Almighty to break up the earth's solid crust, and wrap this our world, or any fated part thereof, in a universal conflagration.—I may refer to the first Plate in Dr. Buckland's *Bridgewater Treatise*, as very illustrative of this point. He who has familiarized himself with it can scarcely, I think, help realizing the fact, that the ground he treads on is underwrought with volcanic agencies ; ready, the instant the Almighty may please to employ them, to execute the predicted judgment.

¹ See the end of Note ² p. 226.

² Apoc. xviii.—To this same catastrophe Walter Brute, A. D. 1391, applied Ezekiel's denunciation, xxviii. 18, against the *Prince of Tyrus* ; "I will bring forth a fire from the midst of the whole earth, and will make thee as ashes upon the earth, in the sight of all that behold thee." Foxe iii. 138. The time noted (verses 25, 26,) seems very remarkably to be that of the *final restoration of Israel*.—Compare what was said of the *King of the North's* ultimate perishing at the same time and place, according to Dan. xi. 45, pp. 165, 166, *suprà*. Also Dan. vii. 11, and the passages referred to at p. 108.

³ Zech. xiv. 4. 5.

⁴ 2 Pet. iii. 12.

⁵ Apoc. xix. 20.

⁶ Ibid. verse 21 ; also Isa. lxvi. 16, Joel iii. 11—13, &c.

⁷ Jude 14, "Behold the Lord cometh with ten thousand of his saints," &c.

⁸ It is said, just before the description of the Beast's destruction, Apoc. xix. 11, 14, "And I saw heaven opened ; and behold a white horse, and one that sate on it. . . . and the armies in heaven followed him on white horses, clothed with linen (*βυσσιν*) clean and white." On this, the questions arise, What coming of Christ was this, and what hosts these that accompanied him ;—*angelic* hosts, or hosts of the *risen saints* ? On the *first* question, Mr. Bickersteth exclaims, "Here can be no mistake :—" as if the coming *must* be *personal*. And though we cannot surely, on the mere evidence of a symbolic picture, conclude on the *παρουσία* being Christ's personal advent, yet it seems not improbable : the heaven now *for the first time* being said to be *opened*, as if to permit the passage to earth of some one seated beyond the visible heaven ; according to Acts iii. 21, "Whom the heaven must receive until the times of the restitution of all things."

Connected with this is an argument of Daubuz, drawn from the *dress* of the *hosts* that followed Christ. He says that the *βυσσος*, or *byssine* linen dress now ascribed to them, is here mentioned for the first time ; white robes, *ροβὰι λευκαί*, being the dress specified as given to the souls under the altar previously : also that this byss, woven from a plant in Palestine, (so Pausanias tells us,) made the very finest whitest linen in use among the ancients ; that it is spoken of in Gen. xli. 42 as worn by *Joseph*, in 1 Chron. xv. 27 as worn by *David*, and in Luke xvi. 19 as worn by the *rich man* in the parable ; also in Exod. xxviii. 39 as appointed for the *priests* under the Jewish law. Thus, from its being the finest linen, and that both of the royal and the pontifical robe, he infers that it signifies

tendants of the Lord's glory in this destruction of Antichrist, and assessors in his judgment on a guilty world.—And then immediately, it would seem also, the renovation of this our earth is to take place: its soil being purified by the very action of the fire,¹ in all that shall remain of it, for “the nations of the saved,” i. e. the Gentile remnant² and restored Israel; and the Spirit too poured out from on high to renew, in a yet better sense, the moral face of nature: and that so the millennial commencement of Christ's eternal reign with his saints is to begin:³ the Shekinah, or personal glory of Christ

the *bridal dress of incorruption and purity*, given to them that are to be *kings and priests* at the resurrection; and so betokens the hosts with Christ to be the *risen saints*, now associated with Him in judgment, as afterwards in reigning. (I have just alluded to this, Note¹, p. 113, *suprà*.)—Elsewhere, *angels* too seem noted as attendant. See Matt. xxv. 31, John i. 51. But I think what is said Apoc. xix. 19 of the “Beast and his allied kings being gathered to make war with Him that sate on the horse, and with his army,” better suits the view of Christ's attendant hosts in this Apocalyptic vision being *his saints*: the war of the Beast against Christ and them being, as I suppose, against their cause.

¹ I have already at p. 177, *suprà*, noted this as one characteristic point in the premillennial views of the early Fathers. Let me here quote *Methodius*, as a specimen. “Magnus Patriarcha *Methodius*,” says Andreas in Apocal. xxi, “in Sermone de Resurrectione de his ita disserit: Non placet quod nonnulli asserunt, nempe rerum universitatem totam simul interituram, cœlumque et terram et aerem amplius reliqua non futura. Inflammabitur sane ad repurgationem universus orbis; igni, quasi diluvio quodam, mundatus.” B. P. M. v. 628.

Very much the same seems to have been the view of the early Reformers of our Church. In King Edward the Sixth's Catechism, to the question, By what way, and with what fashion and circumstances, there is to be brought about the renewing of all things, and introduction of the new heavens and earth of which St. Paul speaks, the following answer is made. “I will tell you as well as I can, according to the witness of the same apostle. The heavens shall pass away like a storm: the elements shall melt away: the earth and all the works therein shall be consumed with fire:—as though he should say: As gold is wont to be fined, so shall the whole world be purified with fire, and brought to full perfection. The lesser world, which is man, following the same, shall likewise be delivered from corruption and change. And so for man this greater world (which for his sake was first created) shall at length be *renewed*, and be clad with another hue much more pleasant and beautiful.” P. 510. Parker Ed.

The supposed fact of the earth's purification by fire is another point on which geology offers interesting illustration. For it is a fact, I believe, that volcanic fire will sometimes make the most sterile parts fertile: so that it has been said, for example, of the great African Zahara, or Desert, that nothing more than fire of this kind is needed to turn it into fertility.

² As distinguished from the *πληρωμα των εθνων* of Rom. xi. 25, or *Gentile complement*, gathered into the Church of the redeemed *under the present dispensation*; the which, together with the older *Jewish complement*, is to partake at Christ's coming of the glories of the first resurrection. This distinction is important, but too often overlooked.

³ At p. 177 *suprà* I have already referred to *Justin Martyr*, *Irenæus*, and *Lactantius*, as examples from the early premillennarian fathers, showing that they did not hold the 1000 years to be any more than the commencement of an

amidst his saints, being manifested chiefly in the Holy Land, and at Jerusalem ; ¹ but the whole earth partaking of the blessedness : and thus the regeneration of all things, ² and the world's redemption from the curse, having their accomplishment, according to the promise, at the manifestation of the sons of God. ³

Such seems to me to be in brief the appointed order of events, introductory to the Millennium. I pray the reader to believe that it is in no presumptuous or light spirit that I have ventured on these awful and mysterious subjects. I have done so only under a sense of the necessity laid on me as an expositor : and offer what has been said, simply as suggestions of what I infer to be most probable from Scripture ; but which, I fully allow, must in respect of details, be in no inconsiderable measure conjectural and uncertain.

It has long been a disputed question among prophetic expositors, (as my sketch of the chief millennial theories, given in the preceding Chapter, will have shown already,) where precisely the *New Jerusalem* of the 21st and 22nd chapters of the Apocalypse ⁴ is to have its eternal reign. As the point has often been misstated of late, I add another further testimony from Irenæus, v. 26. "Christus est lapis qui præcisus est sine manibus ; qui destruet temporalia regna, et æternum inducet, quæ est justorum resurrectio."

¹ It is to be observed that Mr. Faber, and other anti-premillennarians, constrained by the force of scripture evidence, allow very much of all that has been said in this Chapter : and that a mighty earthquake, a volcanic conflagration, a millennium of blessedness, and even the Shechinah, or visible revelation of Christ's glory, are to follow on the destruction of Antichrist. It is only the fact of this being the glory of *Christ's second advent*, and *the saint's concomitant resurrection*, that Mr. F. contravenes. ² Matt. xix. 28. ³ Rom. viii. 9.

⁴ Apoc. xxi. 1. "And I saw a new heaven and a new earth : for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away ; and there was no more sea. 2. And I John saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband. 3. And I heard a great voice out of heaven saying, Behold the tabernacle of God is with men, and he will dwell with them ; and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them, and be their God. 4. And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes ; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain : for the former things are passed away. 5. And he that sat upon the throne said, Behold, I make all things new. And he said unto me, Write : for these words are true and faithful. 6. And he said unto me, It is done. I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end. I will give unto him that is athirst of the fountain of the water of life freely. 7. He that over-

sition, whether *during* or *after* the Millennium ; and, if synchronous with it, whether as identical, or not, with the *glorified Jerusalem* prophesied of in the *Old Testament*. We have seen that *Augustine* explained this glorified Jerusalem of Old Testament prophecy as identical with the Apocalyptic New Jerusalem ; and both the one and the other as simply *symbols* of the *heavenly and*

cometh shall inherit all things : and I will be his God, and he shall be my son. 8. But the fearful, and unbelieving, and the abominable, and murderers, and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone : which is the second death.

9. And there came unto me one of the seven angels which had the seven vials full of the seven last plagues, and talked with me, saying, Come hither, I will shew thee the bride, the Lamb's wife. 10. And he carried me away in the spirit to a great and high mountain, and shewed me that great city, the holy Jerusalem, descending out of heaven from God ; 11. Having the glory of God : and her light was like unto a stone most precious, even like a jasper stone, clear as crystal ; 12. And it had a wall great and high, and had twelve gates, and at the gates twelve angels, and names written thereon, which are the names of the twelve tribes of the children of Israel : 13. On the east three gates ; on the north three gates ; on the south three gates ; and on the west three gates. 14. And the wall of the city had twelve foundations, and in them the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb. 15. And he that talked with me had a golden reed, to measure the city, and the gates thereof, and the wall thereof. 16. And the city lieth foursquare, and the length is as large as the breadth ; and he measured the city with the reed, twelve thousand furlongs. The length and the breadth and the height of it are equal. 17. And he measured the wall thereof, an hundred and forty and four cubits, according to the measure of a man, that is, of the angel. 18. And the building of the wall of it was of jasper ; and the city was pure gold, like unto clear glass. 19. And the foundations of the wall of the city were garnished with all manner of precious stones. The first foundation was jasper ; the second, sapphire ; the third, a chalcedony ; the fourth, an emerald ; 20. The fifth, sardonyx ; the sixth, sardius ; the seventh, chrysolite ; the eighth, beryl ; the ninth, a topaz : the tenth, a chrysoprasus ; the eleventh, a jacinth ; the twelfth, an amethyst. 21. And the twelve gates were twelve pearls ; every several gate was of one pearl : and the street of the city was pure gold, as it were transparent glass. 22. And I saw no temple therein : for the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb are the temple of it. 23. And the city had no need of the sun, neither of the moon, to shine in it ; for the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb is the light thereof. 24. And the nations of them which are saved shall walk in the light of it : and the kings of the earth do bring their glory and honour into it. 25. And the gates of it shall not be shut at all by day : for there shall be no night there. 26. And they shall bring the glory and honour of the nations into it. 27. And there shall in no wise enter into it any thing that defileth, neither whatsoever worketh abomination, or maketh a lie : but they which are written in the Lamb's book of life.

xxii. 1. And he showed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb. 2. In the midst of the street of it, and on either side of the river, was there the tree of life, which bare twelve manner of fruits, and yielded her fruit every month ; and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations. 3. And there shall be no more curse : but the throne of God and of the Lamb shall be in it ; and his servants shall serve him : 4. And they shall see his face ; and his name shall be in their foreheads. 5. And there shall be no night there ; and they need no candle, nor light of the sun ; for the Lord God giveth them light : and they shall reign for ever and ever."

everlasting blessedness of the risen saints :¹—that on the other hand *Whitby and Vitringa*, while also identifying the two figurations, did not explain them to signify, alike the one and the other, the *millennial earthly blessedness of the Christian Church* :²—and that *Mr. Faber* would separate the two, and make the *Old Testament Jerusalem* of the latter day *alone* millennial.³ To which I may add, that some expositors, while explaining one or both to predict *earthly* glories destined for God's people, make the *restored and converted Jews* nationally, not the *Church Catholic* generally, the grand object and chief intended recipients of the coming glory.⁴—So does the great question about the *Jews' restoration* intermix itself with that respecting the New Jerusalem ; and force upon us at this point the consideration of the *Jewish people's* destiny in the coming future.

And let me just observe here, with reference to the *literal Israel's* part in the matter, that there has been a very general abandonment on the part of modern commentators, of the decided *anti-judaizing* views of the *patristic* anti-millennarian school. It was laid down by Origen, Augustine, and others, that though the Jews would be *converted* to Christ before the final judgment, its result would be only their becoming part and parcel of the Church Universal ; and being then so merged in it as to lose all national distinctness, and of course to have no *national restoration* to their own land and their ancient city.⁵ But after the Reformation, other views gradually obtained more and more on the subject : and Whitby, in common with others of the same, as well as of differ-

¹ See p. 180.² See p. 183.³ Ibid.⁴ So Mr. Burgh, &c.

⁵ Whitby in his Appendix to the Epistle to the Romans, thus speaks of Origen's view. "In his (Origen's) Book against Celsus, he saith not, 'They shall never be converted to the Christian faith,' but that they should never be restored to their own worship or country : 'We confidently affirm (*ὅτι οὐ ἀποκαταστήσονται*) that they shall never again be restored to Jerusalem, or the land of promise, which before they were.'"—So too Augustine only speaks of their conversion : never, I believe, of their national restoration in Palestine. (See p. 179 *suprà*.) And when Jerom, on Habak. iii, speaking of the cursed fig-tree in Matt. xxi. 19, as signifying a curse on the Jews, adds, "Sed cùm sæculum istud pertransierit, et intraverit plenitudo gentium, tunc etiam hæc ficus afferet fructus suos, et omnis Israel salvabitur," he means similarly, I believe, only the conversion, not the national restoration of the Jews.

ent prophetic views,¹ declares himself compelled by force of Scripture evidence to admit that, on the times of the Gentiles being fulfilled, the Jews will, as a distinct people, re-occupy the Holy Land and Jerusalem.² And indeed, *admitting their conversion*, (which who can doubt?) the strength of evidence on this point seems irresistible.³ So that we cannot eliminate this condition out of our problem. We cannot admit into the list of possible hypo-

¹ Prideaux in his Inaug. Orat. vi. 7, notes "inter recentiores P. Martyr, Beza, Grinæus, Paræus, et in Hexaplâ suâ Willetus." So too Prideaux himself, though a decided anti-premillennarian, the learned Dr. Owen, &c.

² "I dare not absolutely deny, what the Millennarians all positively affirm, that the city of Jerusalem shall be then rebuilt, and the converted Jews return to it; because this may probably be collected from those words of Christ, 'Jerusalem shall be trodden down till the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled:' and *all the prophets* seem to declare that the Jews shall then return to their own land. See Jer. xxxi. 38—40. Yet do I confidently deny that the *temple* of Jerusalem shall be then built again:" &c.

Even *Archbishop Whately* does not deny that there may be a *political* or *national* restoration of the Jews; though strongly denying that there will be any *religious* distinction. See his Chapter on the Millennium, in the *Essays on a Future State*.

³ Deut. xxx. 1—6. seems to me almost by itself decisive on the point. "When all these things have come upon thee, the blessing and the curse, and thou shalt call them to mind among all the nations whither the Lord thy God hath driven thee, and shalt return unto the Lord, thou and thy children, then the Lord thy God will turn thy captivity, and have compassion on thee, and gather thee from all the nations whither the Lord hath scattered thee. If any of thine be driven out to the utmost parts of heaven, from hence will the Lord thy God gather thee, and from thence will he fetch thee; and will bring thee into the land which thy fathers possess, and thou shalt possess it; and he will do thee good, and multiply thee above thy fathers. And the Lord thy God will circumcise thine heart, and the heart of thy seed, to love the Lord with all thine heart and all thy soul, that thou mayest live."—So that the only ground on which a denial of Israel's national restoration to Palestine seems maintainable, is a denial of their national conversion. A denial which who can make after St Paul's declaration, Rom. xi. 25, 26, &c.; not to say of nearly all the prophets?

As a late and eminent testimony to this effect, I may refer to the present Bishop of London's Sermon before the Jews' Society. "That which is here spoken of as a possible contingency," (viz. the *repossession of their own land*, &c., as predicted in Deut. xxx. 3, &c.) "is distinctly foretold by later prophets, as an event which will assuredly come to pass. The eighth and three last chapters of Zechariah cannot, we think, without doing violence to all the laws of interpretation, be so explained as not to imply a future restoration of the Jews to their ancient and covenanted inheritance, and the re-establishment of their national polity. This is of necessity connected with a re-instatement of the holy city of Jerusalem in splendour and strength. 'Jerusalem,' says the prophet, 'shall be safely inhabited; it shall be lifted up, and inhabited in her place: and men shall dwell in it; and there shall be no more utter destruction.'" Then,—after observing that these words can scarce by possibility be understood in a purely spiritual sense, of the heavenly Jerusalem,—the Bishop adds, that any such spiritual interpretation is positively precluded by Christ's prophecy about Jerusalem being trodden down by the Gentiles till the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled. For, "as the city of Jerusalem is to be trodden down, so the city of Jerusalem shall be built up."

theses, so as we might otherwise have done not without much plausibility, that the *Jerusalem of the latter-day glory*, predicted in the Old Testament, is to be construed either with Irenæus as figuring the millennial glory of the *Christian Church* on earth, or with Augustine the eternal glory of the *Church of the resurrection*, in a still higher and heavenly state of blessedness.¹ It must be confessed, I think, that the literal Israel, in its *national* character, and its city the literal Jerusalem, enter, beyond what these old patristic expositors taught, into Old Testament prophecies of the future blessedness.² And the only question for the Apocalyptic expositor is, where to place them in his scheme of unfulfilled prophecy; and how to associate the blessedness of *Israel's national restoration* with, or how dissociate it from, the predicted glories of the Millennium and of the New Jerusalem.

Now, that we are not to *identify* the restored *Jewish*

¹ This last without any yet *future* earthly *Millennium* of righteousness first intervening.—As to the idea of the Millennium being *past*, its Apocalyptic position between Antichrist's destruction and the general resurrection (see p. 184 *suprà*) is a difficulty that the *Protestant* advocates of this view can never overcome.

² I am surprised to find, however, as this sheet is passing through the press, that some writers still deny this; for example, the Author of the "Rector in Search of a Curate." His theory, is that *wherever a national or local restoration* of the Jews is predicted, it either means the first restoration from *Babylon*; or a restoration *conditionally* promised, and which, from the circumstance of the Jews not fulfilling the conditions, has not been, and will not be, fulfilled. (Of prophecies, such as in Deut. xxx. and Zech. xii., where God promises his Spirit's effusion in order to enable them to fulfil the conditions, he says nothing.) In all other prophecies he applies what is said of the *latter-day glory of Jerusalem* to the *Christian Church*.—It will, I think, suffice to satisfy the reader on this theory's unsoundness, if he try it simply by those chapters of Zechariah which the Bishop of London refers to.

Let me just add, with regard to this writer, that in supposing the principle of *uniform literalism of interpretation*, to be essential to the premillennial system, he has been under a misapprehension, as the present Apocalyptic Commentary may suffice to show:—that in deprecating all supposition of a *twofold fulfilment* of certain prophecies, or of predictions about Babylon in the Old Testament sometimes referring to the New Testament Babylon, he will find few expositors of repute to support him:—that in admitting with Whitby the truth of a yet future Millennium of universal righteousness on earth (*preceding* the Jews' conversion, he argues, under the misconception noticed by me at p. 230 respecting St. Paul's πληρωμα των εθνων, not *following* it) he involves himself and his theory in all the main difficulties of Whitby's:—finally that in admitting that if the Jews' *national restoration to their own land* be a fact predicted, *Christ's personal reign* must be a fact predicted also, he makes an admission that many as adverse to the *personal reign* as himself will deem suicidal; e. g. Mr. Scott, who fully admits the truth of the *Jews' restoration*.

people with the constituency of the *Apocalyptic New Jerusalem*, or *their* restored earthly and holy city with *that* Holy City, appears to me perfectly clear. For it would be contrary to the whole analogy of Apocalyptic interpretation to attach to these symbols such a meaning; seeing that from the very beginning of *this* prophecy, even throughout, *Jewish emblems* have been proved to be used of the *Christian Church*.—The fitness of this application of them seemed to us evident à priori. The natural Israel as a nation having rejected, and so been rejected by God, the Christian Church, *primarily Jewish*, and though made up chiefly of a Gentile constituency, yet of Gentiles *engrafted by the apostles on the Abrahamic stock*, became, as it were, God's *substituted Israel*; ¹ and thus by St. Paul, we saw, ² as well as other apostles, had had Jewish titles and emblems, both civic and ecclesiastical, as well as the Abrahamic promises, applied to it, ³ long before St. John's exile to Patmos. Then in the introductory Apocalyptic vision, the representation of Christ, the Church's Head, under guise of the Jewish High Priest, and that of the seven-branched candlestick of the Jewish temple to designate the seven Asiatic Christian Churches, was an express recognition of this principle of application; and prepared the Seer for a similar application of Jewish emblems to the Christian Church in the subsequent visions, upon a larger scale. ⁴ And so the *temple-court and service* marked in those visions *its* ecclesiastical state and service: ⁵ the *twelve tribes of Israel* the constituency of *its* professing body, i. e. so soon as it should have attained dominancy and a political form in the Roman world: ⁶ an *election out of these tribes* ("144,000 out of all the tribes of Israel") Christ's *true Church*, when the mass had become corrupt, apostatizing, and Gentilized: ⁷ and *the Holy City*, the polity of the same holy seed, the association of the faithful and elect, the true Israel. ⁸ Which being so, how could the

¹ So Rom. xi. 17—24.

² See Vol. i. p. 233.

³ E. g. Gal. iii. 29, vi. 16, Eph. ii. 12, 19, 1 Peter ii. 9, 10; &c.

⁴ See my Introduction, Vol. i. pp. 74, 75.

⁵ See Vol. i. p. 100, Vol. ii. p. 180.

⁶ See my Vol. i. pp. 233—239.

⁷ Apoc. xi. 2.

⁸ Ibid.

symbol of “the *Holy City*, the *new Jerusalem*, coming down from God out of heaven,” be interpreted with any consistency to signify the converted Jews, and earthly rebuilt Jerusalem? How to signify any thing else than the same body of the 144,000, Christ’s spiritual Israel, “the called and chosen and faithful,”—inclusive of course of all their successive generations, agreeably with its mystic form of a *cube* made up of many *squares*,¹—of these generations, I say, caught up to Christ at his coming, and now in the resurrection-state glorified as “the sons of God:”² perfect, according to the Redeemer’s intercessory prayer,³ in number and unity, as well as glory; the City of God (to use Augustine’s phrase) now at length made complete; the Jerusalem above, (to use St. Paul’s,) long time forming and preparing for the saints its citizens, which is the mother of us all.⁴

And, on the whole, I cannot but incline to think that the Apocalyptic *New Jerusalem* was intended to symbolize the *millennial* glory of the risen saints; and its *descent from heaven* in vision to denote a public manifestation to the world of that glory at the very opening of the Millennium; for the reasons following.—1. Whereas two things had been mentioned previously, as its subjects of congratulation, in the Church’s song of triumph on Antichrist’s overthrow, Apoc. xix.,—viz. the *one*, the fact of Christ’s kingdom having come, the *other*, that of the Lamb’s marriage being at hand, and his wife having made herself ready,⁵—and whereas, of these two things, the establishment of the kingdom was immediately afterwards figured to St. John in the emblem of thrones being set, and Christ and his risen saints taking seat thereon, and judgment being given them,⁶—whereas, I say, the first of these two things was thus duly symbolized, there would on the other hand be no correspond-

¹ Viz. 144 or 12 + 12 thousand; *one* thousand being the unite.—The *cubic* form of the New Jerusalem seems to me in this sense most beautifully apt and significant.

² Rom. viii. 19.

³ John xvii. 21—24.

⁴ Gal. iv. 26.

⁵ Apoc. xix. 6, 7.

⁶ Apoc. xx. 4.

ing symbolization whatsoever in the Apocalyptic visions of the Lamb's synchronical bridal and bride,¹ unless *this* emblematic vision be supposed to represent it; and consequently to synchronize in its introduction with the setting of the thrones of judgment, and opening of the Millennium.²—2. The account St. John gives of the manner of his seeing the New Jerusalem confirms this view of the matter, For, having been a *symbolic man*,³ or *representative of Christ's earthly Church*, thus far in the prefigurative visions, he must in all consistency be so regarded still: and consequently the circumstance of his being carried away in the Spirit, and by angelic ministration, to see its *interior* state and glory, though a spectator, independently of any such ministration, of its *descent from heaven* and *external* glory,⁴ suggests the idea that there will exist for a while an earthly Church distinct from, though synchronous with, this New Jerusalem of the resurrection-saints; and consequently that the period of this New Jerusalem's descent is millennial, not post-millennial. With which view the circumstance of one of the Angels that had the seven last Vial-plagues showing it him, well coincides: for what the reason of *his* being constituted the revealer, unless to mark that the thing he exhibited was to be the speedy consequence or sequel of the Vial-outpourings? Besides which, there is the very singular coincidence of St. John's being said (of course as a symbolic man) to have fallen down at the feet of the revealing Angel to worship him, on this exhibition of the Lamb's bride, the New Jerusalem, just as he was before said to have done on the Angel's primary intimation to him, after Antichrist's destruction, concerning the bride and bridal,⁵ and to have received in

¹ In the Old Testament prophecies of Christ's bridal, as in Psalm xlv, Isa. lxii. 2, &c. the *Jews* are supposed to be in a living state on the earth.

² So Vitranga argues, p. 1226.

³ See Vol. p. 267, and Vol. ii. p. 112. In the description of the angel the words are observable, "the measure of a *man*, i. e. of an angel." Apoc. xxi. 17.

⁴ Compare Apoc. xxi. 2 with Apoc. xxi. 9 and the sequel. The point is one which seems to me to deserve attention.

⁵ The coincidence of the two passages is very singular; and noted by Vitranga, p. 1226, who draws much the same conclusion from it as myself.

either case precisely the same answer and rebuke:—a coincidence scarce explicable, as it seems to me, except on the hypothesis of the fallings down being one and the same act, though twice noted in the Apocalyptic description. In which case the object of the repetition must be to mark more significantly the chronological parallelism of the two visions; and that that of the New Jerusalem was in fact only a supplementary and enlarged revelation of that same subject of the bridal, which had been just hinted at in the first instance, as having its epoch immediately after Antichrist's overthrow.—3. To the same effect is what is said of “the *nations* of them that are saved walking in the light of it, and the *kings of the earth* bringing their glory and honour into it;”¹ and again, of the “leaves of the tree being for the *healing of the nations*.” For how can we explain this, except on the supposition of men existing on earth, and in the earthly state, such as needed healing,² cotemporarily with the higher and heavenly glory of the New Jerusalem? Now, whatever is to be the state of things on this our planet after the judgment of the great white throne, and general resurrection, and even though allowing the *possibility* of there being some new race of *men*, then or afterward created to inhabit it, yet surely the matter is not so *revealed* as that we can have a right to assume or reason on it, in the explanation of this, or of any other

Apoc. xix. 7—10.

“The marriage of the Lamb is come, and his wife hath made herself ready (*ἡτοίμασεν ἑαυτήν*). And to her was granted that she should be arrayed in fine linen, clean and white. . . . And he saith unto me, Write; Blessed are they which are called to the marriage supper of the Lamb. And he saith unto me, These are the true sayings of God. And I fell at his feet to worship him. And he said unto me, See thou do it not. I am the fellow-servant of thyself and of thy brethren, that have the testimony of Jesus. Worship God.”

Apoc. xxii. 8, 9.

“And I John saw these things and heard them:” (including the descent of the New Jerusalem prepared, *ἡτοίμασμεν*, as a bride for her husband.) “And when I had heard and seen, I fell down to worship before the feet of the angel which shewed me these things. Then saith he unto me, See thou do it not: for I am the fellow-servant of thyself and of thy brethren the prophets, and of them which keep the sayings of this book. Worship God.”

¹ Apoc. xxi. 24.

² So Mr. Close, though a strong anti-premillennarian. *Sketches of Sermons*, p. 22.

controverted Scripture prophecy. And, putting *this* explanation aside, I see not how it is possible to interpret the statement, except by supposing the vision of the New Jerusalem to be in its chronology *millennial*:—unless indeed it be thought that the phrases *men, nations* of the saved, *kings of the earth*, signify *saints in the resurrection state*; an alternative which few probably will be inclined to embrace.

No doubt there will appear against this view two or three formidable objections:—viz. 1. that the vision of the *New Jerusalem* is introduced with the introductory chronological notice of there being then *a new heaven and new earth*, and also *no more sea*:¹ although it might seem that *the sea* existed till after the Millennium, from the circumstance of *the sea* being said to give up the dead that were in it,² on the judgment of the great white throne; and as to the *new heaven and earth*, that they followed after the fleeing away of the old ones, before Him that sate on the throne:—2. that the time of the descent of the New Jerusalem from heaven is that of the declaration, “The tabernacle of God is with men, and He will dwell with them; and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes, and *there shall be no more death*;³” although death was not cast into the lake of fire until after the judgment of the same great white throne:⁴—3. that there is added also that other declaration respecting it, “There shall be *no more curse*.”⁵—But these objections are, I think, not unanswerable. Thus as to the *first*, (not to urge the possible *symbolic* use of the term *sea*, so as in certain earlier visions of the Apocalypse,⁶) *geological physical changes* from the earth-rending convulsions of the catastrophe are surely supposable, such as to have affected the earth and firmament

¹ Apoc. xxi. 1.

² Apoc. xx. 13.

³ Apoc. xxi. 4.

⁴ Apoc. xx. 14.

⁵ Apoc. xxii. 3.

⁶ E. g. in Apoc. vi. 12. See Vol. i. p. 221.—Thus Whitby in his *Essay on the Millennium*, ii. 3, 2, explains the Evangelist's, “And the *sea* is not yet,” (or is *no more*,) figuratively of the *many waters* on which the Harlot sate, Apoc. xvii. 1, 15; waters called *sea*, apparently in Apoc. xiii. 1, (compared with xii. 15,) and which, on the destruction of the Beast, had been destroyed.

as much or more than did the deluge ; and especially to have elevated the bed of that which is emphatically *the* Apocalyptic as well as Roman *sea*, the *Mediterranean*,¹ and turned it into dry land : though not such as to have destroyed the vaster oceans of our globe ; to which oceans the statement of *the sea giving up its dead*, subsequently and post-millennially, may have reference. Above all, quitting the Apocalyptic prophecy, if we resort to the parallel prophecies of the new heavens and new earth in other scriptures, we shall, I think, see that, whatever the statement mean about *the sea being no more*, it cannot be in any such literal and full meaning of the word *sea*, as to negative our general theory. For *St. John* by his new heavens and earth, mentioned in connection with Christ's coming, cannot but mean the same new heavens and earth that *St. Peter*² also connects with his coming : and *St. Peter's* new heavens and earth are identified by the words, " We, according to his promise. look for new heavens and a new earth," with those predicted in *Isaiah* lxxv. 17, lxxvi. 22, *where alone the promise is made* : in which last not only was " Jerusalem spoken of as to be then a rejoicing, and her people a joy," but *isles* far off noted as places whose inhabitants would see the glory ; isles implying of course the existence of a *sea* to form and surround them.³—Then, as to the *second* objection, let us remember that expressions tantamount to what is here said of the *extinction of death* in the new Jerusalem, are used in other prophecies with reference to millennial times ;—the times, that is, of Israel's restoration, and of Christ's reigning gloriously before his

¹ See Vol. i. p. 342, Note

² 2 Peter iii. 13.

³ *Whitby* himself admits this identity of *St. Peter's* and *Isaiah's* new heavens and earth ; but would thus strangely construe the former ; " We before this conflagration, or besides this conflagration, expect a new heaven," &c.—*Scott* says ; " In some scriptures (as *Isa.* lxxv.) the new heavens and earth seem to describe the most prosperous days of the church on earth ; yet here (in *St. Peter*) the state of the righteous after the day of judgment and dissolution of this present world is evidently intended : but what is meant the fulfilment alone can explain." And so *A. Clark*.—But where the " promise " *Peter* speaks of, except in *Isaiah* ? In fact this connexion of the passages in *Peter* and *Isaiah* is (as I have already hinted at, p. 220 *suprà*.) a difficulty no anti-premillennarian theory can fairly overcome.

ancients in it. "In this mountain," says Isaiah, "shall the Lord of hosts make unto all people a feast of fat things; and He will destroy in this mountain the face of the covering cast over all people, and the veil that is spread over all nations: He will *swallow up death in victory*: and the Lord God will wipe away tears from off all faces:"¹—a passage, as we have before seen,² applied by St. Paul to the epoch of the first resurrection. Nor does the use of the phrase in this vision of the New Jerusalem, though millennially construed, seem inappropriate. For among the constituency of the New Jerusalem itself, death will in the fullest sense be no more. And in regard even to the earth's inhabitants during the millennial period, though Death and Hades be not as yet extinguished, and, as Isaiah also intimates in his prophecy, there be still dying, yet may it very possibly be dying not until the end of the Millennium, as it is said, "As the days of a tree are the days of my people;" and again, that a hundred years would be then but the measure of infancy;³ "the leaves of the tree of life being for the healing of the nations:"⁴ besides that the dying may be then without pain, and a mere easy translation to a heavenly and higher state.—As to *the curse*, its absence from the earth during the *millennial* period is the concurrent declaration of all prophecy.⁵ The very conflagration that is to mark its introduction, will but, I suppose, have been to what remains habitable of the earth as a purifying fire; and yielded its help, as before said, towards converting its very deserts into a Paradise.⁶

Thus, on the whole, I incline to the conclusion, (at which conclusion however, in consequence of some of these objections, I long hesitated, and now only suggest it as most probable,) that the New Jerusalem vision appertains to *millennial* times; and that it is retrogressive consequently in its chronological character. Which

¹ Isa. xxv. 8.² See p. 205 *suprà*.³ Isa. lxxv. 20, 22.⁴ Apoc. xxii. 2.⁵ The expression is used in Gen. viii. 21, "I will not again *curse* the ground any more for man's sake," in a much more restricted sense.⁶ See p. 230.

being so, a position will of course be assigned it, like as to *the former retrogressive series* of visions, on the *outer side* of the Apocalyptic scroll.¹ On the which side it does indeed so naturally fit into its place, and so precisely fill up the space that would otherwise be left vacant on it, and with such marks and taches of parallelism, just as before, to connect it with the corresponding visions on the *inner side* of the scroll,—as to furnish to my own mind no unimportant subsidiary evidence, of the view which I have thus preferred to take of its chronology being correct.

This point settled, it is of course among the Apocalyptic “nations of them that are saved,” which are said to walk in its light, and “the kings of the earth,” which are said to bring their glory and honour into it, that we are to place the restored Jews and Gentile remnant, preserved from the conflagration, of whom the Old Testament prophecy says so much:—the Jews having now a certain pre-eminence and peculiar glory, such as seem constantly predicted of Israel and the earthly Jerusalem, in the earlier prophecies of the latter day. With which view the statement that “in Christ Jesus there is neither Jew nor Greek, circumcision nor uncircumcision,” is not, I think, inconsistent:—seeing that that statement had reference to the *premillennial* times of the gathering out of all nations of the Church of the redeemed, the New Jerusalem; wherein equal honours, and an equal reward, were intended for the engrafted as for the natural members of the *true* Israel; but not to the very different times, and different dispensation, of the Millennium.—It seems possible too that “*the beloved city*” of Apoc. xx. 9, may be this *earthly* Jerusalem; though I prefer to understand it of the *heavenly* or *new* Jerusalem. But even on this latter hypothesis there must be supposed, I conceive, a most intimate connexion of the one Jerusalem with the other; the earthly Jerusalem being that upon, or over, which, the glory of the New Jerusalem is to rest;

¹ See p. 86 *suprà*.

like as Jehovah's pillar of fire on the tabernacle in the wilderness, or the more awful glory on the top of Sinai.¹ Here, I say, it would seem that there is to be the meeting-point of earth and heaven ; and that same conjunction to be visibly manifested, of which I spoke before in my preceding chapter,² of the ultimate blessedness of the *spiritual* and of the *natural* seed of Abraham :—a conjunction and blending together of the two, such, that it is often difficult, if not impossible, to discern in prophecy where the one ends and the other begins.

And thus, when we turn to consider the *state of things during the Millennium*, our minds seem irresistibly directed to *Jerusalem*, as the *Mother-Church* of a Christianized universe : (for even though we admitted the literal *Judaic* character of the Jerusalem in Ezekiel's last obscure prophecy, it would by no means involve the literal *Judaic* construction of its *temple* and its *sacrifices* ;³) I say as the *Mother-Church* of a Christian world, and focus and centre of the glories of that latter day. There the Shechinah of Messiah's presence is, as it would seem, to shine refulgent ;⁴ there the King to be seen in his beauty ;⁵ there too probably the manifestation to be made, more fully than elsewhere, of the perfected company of the redeemed, the general assembly,⁶ the glorified sons of God :⁷—who, entrusted with the *new* earth's government, subordinately to Christ himself, in gracious reward of past service,⁸ (perhaps after the example of those angels that, having kept their first estate,

¹ Compare Isa. iv. 2—5 : “ In that day shall the branch of the Lord be beautiful and glorious, and the fruit of the earth excellent and comely for them that are escaped of Israel. And it shall come to pass that he that is left in Zion, and he that remaineth in Jerusalem, shall be called holy, even every one that is written among the living in Jerusalem ; when the Lord shall have washed away the filth of the daughters of Zion, and shall have purged the blood of Jerusalem from the midst thereof, by the spirit of judgment and by the spirit of burning. And the Lord will create upon every dwelling-place of Mount Zion, and upon her assemblies, a cloud and smoke by day, and the shining of a flaming fire by night ; for upon all the glory there shall be a defence.” ² See p. 202.

³ See my Vol. i. pp. 330—332.—So Justin Martyr in his Millennial view. Οὐδ', ἐν τῇ παλιν παρουσίᾳ, μὴ δοξήτε λεγεῖν Ἠσαίαν, ἢ τὰς ἄλλας προφῆτας, θυσίας ἀφ' αἱμάτων ἢ σπονδῶν ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον ἀναφερεσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἀληθινὰς καὶ πνευματικὰς αἰνὰς καὶ εὐχαριστίας. Dial. cum Tryph.—So too Whitby, quoted Note ², p. 234.

⁴ Psalm cii. 16, &c.

⁵ Isaiah xxxiii. 17.

⁶ Heb. xii. 23.

⁷ Rom. viii. 19.

⁸ Luke xix. 17, Heb. ii. 5, &c.

have had this *present* earth entrusted to their charge and ministry,) ; shall be recognized as the constituency of the New Jerusalem, in all their resurrection glories,² during the *aión* or *age*, of the millennial dispensation.³—Meanwhile thither concomitantly are to converge the desires and the gatherings of the whole family of man. “The mountain of the Lord’s house having been established on the top of the mountains, all nations shall flow unto it;”⁴ and the Lord’s prophecy be fulfilled, “I, if I be lifted up, shall draw all men to me.”⁵ The blessedness thence resulting is to be universal. The creature, delivered from the bondage of corruption, is to experience the glorious liberty of the children of God: the water of life from the throne of God diffusing its blessings over the world, and the leaves of its trees being for the healing of the nations. And as “the knowledge of the Lord now covers the earth, as the waters cover the sea,”⁶ and holiness and peace and joy every where blend together, the Lord shall again rejoice in his works; ⁷ yea shall joy over them with singing, and rest in his love.⁸ It shall be his *sabbatism*, after the accomplishment of that work that He has ever since the creation, conjointly with the Father, been engaged in; ⁹—his work, his mightiest work, of *redemption*.

¹ Jude’s expression, “The angels that kept not their first estate,” implies their having been once in a state of *probation*. And *where* then? The researches of the geologist leave no reasonable doubt of our earth’s having been inhabited by *animals*, at least, in a pre-Adamitic age; and why not then by *intelligent* creatures also? Which supposition being admitted as at least possible, does it seem likely that some other distant planet was the scene of the inhabitation and trial of these earlier probationists, and not our own? Especially considering that the organic pre-Adamitic remains that abound indicate violent death to have prevailed then as now; and by probable consequence *sin*, the cause of violence and death:—considering also that the internal fires of this earthly planet (see pp. 108—110, and p. 228 *suprà*) seem not obscurely marked out in prophecy as the scene of the rebellious spirits’ future punishment; of their punishment, as if previously of their crime?

² The Author of the Book of Wisdom compares their bright and fitful appearances with the flashings of *fire-sparks*, (see the Note, p. 207.) or perhaps of the *firefly*. We may rather compare them with Christ’s appearances after his resurrection.—This rule of the glorified saints is not however to the exclusion of *angels*. See John i. 51. ³ Such in Scripture is often the meaning of *aión*.

⁴ Isa. ii. 2.

⁵ John xii. 32.

⁶ Isa. xi. 9.

⁷ Psalm civ. 31.

⁸ Zeph. iii. 17.

⁹ John v. 17; “My Father worketh hitherto, and I work:”—viz. I conceive, in the work of *redemption*; carried on alike on *sabbaths* and all other days.

For with reference to God’s *resting*, which is sometimes spoken of in Scrip-

O scenes surpassing fable, and yet true !
 Scenes of accomplished bliss ! which who can see
 Though but in distant prospect, and not feel
 His soul refresh'd with foretaste of the joy ? ¹

I quote from one who is a meet minstrel on such a topic : and subjoin yet another extract from him, depicting the scene and its blessedness.² The subject is one too high and holy for my own rude touch. I pass from it.

Meanwhile (so the Apocalypse, as well as other Scripture prophecy, informs us) an awful monument will remain, and be visible, of a once different state of things ;—a monument of the guilt and punishment of the age preceding. It has always been God's plan that such memorials should exist, as a warning against sin, under every dispensation :—under the *patriarchal*, that of the *accursed ground*, and then of the *deluge* ; under the *Abrahamic* and

ture, it seems to me that not the mere *cessation* from any particular work of his hands is implied, but also his *complacency* in its beauty and perfection. Thus when God rested, as we are told in Gen. ii. 2, from his work of *creation*, it was after " he had surveyed every thing that he had made, *and behold it was very good.*" But the instant that sin entered, and with sin the curse, this work was marred ; and consequently, as I conceive, his rest in regard of it at once broken up. So that then and thereupon the new and mightier work of *redeeming* this marred world from the curse, was to be entered on : that to which Christ, in the above-cited passage in St. John, seems to me to allude ; and of the joyous resting from which, *when perfected*, both Zephaniah and St. Paul, (Heb. iii. iv.) and others too of the prophets delight to speak.

¹ Cowper's Task, 6th Book.

² " One song employs all nations, and all cry
 Worthy the Lamb, for He was slain for us !
 The dwellers in the vales and on the rocks
 Shout to each other, and the mountain-tops
 From distant mountains catch the flying joy ;
 Till, nation after nation taught the strain,
 Earth rolls the rapturous Hosanna round.
 Behold the measure of the promise filled :
 See Salem built, the labour of a God !
 Bright as a sun the sacred city shines.
 All kingdoms and all princes of the earth
 Flock to that light ; the glory of all lands
 Flows into her : unbounded is her joy. . . .
 Praise is in all her gates : upon her walls,
 And in her streets, and in her spacious courts,
 Is heard salvation. Eastern Java there
 Kneels with the native of the farthest West ;
 And Ethiopia spreads abroad the hand,
 And worships. Her report has travell'd forth
 Into all lands. From every clime they come,
 To see thy beauty, and to share thy joy,
 O Sion ! an assembly such as earth
 Saw never ; such as heaven stoops down to see."

Mosaic that of *Sodom* ; under the Christian that of *Jerusalem trodden down*, and the *Jewish exiles* dispersed every where, with the brand of God's curse upon them. And now there is to be that of the *mystic Babylon*, or *Roman earth* and *Antichrist*, swallowed up in the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone ; “ the smoke of which goeth up for ever and ever.”¹ This scene the Apocalypse figured to St. John : and with it correspond those most awful and striking words which close Isaiah's prophecy, in reference evidently to the times of the Millennium : “ And they shall go forth, and look upon the carcases of the men that have transgressed against me : for their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched : and they shall be an abhorring unto all flesh.”²

So during the Millennium.—And if, notwithstanding all this, notwithstanding both the warning, the glory, and the blessedness, the Devil do yet succeed afterwards, on his being loosed, in seducing the nations in the four corners of the world, what the wonder ; considering the history of the seductions of Adam and Eve in a former paradisiacal state, and when enjoying the intimacy and the vision of God. It will only be a new example how the creature, by himself, when tempted will fall.—Again, the mad attempt of these deceived ones against even “ the camp of the saints and the beloved city,” need not surprise *him* who has studied man's corruption and daring, in the history of Israel's rebellion at the foot of the burning mount of Sinai.³—As to the speedy, if not instant destruction of the rebels, it needs not that I expatiate on it ; or on the subsequent fate of our world. Where revelation is silent, it were vain to conjecture. Suffice it to remark from the Apocalyptic prophecy, respecting the *seduced*, that they are to be destroyed by fire ;—respecting the *Devil*, the Tempter, that he is forthwith, with all his associated evil angels, to be cast into the same lake, burning with fire and brimstone, where

¹ Apoc. xiv. 10, 11, xix. 3.² Isa. lxvi. 24.³ Exod. xxxii. 1, &c.

the Beast and False Prophet were cast before ;—respecting the *saints*, that, instead of closing their reign with the Millennium, they are in some way still to reign even for ever ; ¹—respecting *the rest of men*, that there is to follow on Gog and Magog's destruction the universal resurrection, and a judgment wherein all that are not in the Book of Life will be cast into the lake of fire : on which judgment the heaven and earth that now are will flee away, and have no place found for them.—In St. Paul's comprehensive summary of the final future, 1 Cor. xv. 24, 28, (a passage already cited in the controversial part of my preceding chapter,) we read thus of this epoch ; “ Afterward cometh the end, when He shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father ; that God may be all in all.” And there is yet one farther glimpse, into ages still to come, opened to us by St. Paul ; with reference to the influence on other worlds and intelligences of this our planet's history. He tells how the story of its *redemption* is to be through eternity itself a chief lesson to them of the marvels of divine grace ; ²—“ that in the *ages to come* ³ He might show the exceeding riches of his grace, in his kindness *toward us* through Jesus Christ.” ⁴

¹ Apoc. xxi. i, 5.

² Eph. ii. 7.

³ αἰῶσι τοῖς ἐπέρχομενοις.

⁴ I may fitly here subjoin the conclusion of the Apocalypse.

xxii. 6. “ And he said unto me, These sayings are faithful and true : and the Lord God of the holy prophets sent his angel to shew unto his servants the things which must shortly be done, 7. Behold, I come quickly : blessed is he that keepeth the sayings of the prophecy of this book. 8. And I John saw these things, and heard them. And when I had heard and seen, I fell down to worship before the feet of the angel which shewed me these things. 9. Then saith he unto me, See thou do it not : for I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren the prophets, and of them which keep the sayings of this book : worship God.

10. And he saith unto me, Seal not the sayings of the prophecy of this book : for the time is at hand. 11. He that is unjust, let him be unjust still : and he that is filthy, let him be filthy still : and he that righteous, let him be righteous still : and he that is holy, let him be holy still. 12. And, behold I come quickly ; and my reward is with me, to give every man according as his work shall be. 13. I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last. 14. Blessed are they that wash their robes*, that they may have right to the tree of life, and may enter in through the gates into the city. 15. For without are dogs, and sorcerers, and whoremongers, and mur-

* πλυνοντες τας στολας αυτων. So Tregelles, instead of the received, ποιουντες τας εντολας αυτου, *they that do his commandments*.—The reference to Apoc. vii. 9, 13, 14, hence arising, seems to me very beautiful : beautiful both in itself, and as a connecting link between the there *anticipatively* foreshown state of heavenly bliss ; and that which is here symbolized, as actually *realized* and *present*.

CHAPTER VII.

CONCLUSION.

ARRIVED at the concluding Chapter of my Work, it will be well to stop, and consider attentively *our present eventful position* in prophetic chronology, and the evidence which fixes it ; then to direct our regards to *the coming future*, and consider it in the light, and connectedly with the lessons, suggested by the previous parts of the Apocalyptic prophecy.

§ 1. OUR PRESENT POSITION IN THE PROPHETIC CALENDAR.

With regard to *our present position*, we have been led, as the result of our investigations, to fix it at but a short time from the end of the now existing dispensation, and the expected second advent of Christ. This thought, when we seriously attempt to realize it, must be felt to be a very startling as well as solemn one. And for my own part I confess to risings of doubt, and almost of scepticism, as I do so. Can it be that we are come so near to the day of the Son of Man, that the generation now alive shall very possibly not have passed away before its fulfilment ; yea that perhaps even our own eyes may witness, without the intervention of death, that astonishing event of the consummation ? The idea falls on my mind as almost incredible.—The circumstance of antici-

derers, and idolaters, and whosoever loveth and maketh a lie. 16. I Jesus have sent mine angel to testify unto you these things in the churches. I am the root and the offspring of David, and the bright and morning star. 17. And the Spirit and the bride say, Come. And let him that heareth say, Come. And let him that is athirst come. And whosoever will, let him take of the water of life freely. 18. For I testify unto every man that heareth the words of the prophecy of this book, If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book : 19. And if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the book of life, and out of the holy city, and from the things which are written in this book. 20 He which testifieth these things saith, Surely I come quickly. Amen. Even so, come, Lord Jesus."

pations having been so often formed quite erroneously heretofore of the proximity of the consummation,—for example, in the apostolic age, before the destruction of Jerusalem,¹—then, during the persecutions of Pagan Rome,² then, on the breaking up of the old Roman Empire,³—then, at the close of the tenth century,⁴—then, at and after the Reformation,⁵ and still later even by writers of our own day,—I say the circumstance of all these numerous anticipations having been formed and zealously promulgated of the imminence of the second advent, which, notwithstanding, have by the event itself been shown to be unfounded, strongly tends to confirm us in our doubt and incredulity.—Yet to rest in scepticism simply and altogether upon such grounds would be evidently bad philosophy. For these are causes that would operate *always*; and that would make us be saying, *even up to the very eve and moment of the advent*, “Where is the promise of his coming?” Our true wisdom is to test each link of the chain of evidence by which we have been led to our conclusion, and see whether it will bear the testing;—to examine into the causes of previous demonstrated errors on the subject, and see whether we avoid them;—finally to consider whether the signs of the times now present be in all the sundry points that prophecy points out so peculiar, as to warrant a measure of confidence in our inference such as was never warranted before.

And certainly, on doing all this, it seems to me that the grounds of our conclusion are stable. Of the evidence of the continuous historical exposition of the Apocalyptic visions detailed in this Commentary, I have given an abstract in the first chapter of this its sixth and last division; and again I pray the reader, with my illustrative Chart before him, to consider, step by step, whether it be not conclusive. With such an extraordinary combination of evidence, antiquarian and historical, to support it, does it seem possible that we can

¹ See my Vol. i. p. 58.

² So Vol. i. pp. 199, 204—207.

³ See Vol. i. pp. 365, 370.

⁴ See Ib. 445, 446.

⁵ See Vol. ii. pp. 132—142.

have erred in our explanation of the four first Seals, with the emblematic horses and horsemen? and, if not, then in our application of the two next Seals? and, supported as it is by the parallel vision of the Covenant-Angel, Apoc. x, in that of the Sealing Vision? Brought so far satisfactorily, can we have erred in explaining the six first of that Trumpet-septenary of visions which evolves the seventh Seal, as fulfilled in the successive irruptions and woes of the Goths, Saracens, and Turks; especially considering the manner in which that most striking figuration of the Witnesses' death, resurrection, and ascension is wrapped up and included in the latter half of the Turkish woe last-mentioned, a figuration that we saw reason to interpret of the Reformation: or afterwards (in order of the Apocalyptic figurations) in explaining the 7th Trumpet-vision, and its earthquake, of the great French Revolution?—The perfect historical parallelism with the above *primary series* of visions of the *supplemental and retrogressive series* in Apoc. xii, xiii, concerning the Witnesses' slayer, the Beast from the abyss, and his reign for the same 1260 days' period that was predicated of the Witnesses prophesying in sackcloth, —I say the perfect historical parallelism of this new series with the former, when explained, on the year-day system, of the Popes and Popedom, and the manner in which we are thereby similarly brought down in history to the epoch of the French Revolution, cannot, I think, but strike the mind as furnishing very strong additional corroborative evidence of the correctness so far of the general interpretation.—And when, advancing yet a step further,—on the evidence (as recent history shows) alike of one and of the other of these two parallel and still continuous series of visions,—we find our present epoch fixed but just a very little before the consummation,—it being in the *one* series near upon the close of the sixth Vial, with its drying up of the Turkman Euphratean flood, and going forth of three spirits of delusion over the earth, such as are even now recognizable, to gather men to the battle of the great God;—in the *other* series under

the second or third of three flying angels, with their voices of gospel-preaching and anti-Papal warning, such as the world is even now hearing, just before the judgments of the harvest and the vintage, which last we saw reason to identify with the treading of the wine-press of his wrath, in the same battle of the great God, by the Son of Man at Armageddon,—when, I say, we find the double line of Apocalyptic prophecy thus combining to fix our position there where I have placed it, and on considering the evidence altogether, not as advocates or partizans, but as simple searchers for truth on the great point in question, can discern no flaw or chasm therein, to vitiate or render it imperfect, it is surely reason's dictate that we should bow to its strength and consistency, and acknowledge that such is indeed in high probability the very fact.

With regard to the mistaken views as to the nearness of the consummation entertained in other times and by other expositors of prophecy, the several causes of mistake are for the most part obvious ; and also that they are such as cannot, or do not, affect the grounds of our present conclusion. The *patristic expositors*, living early as they did in the Christian æra, had no long continuous chain of historic events before them, such as was essentially needed, in order to the right interpretation of the Apocalypse as a continuous prophecy. If they interpreted it at all, they could only generalize, agreeably with their general and vague anticipations of the future : chiefly with reference to the predicted Antichrist ; who, they knew, was to come on the dissolution of the Roman Empire, but whose duration (on their *day-day* system) they mistakingly limited to 1260 days.¹ So that they altogether lacked the Apocalyptic sea-marks which would have shown them how much yet remained of the voyage ere the harbour could be gained ; and made an error of reckoning, which *we* can be in no danger of repeating.—The same causes would have operated in a measure to prevent a perception of

¹ See Vol. iii. p. 232.

the truth through the earlier half of the *dark middle ages*, had there been then enough of intellectual energy and research (which there was not) to investigate Scripture prophecy : besides which Augustine's positive error respecting the Millennium,—an error detailed in my 5th preceding chapter,¹ and which descended to them from him with almost the authority of inspiration,—engendered that erroneous expectation of the immediate imminence of the judgment-day at *the close of the tenth century*, to which I have more than once made allusion.²—After the glorious *Reformation*, when both by the application of the Apocalyptic emblems of the Beast and Babylon to the Papacy and Rome, by the adoption also of the year-day system, and by discoveries in clearer and clearer light of the part that the Gothic Saracenic and Turkish woes had in the prophecy, a vast advance was made in prophetic intelligence, and elements brought into existence for sounder views as to the future,—still from the time of Luther, the Magdeburgh Centuriators, and Foxe, down to those successively of Brightman and Mede, Vitringa and Daubuz, and Sir Isaac and Bishop Newton, many chasms remain unsupplied, and important dates uncertified, in Apocalyptic interpretation : more especially because, as Sir I. Newton observed with characteristic sagacity,³ there remained unfulfilled in history the last predicted revolution, answering to the seventh Trumpet ; an event essential to the confirmation of some most important points of interpretation, and determination of others. So that what wonder if many mistaken anticipations were still formed and published, antedating the time of the end ?—Nor, even after that Trumpet had had (as it is conceived) its marked fulfilment in the *French Revolution*, were those causes of error by any means all removed. It necessarily took some time ere the mind of the investigator could calmly survey and judge of that great event. There was in

¹ p. 179 *suprà*.

Vol. i. p. 445.

² “ The time is not yet come for understanding these prophecies perfectly, because the main revolution predicted in them is not yet come to pass.”

England, (the only country in which religious truth and inquiry then had favour,) both at the outburst of the French Revolution, and for many years after it, a lamentable deficiency of learning and research : such as was needed to draw out the evidence, and argue accurately from it on the probabilities of the future. On many important points in the Apocalyptic prophecy there still rested great obscurity ; (I may say in particular, respecting *the Seals, the Sealing Vision, the whole Vision of the rainbow-circled Angel of the tenth Chapter, the death and resurrection of the Witnesses, the seventh and eighth Heads of the Beast, and the very form and structure of the prophecy itself* ;) and by necessary consequence, even among them that held to the Protestant and year-day principle, such variety and contrarieties of opinion respecting them, that much, very much remained evidently wanting, ere a complete and satisfactory explanation of that which related to the *past* could be given : and consequently ere we could be fitly prepared to form a judgment from *it* with any great confidence as to our own actual place in the prophecy, and the nearness of the great future consummation.—It is the author's hope and belief that this has now been done ; and, as before said, a continuous historical exposition given of the Apocalypse, on evidence irrefragable, and without a chasm or lacuna of importance unexplained, up to the present time. Whether this be so, or not, the reader will judge for himself. But, if it be, then it is evident that the most influential cause of former mistakes respecting the coming future must be considered as now done away with ; and a vantage-ground established for judging correctly respecting it, such as did not exist before.

In the arrangement of the great calendar of prophecy, and the adjustment of our own position on it, whether nearer to the final end or less near, it is evident that the *chronological predictions* (I mean those which involve chronological periods) must needs demand our most particular attention.—First and foremost in importance

is the memorable prophecy of the 1260 years of the Beast or Antichrist, six times repeated in the Apocalyptic vision, and three in Daniel. It comprehends the Beast's reign, in recognized supremacy over the Roman Empire, in its last divided and apostatized state; or rather the reign of the Beast's last Head, Antichrist. And we have seen that by that grand illustrative event of our latter day, *the French Revolution*, the commencement and end of the period (I should say its *primary* commencement and end) have been fixed on, I think, almost decisive evidence at about the years A.D. 530 and 1790 respectively: the one the epoch of Justinian's Decree and Code, recognizing the Pope's supremacy as Christ's pretended Vicar or Antichrist;¹ the other that of the French revolutionary outbreak and code, giving to the Pope's supremacy and power a deadly blow through Western Christendom:² the interval between them being just 1260 years. We also saw that in one of his prophecies, Daniel appended to what seemed to be the same identical period, yet a further addition of *thirty*, and *forty-five*, or conjointly of *seventy-five* years, as still to intervene before the times of blessedness:³ so fixing the year 1865, or thereabouts, as the probable epoch of the consummation.—Now what I here wish to set before the reader, with a view to his seeing the strength of the corroborative evidence hence arising, on the point in question, is the probable convergency *within this same seventy-five years' interval*, of the terminating epochs of almost every other chronological scripture prophecy, or preintimation, that has reference to the *time of the end*. Thus 1st, when our progressing mundane chronology reaches the *thirtieth* year beyond A. D. 1790, it meets the end of the long line of 2300 years in one of Daniel's visions,⁴ calculated from the epoch of the emblematic Persian ram's acme of conquering power, and which was to mark the destined epoch of the fall of the Turkman

¹ See Vol. iii. pp. 252—254, with references there given.

² See my Part v. Chap. v, beginning Vol. iii. p. 347.

³ See pp. 168—170 *suprà*.

⁴ See Vol. iii. pp. 392—396.

empire:—2. when it reaches yet *forty-five* years further, i. e. at the epoch of about A. D. 1865, it meets the secondary terminating epoch of the 1260 years, calculated from that which may be deemed a secondary commencement of them in the Popedom-favouring Decree of Phocas.¹ These concurrences, as having been previously discussed, need but a cursory re-mentioning.—3. The *third* synchronism that I have to notice, and which will detain us longer, is that of the probable termination of the world's 6000th year, dated from the Creation, just at about the same interval of *seventy-five* years from the year 1790 of our æra: in other words, the concurrence at that chronological point of the opening epoch of the world's seventh millenary, and therefore (as would seem probable) of that of the *sabbatism of rest* promised to the saints of God.

For, as I have just hinted in the preceding chapter,² the apostle Paul's use of the word *σαββατισμος*, *sabbatism*, to designate the saints' expected glorious *rest* with Christ, may be not unreasonably considered as almost an apostolic recognition³ of the early and well-known Jewish⁴

¹ See Vol. iii. pp. 254, 255.

² p. 218 *suprà*.

³ So *Osiander*, about the time of the Reformation. "De quâ requie sempiternâ ad Hebræos, cap. 4, ita loquitur Apostolus, ut hoc ipsum mysterium nobis, veluti digito, commonstrare videatur."

⁴ So the *Rabbi Eliezer*, cap. xviii. p. 41, as Whitby on Heb. iv. 9, quotes him: "The blessed Lord created seven worlds (i. e. *αιωνες*, *ages*;) but one of them is all *sabbath*, and rest in life eternal." "Where," adds Dr. Whitby, "he refers to their (the Jews) common opinion that the world should continue 6000 years, and then a perpetual sabbath begin, typified by God's resting the seventh day, and blessing it." For *perpetual*, Whitby should have perhaps said a *millennial* sabbath; it being *αιωνιος* in the sense in which the *αιωνες*, or *ages*, before mentioned, were each *millennial*. So in the *Midras Till*. p. 4, the same Rabbi Eliezer says, "The days of Messiah are 1000 years."—And so too *Bereschith Rabba*, quoted also by Whitby; "It we expound the seventh day of the seventh thousand years, which is *the world to come*, the exposition is, 'He blessed it,' because that in the seventh thousand all souls shall be bound up in the bundle of life. So our Rabbins of blessed memory have said in their Commentaries on, 'God blessed the seventh day,' the Holy Ghost blessed the *world to come*, which beginneth in the *seventh thousand of years*."—Whitby also adds that *Philo* is copious on the same subject; stating that the *sabbaths* of the law were *allegories*, or *figurative expressions*. With which view we may compare St. Paul's declaration in Col. ii. 16, 17, "in respect of the *sabbath-days*, which are a *shadow of things to come*." σκια των μελλοντων.

The general opinion of the Jews was, that the world was to be 2000 years *without the law*, 2000 *under the law*, and 2000 *under the Messiah*. This is still called by the Jews "a tradition of the house of Elias," an eminent Rabbi that

opinion that Messiah's kingdom of blessedness would occupy the seventh millennium of the world, agreeably with the type of the seventh days' sabbatism of rest after the six days of creation : especially seeing that it was *Hebrew* Christians whom he was then addressing ; and that by them the word thus chosen could not but be almost necessarily associated, alike from its etymology and use, with some chronological septenary.¹ In fact among the Christian fathers that succeeded on the apostolic age, this view of the matter was universally received and promulgated.²—Which being so, the chronological

lived before the birth of Christ ; who also taught that in the *seventh millenary* the earth would be renewed, and the righteous dead raised, no more again to be turned to dust : also that the just then alive should mount up with wings as eagles : so that in that day they would not need to fear, though the mountains (Psalm xlv. 2) should be cast into the midst of the sea. Mede, Book iv. p. 951.

¹ Insomuch that, as Schleusner observes on the word, *Σαββατον*, the Septuagint translation sometimes render the word *Πενήντη* by *ἐβδομας*.—It is a word applied to the seventh year of rest in the Mosaic law, as well as to the seventh day of rest. See Lev. xxv. 4, &c.

² I may specify the *pseudo-Barnabas* (a writer of unquestionably a very early age in the Church) *Irenæus*, *Cyprian*, *Lactantius*.

1. *Barnabas*. Καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐν ἑξ ἡμέραις τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ συνετέλεσεν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἑβδόμῃ, καὶ κατέπαυσεν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ἡγίασεν αὐτήν. Προσεχετε τέκνα τι λέγει το συνετέλεσεν ἐν ἑξ ἡμέραις· τὸτο λέγει ὅτι συντελεῖ ὁ Θεὸς Κύριος ἐν ἑξακισχiliois ετεσι τὰ πάντα. Ἡ γὰρ ἡμέρα παρ' αὐτῷ χιλία ἐτη. αὐτοὺς δὲ μαρτυρεῖ λέγων, Ἴδὲ σημερον ἡμέρα ἐσὶ ὡς χιλία ἐτη. Οὐκ ἐν τέκνῳ ἐν ἑξ ἡμέραις, ἐν ἑξακισχiliois ετεσι, συντελεσθήσεται τὰ πάντα. Καὶ κατέπαυσε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἑβδόμῃ. Τὸτο λέγει ὅταν ἐλθῶν ὁ Υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ καταργήσῃ τὸν καιρὸν ἀνομῆς, καὶ κρίνῃ τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς, καὶ ἀλλάξῃ τὸν ἥλιον, καὶ τὴν σελήνην, καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας, τότε καλῶς καταπαύσεται ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἑβδόμῃ.

2. *Irenæus*. Ὅσαις ἡμέραις ἐγενετο ὁ κόσμος, τοσούτοις χιλιοῦντασι συντελεῖται. Καὶ διὰ τὸτο φησὶν ἡ γραφή, Καὶ συνετέλεσθησαν ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ, καὶ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος αὐτῶν· καὶ συνετέλεσεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ 5' τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ ἃ ἐποίησε, καὶ κατέπαυσεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ 6' ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ. Τὸτο δ' ἐστὶ τῶν προγεγονότων διηγήσις, καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων προφητεία : ἡ γὰρ ἡμέρα Κυρίου ὡς χιλία ἐτη. Adv. Hær. v. ad fin.

3. *Cyprian*. "Primi in dispositione divinâ septem dies annorum septem millia continentes." De Exh. Mart. 11.

4. *Lactantius*. "Quoniam sex diebus cuncta Dei opera perfecta sunt, per secula sex, id est annorum sex millia manere in hoc statu mundum necesse est. Et rursus quoniam perfectis operibus requievit die septimo, eumque benedixit, necesse est ut in fine sexti millesimi anni malitia omnis aboleatur à terrâ, et regnet per annos mille justitia." vii. 14.

5. *Ambrose*. "Quia cum septimo die requieverit Deus ab omnibus operibus suis, post hebdomadam istius mundi quies diuturna promittitur." In Luc. viii. 23.

For notices to the same effect from *Jerome* and *Augustine* see my Vol. i. pp. 372, 373.—*Feuardentius* in his Note on the passage quoted above from *Irenæus*, adds *Hilary* on Matt. xviii, and the Author of the *Quæst. ad Orthodox* Quæst. 71.

It is to be observed that the anti-premillennarian fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries explained the *sabbatical* seventh day as typical, not of a *seventh sabbat-*

question on which I have now to enter, becomes one of really important bearing on the point in hand ; I mean the question, *what the world's present age*, dated from Adam's creation, and *when the termination of its sixth millenary*. Nor is there wanting the evidence requisite for our attaining a near approximation to this notable epoch. Mr. Clinton, in his Essay on Hebrew Chronology, appended to the third volume of his late learned work entitled *Fasti Hellenici*, has greatly elucidated the subject. Setting aside the many mundane chronologies, such as Hales has enumerated, based (if such a word may be used) on the baseless foundation of authorities that altogether lack authority, our only real appeal is to Scripture.—And here, on the great primary disputed question of the *Patriarchal chronologies*, and whether it be the *Hebrew* text with its shorter chronology, that has by fraud been robbed of *eleven centuries*, or the *Septuagint* with its longer, that has had them fraudulently added,¹ (for that the difference is the result of design is

ical Millennium of rest, but an *eternal sabbath* :—a view generally adopted afterwards.

¹ The following tabular schemes exhibit the variations; the numbers expressing the parent's age at the son's birth, except in the cases of Noah and Shem.

Antediluvian Patriarchs.					Postdiluvian Patriarchs.				
	Hebr.	Samr.	lxx.	Joseph.		Hebr.	Samr.	lxx.	Joseph.
1. Adam	130	130	230	230	11. Shem (aged 100 at the Flood) ..	2	2	2	12
2. Seth.....	105	105	205	205	12. Arphaxad	35	135	135	135
3. Enos	90	90	190	190	[Cainan spurious	130	..]
4. Cainan	70	70	170	170	13. Salah	30	130	130	130
5. Mahalaleel.....	65	65	165	165	14. Heber	34	134	134	134
6. Jared	162	62	162	162	15. Peleg.....	30	130	130	130
7. Enoch	65	65	165	(1)65*	16. Reu	32	132	132	130
8. Methuselah.....	187	67	187	187	17. Serug	30	130	130	132
9. Lamech	182	53	188	182	18. Nahor	29	79	79	120
10. Noah (at the flood)	600	600	600	600	19. Terah (Gen. xi. 32, xli. 4.)	130	130	130	130
* 165 is doubtless the correct reading. } Total					So to Abraham				
1656					352 1002 1002 1053				

a thing evident, and long since noted by Augustine,¹) the answer seems on every account to be in favour of the Hebrew text:—considering *first*, the superior reverence and almost superstitious care with which the Hebrew text was watched over, as compared with the Septuagint; ²—*next*, the wonderful uniformity of the numerals of the Hebrew text, in all its multitudes of manuscripts existing in different parts of the world, contrasted with the varieties and uncertainty of the numerals in the Septuagint and Samaritan; ³—considering *further* the general agreement of the Samaritan with

¹ In the Antediluvian Table (where the question is between the Hebrew and Josephus), the *years before the son's birth* and the *residues* agree in *all* cases with the totals of the lives; except that in the Samaritan the *residues* in the sixth, eighth, and ninth are shortened, to adapt them to the shorter period between Jared and the flood. Thus,

in the Hebrew and Samaritan <i>Adam</i> has	130 + 800 = 930.
.... Septuagint and Josephus	230 + 700 = 930.
Again in the Hebrew and Samaritan <i>Seth</i> has	105 + 807 = 912.
.... Septuagint and Josephus	205 + 707 = 912.

This can only have been by design. So Augustine Civ. Dei. xv. 13; "Videtur habere quamdam, si dici potest, error ipse constantiam; nec casum redolet sed industriam." And so Mr. Clinton.

² The Jews even counted the letters of their Bible.

³ Professor Baumgarten, of Halle, in his Remarks on Universal History, observes; "Both the Samaritan copy and the Greek version abound in various readings, with respect to their different chronologies, and frequently contradict themselves: whereas the Hebrew is uniform and consistent in all its copies." And Mr. Kennedy, in his Chronology of the World, says, that in examining the Hebrew Text he "was not able to discover one various reading in that multitude of numeral words and letters which constitute the scriptural series of years from the Creation to the death of Nebuchadnezzar."

I quote this from a Paper on the subject, in the Christian Observer for May 1802, p. 287; and, in further illustration of the uniformity of the Hebrew copies in respect of their numerals, may add that the *Chaldee Paraphrase of Onkelos*, written about the time of Christ, agrees with the Hebrew chronologies,—that the same are recognized in the *two Talmuds*,—and that Dr. Wolff informs me that "in the ancient manuscripts which he saw at Bokhara, the chronological notices of the length of lives both of the antediluvian and the postdiluvian patriarchs were exactly according to the received Hebrew text, though the letters of the manuscripts resembled Samaritan."

It is to be observed further that the manuscript from which our *Samaritan Pentateuch* was published, being written about A. D. 1400, was consequently not nearly so old as many Hebrew manuscripts. And in *earlier* existing copies of it we know that there were certain variations to the numerals, more accordant with the Hebrew. See Note ¹ p. 260.

Of the errors of the *Septuagint* numerals in many copies a notable example is given by Augustine, *ibid*. For it seems that in almost all the copies then extant, *Methuselah* was made to have begotten Lamech at the age of 167, and to have lived 802 years after: that is, *fourteen years after the flood*, on the Septuagint chronology itself, though we know that no men but Noah, Shem, Ham, and Japhet, were preserved alive through it!

the Hebrew in the chronology of the *antediluvian* patriarchs,¹ and its thus fixing the fraud in that table at least, and by probable consequence in the *postdiluvian* table also, on the Septuagint:—considering *moreover* the better agreement of historical fact with the Hebrew than with the Septuagint;² and the more easily supposable object³ with the Septuagint translators than with the keepers of the Hebrew text, as well as better opportunity,⁴

¹ Viz. in the cases of all but the sixth, eighth, and ninth Patriarchs. Here the Samaritan *residues* are shortened to adapt them to the shorter period, made by the shorter *genealogies* corresponding between Jared and the flood; to the intent that these Patriarchs might not be thought to have been involved in it. But we are told by Jerome (so the compilers of our English Universal History have remarked) that in his time there were some Samaritan copies which made *Methuselah's* and *Lamech's* ages, at the birth of their sons, the same as the Hebrew.

² On the two points alleged in their own favour by the advocates of the Septuagint Chronology, Mr. Clinton quite turns the tables against them.—1st, as to the age of the *παρθενία*, which these writers have placed after the lapse of one third of life, Mr. C. says that it appears from Scripture to have been in the Patriarchial age as early as it is now; Judah being at forty-eight a great-grandfather,—Benjamin having at thirty, eleven sons, &c.—2. As to the *Dispersion at Babel*, which the Septuagintarians say implies a mundane population such as could not have been according to the *Hebrew* postdiluvian chronology, Mr. C. answers, that under favourable circumstances even now it has been calculated that population may be doubled in *ten* years; that cases are known where it has doubled for short periods in less than *thirteen* years; and that in the older case of the Israelities in Egypt, and later of certain parts of the North American colonies, the population doubled itself in *fifteen* years:—that the circumstances of the first families after the flood were precisely the most favourable to increase of population, with all the arts of the antediluvian world, unoccupied land to a boundless extent before them, and lives extended to 500, 400, and 200 years:—that thus we may reasonably assume twelve years, at the most, as that of the population doubling itself: on which assumption the population of the earth, derived from the stock of six parents, would in 276 years amount to above fifty millions, and in 300 years to two hundred millions. Even at the rate of fifteen years it would have reached two hundred millions in 373 years from the flood, i. e. in the twenty-fourth year of Abraham.—Now at the time of the Dispersion, had the world's population *then* amounted to many millions, men would have been *forced* by their wants to disperse; whereas the Sacred History tells us that it took place *contrary to the wishes of men*, who desired all to dwell together. A population of about 50,000 would just answer the probabilities of the case. And *this* number must have been reached within 160 years from the flood; i. e. about the sixtieth years of Peleg (according to the Hebrew chronology); in whose days it is said, Gen. x. 25, that the Dispersion occurred.

³ Jackson allows that it is difficult to see the motives of the Jews in shortening the patriarchal genealogies. On the other hand the Septuagint translators had an obvious motive for enlarging the chronology. The Chaldeans and Egyptians (whose histories were about this time published by Berosus and Manetho) laid claim to a remote antiquity. Hence these translators of the Pentateuch might have been led in a spirit of rivalry to augment the amount of the generations of their ancestors, alike by the centenary additions, and by the interpolation (as Hales himself allows it is) of the second *Cainaan*.

⁴ Augustine, whose four chapters on this subject (C. D. xv. 10—14) well de-

for falsifying in the matter.—This point settled,¹ there remain but *two small chasms* in the Hebrew chronology to fill up, and *one doubtful point* to settle, arising from a difference between an Old Testament statement and one in the New Testament, in order to the completion of our chronological table. The *chasms* are, 1st, that from Moses' death to the first servitude ;² 2ndly, that between Samson's death and Saul's election to the kingdom :³ of neither of which could the length be *much* longer or shorter than thirty or forty years.⁴ The *doubtful point* alluded to concerns the same period of the Judges : it being whether the reckoning given in Kings vi. 1. of the

serve attentive perusal, has put this point very strongly. Which, says he, is most credible : that the Jews, dispersed over all the world, should have conspired together to defraud their scriptures and themselves of *truth*, the exclusive possession of which is so much their boast ; or that the seventy Greek translators, united together in conclave by King Ptolemy, should have managed to falsify the numerals ? He adds, as his own solution of the matter, that it was after all probably not the *translators*, but the *first transcriber* of the manuscripts from the original in the Royal Library, that introduced the error ; "Scriptoris tributur errori qui de Bibliothecâ supradicti Regis codicem describendum primus accepit :—" and concludes thus ; "Ei linguæ potius credatur unde est in aliam per interpretes facta translatio."—Augustine's testimony is the more valuable and remarkable because he was himself originally (see the Note in Vol. i. p. 373.) a Septuagintarian in chronology. At the conclusion of the C. D. however he measures the six periods of the world preceding its septenary period, or sabbath, by *æras*, not *millennaries* : the 1st to the Flood, 2nd to Abraham, 3rd to David, 4th to the Babylonish Captivity, 5th to Christ, and 6th that after Christ. C. D. xxii. 30. 5.

¹ It is to be observed, as Mr. Clinton remarks, that the question is not an *indefinite* one, from want of testimony, so as in the case of the early chronology of Greece. The uncertainty is one arising from two different distinct testimonies. We have only to decide which is the genuine and authentic copy. Either the space *before the flood* was 1656 years, or it was 2256. Either the period from the flood to the call of Abraham was 352 years, or it was 1002. "These periods could not be greater than the greatest of them, or less than the least."

² This period is that comprehended in Josh. xxiv. 31 ; "And Israel served the Lord all the days of Joshua, and all the days of the elders that overlived Joshua, and which had known all the works of the Lord that he had done for Israel."

³ Compare Judg. xv. 20, xvi. 31, and 1 Sam. iv. 1, vii. 13, xii. 2.

⁴ Mr. Brooks, in the Preface to his late history of the Jews, p. xiii, argues that the interval from Moses' death to Joshua's must probably have been longer, because of Joshua being called יְדִיד, *a young man* in Exod. xxxiii, 11 and Numb. xi. 28, with reference to the second year after the Exodus. But this Hebrew word is used to designate *servants* also (compare Gen. xxii. 3, &c.) ; and Joshua is so called in the places above cited as the servant of Moses. (So Kimchi explains this appellation of Joshua, in Zech. ii. 7 : and so, I may add, Ambrose comments on Gen. xxiv. 2 ; "Etiam senioris ætatis servuli *pueri* dicantur à dominis.") Thus the appellation can no more be argued from than the French word *garçon*, or English *postboy*.—Moreover, at the time of the division of the land, seven years after Moses' death, (Josh. xiv. 10,) Joshua is said (ibid. xiii. 1) to have been "old and stricken in years."—Thus Mr. Clinton seems fairly to have estimated Joshua's age at the time of the spies at about forty ; it being

interval from the Exodus to the building of Solomon's temple at 480 years be the correct one,¹ or that by St. Paul, in Acts xiii. 18—22, at about 580.² Mr. Clinton, not without reason, as it seems to me, prefers the latter.³ And thus, completing his table, he makes the

the then age of his associate Caleb also, who overlived him. See Judg. i. 1, 9—12. If so, as Joshua was 110 years at his death, (see Josh. xxiv. 29,) the interval must have been 110—(38 + 40) = 32.

¹ 1 Kings vi. 1; "It came to pass in the 480th year after the children of Israel were come out of the land of Egypt, in the fourth year of Solomon's reign over Israel, that he began to build the house of the Lord.

² Acts xiii. 18; "Forty years suffered he their manners in the wilderness: and when he had destroyed seven nations in Canaan, he divided their land to them by lot: and after that, he gave unto them judges about the space of four hundred and fifty years, until Samuel the prophet. And afterward they desired a king: and God gave them Saul."

³ Because the *servitudes* must be included in the periods of *rest*, on the shorter system; which inclusion seems directly contrary to the tenor of the Scripture statements. (But for this the Hebrew might reasonably be deemed of the greater weight; and St. Paul's 450 years be explained either, as Whitby prefers, by reference to the then current Septuagint chronology; or possibly, not probably, as Usher, by supposing it the measure of the time from Abraham to the division of the lands, not from the division of the lands to Samuel.)*—A chronological table of this period, formed from the express declarations in the Book of Judges, is given below:—it being premised that *Chusan's* oppression followed (Judg. iii. 7) on Israel's *first* apostacy to the worship of Baalim, on the death of the elders that overlived Joshua.

Servitudes.	years.	Rests and Judges.	years.
1st. Chusan (Judg. iii. 8.)	8	1st. Rest (Judg. iii. 11.) . . .	40
2nd. Eglon (iii. 14.) . . .	18	2nd. . . . (iii. 30.) . . .	80
3rd. Jabin (iv. 3.) . . .	20	3rd. . . . (v. 21.) . . .	40
4th. Midian (vi. 1.) . . .	7	4th. ("the days of Gideon," viii. 28.)	40
		Abimelech's judging (ix. 22.) . . .	3
		Tola's do. (x. 2.) . . .	23
		Jair's do. (x. 3.) . . .	22
5th. Ammon (x. 8.) . . .	18	Jepthah do. (xii. 7.) . . .	6
		Ibzan, Elon, Abdon, (xii. 1—14.) . . .	25
6th. Philistines (xiii. 1.) . . .	40	[Samson 20 years, and Eli.]	
	111		279

This last Philistinian servitude of forty years appears to have included the judge-ships of both *Samson* and *Eli*: the former being said (xv. 20, xvi. 31) to have judged Israel "in the days of the Philistines;" and the latter to have died from

* So too Calmet, quoted to that effect by Dr. A. Clarke. In order to this construction of the passage from near the beginning of verse 17, to the end of verse 19, in Acts xiii. must be construed parenthetically thus:—

Ὁ Θεὸς τὸ λαὸν τῆς Ἰσραὴλ ἐξελεξάτο τὰς πατέρας ἡμῶν. (Καὶ τὸν λαὸν ὕψωσεν ἐν τῇ παροικίᾳ ἐν γῇ Αἰγύπτῳ, καὶ μετὰ βραχίονος ὕψηλες ἐξηγάγεον αὐτοὺς ἐξ αὐτῆς.

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THE SCRIPTURE CHRONOLOGY OF THE WORLD.

A.M.	Creation of Adam	to the birth of Seth	130 yrs.	Gen. v.	3. "Adam lived 130 years and begat a son. . . and called his name Seth."
30	Seth born	Enos	105	v.	6. "Seth lived 105 years, and begat Enos."
235	Enos born	Cainan	90	v.	9. "Enos lived 90 years, and begat Cainan."
325	Cainan born	Mahalaleel	70	v.	12. "Cainan lived 70 years, and begat Mahalaleel."
395	Mahalaleel born	Jared	65	v.	15. "Mahalaleel lived 65 years, and begat Jared."
460	Jared born	Enoch	162	v.	18. "Jared lived 162 years, and begat Enoch."
622	Enoch born	Methuselah	65	v.	21. "Enoch lived 65 years, and begat Methuselah."
687	Methuselah born	Lamech	187	v.	25. "Methuselah lived 187 years, and begat Lamech."
874	Lamech born	Noah	182	v.	28, 29. "Lamech lived 182 years, and begat a son, and he called his name Noah."
1056	Noah born	to the Flood	600	vii.	6. "Noah was 600 years old when the Flood of waters was upon the earth."
1226	The Christian Era	to the present year	1846		
5974	The present year A.D.				

5974 years, since the Creation of Man.

date of the creation to be about 4138 B.C. ;¹ and consequently the end of the 6000 years of the world, and grief at their defeat of Israel, and capture of the ark. Their supremacy continued until Samuel's defeat of them near Mizpeh, of which the stone Ebenezer was the record,¹ 1 Sam. vii. 12 : after which Israel had rest "all the days of Samuel;" (ib. 13 ;) until he was old, (viii. 1,) and anointed Saul king.

Thus the *time of the Judges*, exclusive of *Joshua* and *Samuel*, appears from these numbers to have been 390 years : and if we add 30 years for Joshua and the Egypt-born elders that over-lived Joshua, reckoned from after the time of the conquest and division of Canaan, (about 7 years having intervened between that event and Moses' death), and 30 years more for Samuel's judge-ship after the Philistines' defeat, it exactly makes up St. Paul's "about the space of 450 years." Add 7 for the conquest of Canaan, 40 for the wilderness, 40 for Saul, and 40 for David : and then the 4th year of Solomon comes to about the 580th year from the Exode ; instead of the 480th, as the Hebrew text defines it in 1 Kings vi. 1. —And therefore the only solution of the difficulty that I see is by supposing a mistaken reading in our Hebrew copies of 480 for 580.

B. C.	A. M.		years.
4138		Adam	
2482	1656	The Deluge*	1656
2130	2008	Birth of Abraham	352
2055	2083	The Call	75
1625	2513	The Exode	430
1585	2553	Death of Moses	40
1558	2580	First Servitude (by conjecture)	27
1128	3010	Death of Eli	430
1096	3042	Election of Saul (by conjecture)	32
1056	3082	David	40
1016	3122	Solomon	40
976	3162	Rehoboam	40
587	3551	Zedekiah's Captivity	389

On the fly-leaf is appended in illustration a Tabular Scheme of this Scripture

Και ὡς τεσσαρεκονταετη χρονον ετροποφορησεν αυτες εν τη ερημῳ. Και καθελων εθνη εἵκτα εν γῆ Χανααν, κατεκληροδοτησεν αυτοις την γην αυτων.) Και μετα ταυτα ὡς ετεσι τετρακοσιοις και πεντηκοντα, εδωκε κριτας εἰς Σαμειλ το προφητα.

In order to make out the 450 years on this view, the chronological epoch of God's choosing the fathers of the Jewish people, referred to in verse 17, is fixed at the birth of Isaac ; from which to the division of the land by lot is by some chronologists (not by Mr. Clinton) made 452 years. But it seems to me that the necessity of dating from Isaac's birth, instead of Abraham's call, in order on any chronological system to make out the time from the "choosing of the fathers," to the division of Canaan not more than 450 years, constitutes a strong objection to this solution of the passage. Besides that the *μετα ταυτα*, after *these things*, in the plural, seems to make it imperative on us that we should date the 450 years from the end of *the succession of events* that the apostle had just been particularizing, not from the *one* event of the choice of the fathers first mentioned.

* I am informed by the Rev. Mr. Squire, who was some time in China, that there is on two important epochs of early mundane chronology, a considerable correspondence between the *Chinese* and the *Scriptural* Chronology ; viz. that of the *Deluge*, and of the *seven years of general famine* under Joseph. The Chinese date the *Deluge*, A.M. 1713, and the *seven years of famine*, B.C. 1729. So, he says, in Morison's View of China, and a work by Professor Kidd.—As to the *seven years of famine*, many of my readers may have seen the very interesting apparent reference to it in one of the ancient Hamyaritic inscriptions on the

opening of the seventh Millennium, *by approximation*, about A.D. 1862:—the same year, very nearly, that we before fixed on as the epoch of the consummation, on quite different data.

I must add yet a word besides on two or three other

Chronology, with the scriptural authorities in brief; drawn up by my friend and brother, the Rev. C. Bowen.*

rocks of the Southern Arab coast, beyond Aden, explained by Mr. Forster, in his Historical Geography of Arabia. On which, see my Note ², Vol. i. p. 420.

* In the *Jewish Calendar*, as lately edited by Mr. Lindo, (a publication replete with Jewish learning, and sanctioned by the Chief Rabbi in London, Solomon Hirschell,) there appear several most material variations from the above Chronological Table; involving a difference from Mr. Clinton's in the *Æra* of the World altogether of 340 years. The following are the points of variation:—

1. Agreeing with Mr. C. in dating the Deluge, A.M. 1656, it makes the birth, and consequently the call too, of Abraham sixty years earlier. This arises from the supposition of Abraham's being the *eldest* of Terah's three sons, born when Terah was seventy years old, Gen. xi. 26:—a supposition quite unnecessary; as Abraham's *first mention* among the three sons no more implies his *primogeniture* than Shem's first mention, Gen. x. 1, among Noah's three sons, of whom however Japhet is in Gen. x. 21 expressly declared the eldest: and which is directly contradicted by the statement, Gen. xii. 4, that Abraham was seventy-five years old when he left Haran; compared with Acts vii. 4, which says that it was at Terah's death that Abraham left that country, and with Gen. xi. 32, which says that Terah died in Haran at the age of 205 years.—2. There is in it the further difference of 100 years less between this event and Solomon's completion of the Temple; a difference grounded mainly on the circumstance of the Jews calculating by the chronological statement in 1 Kings vi. 1, noted by me in the text. 3. The Jewish Calendar shortens the interval between Solomon and Zedekiah's captivity fifteen years: and 4. that between Zedekiah and the Christian *Æra* yet 165 years. By the latter most gross and extraordinary falsification of a period as well ascertained as that between our Richard the First and the time now present, the Jewish Rabbies make the interval between the first destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonians, and second by the Romans, just about 490 years.—Thus there is nothing in the Jewish mundane chronology to affect the accuracy of Mr. Clinton's.

Let me add that the early Reformers noticed, and were struck with, the last mentioned strange error in the Jewish chronology; and referred it to the Jews' identification of *Darius Hystaspis* (father to Xerxes) with *the last Darius* conquered by Alexander, and obliteration from their calendar of all the Persian kings intervening. So *Melancthon* on Dan. ix: "Hæc series (i.e. of the Persian kings) nota est eruditibus omnibus; et inscitia Judæorum recentium vituperanda est, qui fingunt non plures fuisse reges Persicos quàm quatuor, et propter hanc inscitiam omittunt ex serie annorum mundi centum annos." And *Osiander*, De Ult. Tempor. ch. i.: "Quòd autem Judæi ab orbe condito ad Christum 200 annis fere minus numerant quàm nos, in causâ sunt, cùm alii multi errores, tùm vero ille omnium maximus quòd Darium Hystaspis, sub quo templum ædificatum est, et Darium ab Alexandro devictum pro eodem habeant, ac sex tantùm annis regnasse putent; cùm ab initio regni unius (Darii) usque ad finem alterius, etiam secundùm Ptolemæum, 192 anni intercesserint."—But *why* this abbreviation? I have no where seen a reason stated. It is curious, however, that by it the interval between the first destruction of the Temple and the second is reduced, as before observed, to about 490 years; the precise equivalent to the *seventy weeks* of Daniel: and is (as I learn from a Jew) so stated by the Jews, by a kind of *memoria technica*. I cannot therefore but suspect that to constitute the interval this prophetic term of years may have been the abbreviator's object.

more dubious, yet very interesting and important prophetic periods. And, 1st, on the *seven times of Nebuchadnezzar's insanity and state of bestialism*.¹ These, calculated after the *year-day* system, on the hypothesis of the Babylonish king's insanity figuring that of the great empires which he then headed, in their state of heathen aberration from God, (an hypothesis on the truth of which I do not myself entertain much doubt,) terminate, —if dated from the time, B.C. 727, when the Assyrians under Shalmanezer² first acted the *wild beast's* part against Israel,—about the year 1793; that is, at the epoch of the French Revolution, and the coincident going forth of the gospel-message to evangelize the heathen: doubtless a very remarkable synchronism: especially considering that the bisecting point of these *seven times* is then A.D. 533; the very commencing epoch, with Justinian's Decree, of the *three and a half times* of the Papal Antichrist. Of course if calculated from Nebuchadnezzar's own accession and invasion of Judah, B.C. 606, the end is much later, being A.D. 1914; just one half century, or jubilean period, from our probable date of the opening of the Millennium.—2. If, as some would have it, and not perhaps altogether without reason, the remarkable form of expression in which the period of “the *hour and day and month and year* is couched,”³ concerning the Turkman's invasion of Christendom, be meant to signify the time *for* which, as well as the time *within* which, the Turks should occupy the throne of the Greek or Western Empire, and

¹ Dan. iv. The figure is somewhat otherwise applied by Cowper to the wretchedness and ruined hopes of a prisoner;

———— Like the visionary emblem seen
By him of Babylon, life stands a stump,
And filleted about with hoops of brass
Still lives, though all his pleasant boughs are gone.

² Jer. l. 17; “Israel is a scattered sheep; the lions have driven him away; first the King of Assyria hath devoured him; last this Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, hath broken his bones.”

³ ‘ὁ ἡτοιμασμενος εἰς τὴν ὥραν καὶ ἡμέραν καὶ μῆνα καὶ ἐνιαυτὸν, ἵνα ἀποκτείνῃ τὸ τρίτον τῶν ἀνθρώπων. Mr. Birks mentions here a various reading from Matthæi. But I do not see that either Griesbach, Scholz, or Tregelles, note any different reading of authority.

so the capture of Constantinople were to be the bisecting point between their primary going forth against Greek Christendom under Togrul Beg, and their ultimate ejection from it,—then the end of the second period will fall about 396 years from the fall of Constantinople, or A.D. 1849.¹—3. If, as Messrs. Bickersteth and Birks would construe it, the *χρονος εκ εσται ετι* in the Angel's oath in Apoc. x. 7 be meant, "*A year shall not elapse ere the consummation*," i. e. a prophetic year, whether 360, or 365 natural years,—and though I do not myself so construe it, yet it seems to me quite worth the notice as being at least possible,²—then the termination of this period also will fall on our chronological line yet but a little distance further, and there mark the bounding limit, the *ne plus ultra*, if I may so call it, of our present mundane chronology, at A.D. 1877 or 1872.³

¹ See my Vol. iii. p. 404.

² The difficulty in the way of thus taking the passage is because the Angel uses the word *χρονος*, not *καιρος*; which latter is the word *always* used in the Septuagint and Apocalypse of the mystical periods of the *time, times, and half a time*. See my Vol. ii. p. 123.

The want of the article is the point most in favour of Mr. Birks' view. And it is curious that on one occasion, according to his Table Talk, Luther expressed an opinion that perhaps the world might last yet 300 years more, before the consummation. But this, however, was contrary alike to his earlier anticipations and latest aspirations. See Vol. ii. pp. 132—136.

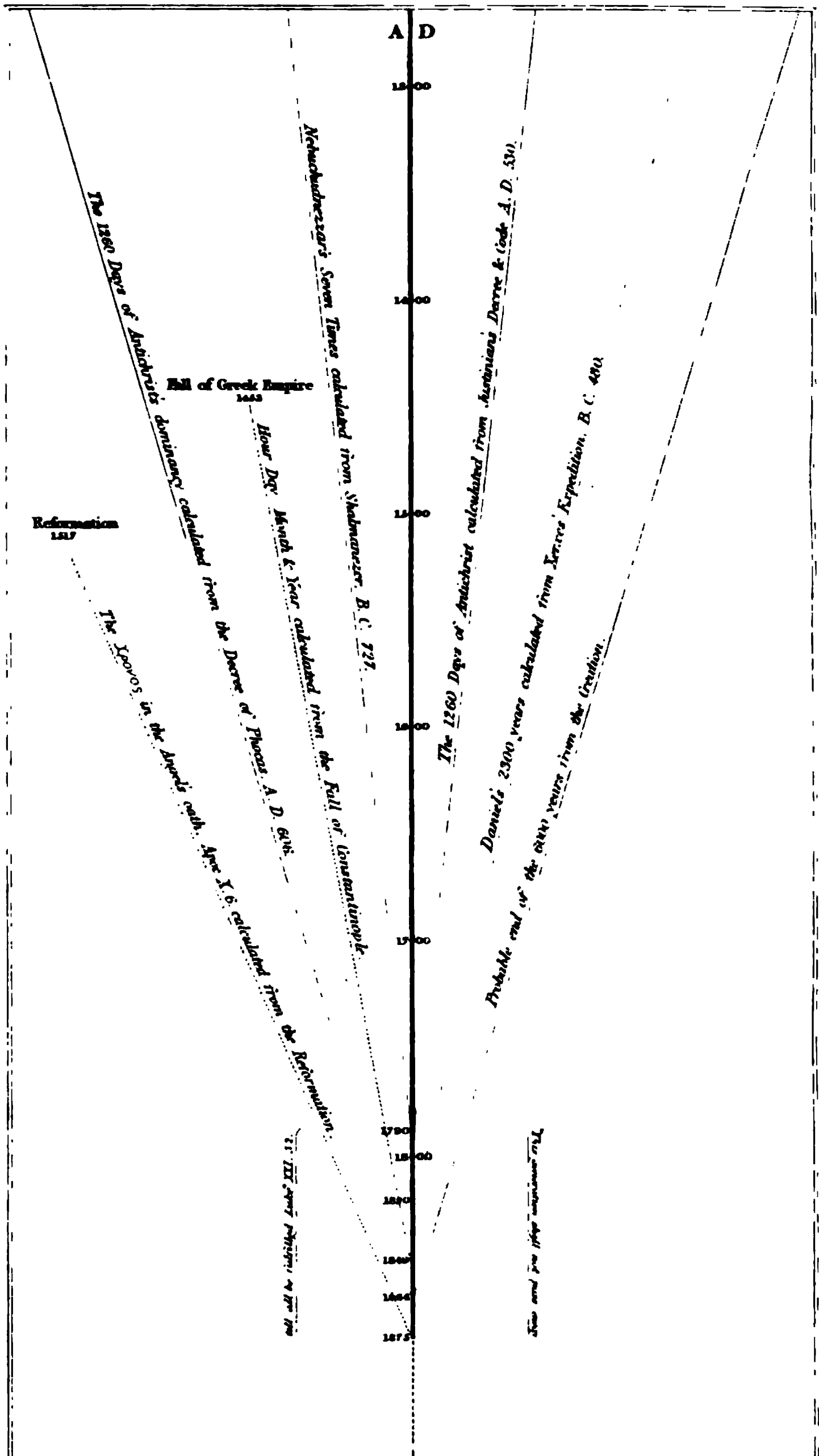
³ I cannot but suspect that we have a truer *ne plus ultra* in our Lord's celebrated saying, "This generation," &c, Luke xxi. 32 :—the saying having a double reference; 1st, to the fulfilment of the judgments *on Jerusalem*, ere the generation then alive should have past away; 2nd, to the final judgment of *the consummation*, ere the generation should have wholly past away that witnessed the signs in the sun and moon, &c, (verse 25, &c.) which signs I suppose to have begun at the French Revolution. See my Vol. iii. p. 342, Note ³: also a paper by me on the subject in the Investigator, Vol. iv. p. 341.

It is to be observed that the word *αυτη*, *this*, in the clause *η γενεα αυτη*, need not *necessarily* to be aspirated: as there were no aspirates in the uncial characters of the older MSS. And if without the aspirate, then *αυτη* would mean *that*: "*that* generation shall not have passed away, &c;" with reference distinctly to the generation that was alive at the time of the signs in the sun and moon &c. appearing. But the view I advocate does not depend on the absence of the aspirate. Because our Lord might mean by "*this* generation," the generation of the time he was then speaking of; just as in Luke xvii. 34, when speaking of the time of his second coming, he says *Ταυτη τη νυκτι*, "On *this* night two shall be in one bed; one shall be taken," &c; meaning thereby the night of his coming.

As to the *Jubilæan* chronology it seems possible that as *seventy years* marked the length of Israel's waiting-time for the *redemption from Babylon*, and *seventy weeks of years* that of its further waiting for its primary *redemption by Christ Jesus*, so *seventy Jubilees* may define the mystical period of its whole existence as a people, from the Exodus to the epoch of both the natural and the spiritual Israel's perfect redemption: a period which reckoned from the Exodus, (each at

DIAGRAM.

Showing the convergent endings of the chief Prophetic Periods.



In fine, notwithstanding, what is fully allowed, the doubtfulness of some of these periods, and their other *possible* epochs of commencement, yet the fact is clear that, construed consistently on the *year-day* system, they have all a probable ending somewhere within the extreme dates, distant scarce above a century apart, of A.D. 1790 and 1914. In regard of the 17 long centuries preceding, that intervene between the Apocalyptic Revelation and French Revolution, there is none within which they can with at all the same probability be similarly made to converge. And I must say that the fact of their thus travelling, as they all seem to do, to a close within our own present æra, from their several sources more or less remote in the depth of antecedent ages, much impresses my own mind, as confirmatory of the conclusion primarily deduced by me from the evidence simply of the Apocalyptic prophecy. Like as the convergency of many lines of road to a geographical centre indicates that centre to be the place of some important and mighty city, so the convergency of these many chronological lines within the present century, now above one-half run out,¹ seems to mark this century as a most important æra of crisis, big with momentous issues as to the destinies of the world.²

To all which chronological evidence there needs to be added, in corroboration and confirmation, that of the many and extraordinary *signs of the times*: signs which have drawn attention, not from prophetic students only, but from the man of the world, the philosopher, the statesman; and made not a few even of the irreligious and unthinking to pause and reflect.—Thus there is, 1st the drying up, still ever going forward, of the Turkman power, or mystic flood from the Euphrates:—2. the fifty years,* will end (on the basis still of Clinton's Chronology) A.D. 1875. But there seems to me here far too much of the conjectural, to admit of our resting at all on the argument.

¹ I mean as reckoned from 1790.

² See the illustrative Diagram on the opposite page. The more dubious lines in my judgment are dotted.

* See, in proof of this value of the Jubilee, the Investigator, vol. iv. p. 124.

interest felt by Protestant Christians for the conversion and restoration of Israel; an interest unknown for eighteen centuries, but now strong, fervent, prayerful, extending even to royalty itself, and answering precisely to that memorable prediction of the Psalmist, "Thou shalt arise and have mercy upon Zion, for the time to favour her, yea *the set time* is come; for thy servants think upon her stones, and it pitieth them to see her in the dust:"¹—3. the universal *preaching of the Gospel over the world*: that sign of which Augustine said, that could we but *see it*, we might indeed think the time of the consummation at hand:²—4. the marked *political ascendancy* before the whole world, alike Heathen, Mahomedan, and Jewish, of the chief nations of the *old Roman earth*, i. e. *professing Christendom*, and ever increasing political, scientific, and commercial intercourse, ("many running to and fro, and knowledge being increased,"³ such as to *force* the eyes of all nations on this same *Roman earth* as the central focus alike of commerce, science, and political power:—a sign connected, 5thly with the outgoing thence almost as universally among them of *religious Christian and Antichristian missions*, under the protection and auspices respectively of the chief Roman Catholic and Protestant European powers; the *Romish* and *Antichristian* full of zeal and bitterness, and with conflict already so begun, against *Protestant evangelic missions* and *Bible-circulation*, as to have forced the attention of Jews, Heathens, and Mahomedans to this grand subject of the Lord's controversy with Roman Anti-Christendom, and to be preparing them (almost as by providential voice)⁴ for being intelligent spectators of its

¹ Psalm cii. 13, 14.

² Epistle to Hesychius, numbered 197 in the late Paris Benedictine Edition, Tom. ii. col. 1106; "Opportunitas vero illius temporis (sc. finis hujus sæculi et adventus Domini) non erit antequam prædicetur Evangelium in universo orbe in testimonium omnibus gentibus. Apertissima enim de hac re legitur sententia Salvatoris, Matt. xxiv. 14.... Unde si jam nobis certissimè nuntiatum fuisset in omnibus gentibus Evangelium prædicari, nec sic possemus dicere *quantum temporis* remaneret usque ad finem; sed *magis magisque propinquare merito diceremus.*"

³ Dan. xii. 12.

⁴ "He shall call to the heavens from above, and to the earth, that he may judge his people.... He hath called the earth from the rising of the sun unto the going down thereof." Psalm l. 1, 4.

tremendous issue:—6. the revolutionary internal heavings of the European nations, alike with infidel and democratic agitation, answering so well to Christ's and the apostle's descriptions of the latter days; and their preparation too for deadly conflict one with another, with new and tremendously-increased powers of destruction: all which who can think of, without the heart sometimes failing for fear. Such, I say, is the extraordinary combination of *signs of the times* now visible; signs predicted more or less clearly in Scripture prophecy, as signs which were to precede the end: and considering that they all point to the quickly coming future as the very crisis of consummation,¹ concurrently with the other various evidence that has been detailed before, (and more might yet be added,²) is it likely that we can

¹ So, for example, *Schegel* in his *Philosophy of History*, Lect. xviii; "Never was there a period that pointed so strongly, so clearly, so generally, towards the future as our own," &c. Robertson's translation, Vol. ii. p. 319.

And having given this from a *German*, let me add the opinions of two learned Professors from the other side of the Atlantic, writers of different prophetic sentiments from each other and from myself. Says *Professor Bush*, (*Millennium*, p. 88.) "We are now actually arrived at the very borders of the period which is to be signalized by the winding up of the grand despotic (?) drama that has for some ages been enacted in transatlantic Christendom."—And *Professor Robinson*: "Before another half century shall have rolled away, there will be seen revolutions in the oriental mind and the oriental world, of which no one now has even a foreboding. The time is short: the crisis rushes on. Let us awake, and be prepared!"

² I must quote a remarkable passage to this effect from the late lamented *Dr. Arnold's Lectures on Modern History*, p. 38.

"Modern history appears to be not only a step in advance of ancient history, but *the last step*; it appears to bear marks of the *fulness of time*, as if there would be no future history beyond it. For the last eighteen hundred years Greece has fed the human intellect; Rome, taught by Greece, and improving upon her teacher, has been the source of law and government and social civilization; and, what neither Greece nor Rome could furnish, the perfection of moral and spiritual truth has been given by Christianity. The changes which have been wrought have arisen out of the reception of these elements by new races,—races endowed with such force of character, that what was old in itself, when exhibited in them, seemed to become something new. But races so gifted are, and have been from the beginning of the world, few in number: the mass of mankind have no such power. . . . Now, looking anxiously round the world for any new races, which may receive the seed (so to speak) of our present history into a kindly yet vigorous soil, and may reproduce it, the same and yet new, for a future period, we know not where such are to be found. Some appear exhausted, others incapable; and yet the surface of the whole globe is known to us. . . . Every where the search has been made, and the report has been received. We have the full amount of earth's resources before us, and they seem inadequate to supply life for a third period of human history.

"I am well aware that to state this as a matter of positive belief would be the extreme of presumption. There may be nations reserved hereafter for great

be mistaken in so construing them? Does there not seem to be in them before our eyes that *budding of the fig-tree* which our Lord spoke of; ¹ and which he who might see was to mark it, and know therefrom that summer would be nigh at hand? ²

§ II. THE APPLICATION.

But if it be so, then the solemn question suggests itself, In what spirit and manner may we best prepare to meet this coming future? The thought of the nearness of the consummation is of itself unspeakably awakening and solemn; and the rather when we consider further that

purposes of God's providence, whose fitness for their appointed work will not betray itself till the work and the time for doing it be come. . . . But, without any presumptuous confidence, if there be any signs, however uncertain, that we are living in the latest period of the world's history, that no other races remain behind to perform what we have neglected, or to restore what we have ruined, then indeed the interest of modern history does become intense."

¹ It will be interesting to compare Tertullian's view of the signs that were to precede and foreshow the consummation, and coming of the "*diem Domini magnum, diem iræ et retributionis, diem ultimum, nec ulli præterquam Patri notum, et tamen signis atque portentis, et concussionibus elementorum, et conflictationibus nationum prænotatum.*" Then he proceeds to the unrolling of the prophecies, in order to fix the æra.

And 1st of Christ's prophecy in Matt. xxiv, about Jerusalem being trodden of the Gentiles, till the times of the Gentiles were fulfilled; ("*donec adimpleantur tempora nationum, allegandorum scilicet à Deo, et congregandorum cum reliquiis Israelis :*") on which he adds, that both John and Daniel and the whole Council of the Prophets predict signs in the sun, moon, and stars, and on earth the straitening of the nations, and powers of heaven being shaken; and that then the Son of Man is to be seen coming in the clouds with power and great glory: so that these signs, like the sign of the budding fig-tree, should make Christians lift up their heads, as knowing that Christ's coming and the time of the resurrection are at hand.

2. He notes St. Paul's prophecy in 2 Thess. ii, of the apostasy and the man of Sin, or Antichrist, who is to be revealed, and reign, and then to be destroyed by the brightness of Christ's coming.

3. The prophecy connected with the vision of the souls under the altar in Apoc. vi; a passage already quoted in my Vol. i. p. 207. Whence he inferred that first Antichrist was to appear and conflict with the Church of Christ, then the vials of God's wrath to be poured out on the apostate harlot-city, and then the devil to be bound, the souls of the martyrs to reign with Christ, and afterwards the general resurrection to take place.

² They who are fond of quoting Christ's saying to the *disciples then alive*, "It is not for you to know the times and the seasons," and again, "That hour and day knoweth no man," as if a prohibition of all calculation of prophetic times before their fulfilment, should remember *this* saying of Christ also, intended specially for such of his servants as might be living near the time of the end. We are meant, it would seem, to know the *nearness* of the Advent, when at hand, though not the exact time; and if negligent in marking the signs given, may subject ourselves justly to the same rebuke as the Pharisees and Sadducees of old, "Are ye not able to discern the signs of the times?" (Matt. xvi. 3.) Is not Daniel an example for imitation on this point? Dan. ix. 2.

there is to be expected antecedently a time of sifting and trial, such as perhaps has never yet been experienced. For our Christian Poet's exquisite language¹ does by no means adequately express the probable severity of the coming crisis. Ere the sabbatism of the saints begins, something much more is to be looked for than the mere gusty closing blasts of a long tempest, or billowy heavings of the sea before a calm, as "it works itself to rest." The final conflict between Christ's true Church and Anti-christ, and their respective chiefs and supporters, both visible and invisible, is set forth in prophecy as most severe. As a *nation*, as a *church*, as *individuals*, how may we best prepare to meet it?

And here it is that the *moral* of the Apocalyptic prophecy, its *philosophy of the history of Christendom*, if I may so call it, becomes unspeakably valuable. We have elsewhere had the philosophy of the same history traced by *human* pens; and lessons at the same time drawn from it in the way of instruction and direction for the future: for example, in a work by the late celebrated Frederick Von Schlegel professedly on the subject:² a writer of no common eloquence, or common reputation. But if we compare the two outlines of historic philosophy together, the human and the divine, what a contrast will appear: and how true the one; how superficial and delusive the other!

In his general abstract notions indeed of the philosophy of history and its objects, Schlegel has much that

¹ "The groans of Nature in this nether world,
Which heaven has heard for ages, have an end.
Foretold by prophets, and by poets sung,
The time of rest, *the promised sabbath* comes.
Six thousand years of sorrow have well nigh
Fulfilled their tardy and disastrous course
Over a sinful world; and what remains
Of this tempestuous state of human things,
Is merely as the working of a sea
Before a calm, that rocks itself to rest."

Winter Walk at Noon.

² My reference is, as before, to the English Translation by Schlegel's devoted admirer J. B. Robertson, Esq. The Lectures which make up this Work on the "Philosophy of History," were delivered at Vienna in the year 1828, the year before his death.—I shall freely make extracts in the Notes. It will familiarize the reader with a new point of view in which to consider the Apocalypse.

is admirable. He lays it down that, as the highest object of *philosophy* is the restoration of God's image in man, so the great object of the *philosophy of history* must be to trace historically the progress of this restoration ;¹—that it is his object and intention, through that *all-ruling Providence* which regulates the whole course of human destiny,² ultimately to accomplish it ;—that Christianity, God's own heaven-sent religion, is the regenerating principle, whence whatever may already have been accomplished has proceeded, and whence alone man's final and perfect regeneration is to arise ;³—that the hindrances and obstructions in the way of its accomplishment have arisen from the fearfully powerful, though most mysterious, influence in the world of the *Spirit of evil*, alike God's enemy and man's, and man's⁴ endowment with *free-will*, to choose, as he may please, the guidance of the one Spirit or the other ;⁵—further, that it belongs to the province

¹ Preface, ad init.

² Lect. xv ; Vol. ii. pp. 196, 198. "Without the idea of a Godhead regulating the course of human destiny,"—such is his eloquent language,—“of an all-ruling Providence, and the saving and redeeming power of God, the history of the world would be a labyrinth without an outlet, a confused pile of ages buried upon ages, a mighty tragedy without a right beginning, or a proper ending :” adding that this is the melancholy impression produced on the mind by several of the great ancient historians, particularly the profoundest of them all, *Tacitus*.

³ Lect. x ; Vol. ii, 9. Speaking of Christ's divine mission for the redemption of the world, he says ; “If we once remove this divine keystone in the arch of universal history, the whole fabric of the world's history falls to ruin ; for its only foundation is this new manifestation of God's power in the crisis of time. . . . Without faith in the truth of Christianity, the world's history would be an insoluble enigma,” &c. And again, pp. 4, 5 ; “From its very origin, and still more in its progress, it entirely renovated the face of the world :”—“It has shone ever brighter with the progress of ages, and has changed and regenerated not only government and science, but the whole system of human life.”—This statement however is much modified afterwards as to the past. So p. 38, after saying that at the Constantinian revolution Christianity “*might* have become a real generation of the Roman state,” he adds that “the old Roman state-policy,” &c, continuing prevalent prevented it ;—and again, p. 56, “the Romans whose polity and public life Christianity was unable totally to regenerate.”

⁴ Schlegel is very strong in his statements on this point. So Lect. xv. p. 199 ; “That man only who recognizes the whole magnitude of the power permitted to the wicked principle, according to the inscrutable decrees of God, from the curse of Cain, and the sign of the curse in its unimpeded transmission through all the false religions of heathenism—all the ages of extreme moral corruption and crime,—is alone capable of understanding the great phænomena of universal history, in their often strange and dark complexity.”

⁵ This is Schlegel's *third* principle, (the two others being *God's all-ruling and redeeming providence*, and the *Evil Spirit's power of tempting to evil*,) of which

of the Philosophy of History to mark God's wrathful judgments on the world, when thus led astray from Him ;¹ and to mark also the interpositions and proceedings of Divine Providence, (especially as illustrated from time to time in the rise and conduct of any remarkable particular nations or individuals,²) with a view to the fulfilment of its designs, whether of judgment or of mercy.—Such, I say, is Schlegel's generally just idea of the Philosophy of History ; and the reader has but to recal what has gone before in this Commentary, or to glance at the illustrative Chart prefixed to it, in order to be convinced how eminently, on such an idea of it, there attaches a high degree of the *philosophic* character to the historic prefigurations of the Apocalypse.³ It is in the *application of the principle* that the marked contrast appears between these and Schlegel's sketches : nor, I think, can I better place the moral lessons of this holy book in relief and distinctness before the reader, than by setting forth its philosophy somewhat fully *in direct contrast with the other*.

The *German philosopher* then, agreeably with his religious creed,⁴ directs himself by the *Romish* standard in his judgment of things that concern religion and the Church. After the first four centuries, notable for the diffusion and final triumph of Christianity over Paganism in the Roman Empire, he traces the *Church visible*

the recognition is essential to the philosophy of history. So Lect. xv. p. 197 : "Without this freedom of choice in man, this faculty of determining between the divine impulse, and the suggestions of the Spirit of Evil, there would be *no history* ; and without a faith in such principle *no philosophy of history*."

At p. 247, Vol. i, after noticing Condorcet's theory of the perfectibility of man, as the *liberalism* of historic philosophy, he well adds, "But man's *corruptibility* is as great as his *perfectibility*."

¹ "This idea of divine justice and of God's judgments on the world, exemplified in history, belongs undoubtedly to the province of historical philosophy." Lect. x. Vol. ii. p. 7.

² Ibid. p. 5.

³ See too my observations on some of these points, in the General Introduction to this Work, Vol. i. pp. 106—109.

⁴ Schlegel was by birth a Protestant. But in his thirty-third year, A. D. 1805, he renounced Protestantism, and embraced the Romish faith. "It was in the venerable minster at Cologne," says his translator, "that there was solemnized in the person of this illustrious man the alliance between the ancient faith and modern science of Germany."—It is to be remembered that German Protestantism was then scarce anything but *Neology*.

and established (already at that time, in respect of its acknowledged *head*, a *Romish Church*) through those *four* long centuries which followed of the chaotic intermediate state between ancient and modern history,¹ as if still *Christ's true Church*, the upholder and preserver of the Christian religion, as well as civilizer of the barbarous invading Germanic nations; then the next three centuries, after that the tempests had subsided, and the wild waters of barbarian inundation begun to flow off, from Charlemagne to Gregory VII and the first half of the twelfth century inclusive,² (a period constituting the earlier half of the middle age,) as "the happiest era and golden age of Christendom :"³ when "the influence of religion on public life was paramount ;" when, in the project of a universal empire to embrace all civilized nations, the foundation-stone of the noble fabric of modern Christendom was laid, and all the elements of a truly Christian government and policy offered to mankind ;"⁴ "when the principles which animated society were the best and noblest and soundest ;"⁵ when the Church, "like the all-embracing vault of heaven," with its pure faith sheltered and shed kindly influence on all :⁶ and the Papal power, founded on and adapted for unity, after having grown up towards the end of this era to unprecedented greatness, used this great power only so as to preserve Christianity from being lost in a multitude of sects :⁷—in all which he thinks to mark the presence and operation of *God's animating Spirit*, as well as

¹ I use Schlegel's language, at the beginning of his Lecture xiii.

² Beginning of Lect. xiii. So Schlegel in one sentence adopts the two Apocalyptic images of a *tempest*, and an *inundation*, whereby to symbolize the great Germanic barbaric irruption. Compare Apoc. vii. 2, xii. 15 : also Vol. i. p. 300. and Vol. iii. Note ¹, p. 50, where the same images are further illustrated.

³ Lecture xiii, p. 127. He particularizes the reigns of "Charlemagne, Alfred, and the first Saxon kings and emperors of Germany, as exhibiting the paramount influence of religion on public life, and constituting the happiest era, the truly golden period of our annals :"³ and he exemplifies, among other things, in the earlier "spiritual chivalry of the Templars and Knights of St. John, consecrated to warfare in the cause of God," and the chivalry of the first crusades. At p. 176, he calls the early middle age "thoroughly Christian." Gregory the Seventh is moreover the especial subject of his eulogy.

⁴ Ibid. 126, 127.

⁶ Lect. xii. pp. 115, 116.

⁵ Lect. xiv. p. 153.

⁷ Lect. xiv. p. 183.

kindly providence.—On the other hand he traces the cotemporary operation of the *Evil Spirit*, (the “*Spirit of time*,” as he calls it, from after the æra of the overthrow of the Pagan Empire that it had previously ruled in and animated,¹)—I say, he traces the Evil Spirit’s operation through the same period in the beguiling sectarian spirit, and religious schisms of Christendom ; including not alone the Arian schism, and the Mahomedan schism, (for he places Mahomedanism in the same category,²) but also in the iconoclastic proceedings of certain of the Greek emperors,³ (proceedings which he lauds Gregory the Second for resisting,) and the consequent schism between the Eastern and Western Churches.—In his sketch of the *later half* of the middle age, reaching from the twelfth century to the Reformation, he admits the general religious deterioration of Western Christendom ; particularizing the essentially false scholastic philosophy then in vogue, and the internal feuds, and contests between Church and State :⁴ and traces the kindly operation of the Divine Spirit, (“the Paraclete promised to the Church by its divine Founder,”) whereby Christianity was preserved, in the rise and institution of the ecclesiastical mendicant orders, as men of the most perfect evangelical humility, poverty, and self-denial :⁵ at the same time reprobating the doctrines of the then popular opposers of the Church, viz. the Waldenses, Albigenses, and also Wickliffe and Huss

¹ “Christianity is the emancipation of the human race from the bondage of that inimical Spirit, who denies God, and, as far as in him lies, leads all created intelligences astray. Hence the Scripture styles him ‘the Prince of this world ;’ and so he was in fact, but in *ancient history only* ; when among all the nations of the earth, in the pomp of martial glory, and splendour of Pagan life, he had established the throne of his domination. Since this divine era in the history of man, he can no longer be called the Prince of this world, but the *Spirit of time*, opposed to divine influence,” &c. Lect. xviii. ad fin.

² Ibid. p. 333.

³ “The rigid prohibition of the religious use of images was proper in those cases only where the use of them was not confined to a mere devotional respect, but was likely to degenerate into a real adoration and idolatry ; and where a strict separation from Pagan nations and their rites was a matter of primary importance. But now that the Mahomedan proscription of all holy emblems and images of devotion arose from a decidedly antichristian spirit, this Byzantine fury against all images and symbols of piety can be regarded only as a mad contagion of the moral disease of the age.” Lect. xii. p. 106.

⁴ Lect. xiv, xviii ; pp. 173, 176, 333.

⁵ Lect. xiv. pp. 184, 186.

after them, as fraught with the germs of heresy.¹—So arrived at *the Reformation*, he speaks of it as manifested to be a *human*, not *divine* reformation; by its claim of full freedom of faith,² its rejection of the traditions of the past,³ its destruction of the dignity of the priesthood, and endangering of the very foundations of religion, through a denial of the holy sacramental mysteries,⁴ its adoption finally of a faith of mere negation, (so he designates it,) and severing of its Protestant constituents from the sacred centre of faith and religion, i.e. from Rome.⁵

Such is Schlegel's philosophic view of the history of Christendom down to the Reformation: after which he notices the *religious indifferentism* of spirit, and false *illuminism* of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,—ascribing them very much to the influence of the Protestant principle,⁶—until the tremendous political outbreak of this infidel illuminism in the French Revolution.

¹ Ibid. 187.

² Lect. xviii. p. 334.

³ "The total rejection of the traditions of the past, (here was the capital vice and error of this revolution) rendered this evil (the unhappy existing confusion of doctrines) incurable; and even for biblical learning, the true key of interpretation, which sacred tradition alone can furnish, was irretrievably lost." Lect. xv. p. 215.—So also at p. 228, in a passage quoted below.

⁴ "The hostility of the German Reformers to the Church was of a spiritual nature. It was the religious dignity of the priesthood which was more particularly the object of their destructive efforts. The priesthood stands or falls with faith in the sacred mysteries; and (these having been by the Protestant body generally rejected) it was not difficult to foresee that together with faith in them, respect for the clergy must sooner or later be destroyed." Moreover "that great mystery of religion on which the whole dignity of the Christian priesthood depends, forms the simple but deep internal keystone of all Christian doctrine; and thus the rejection or even infringement of this dogma shakes the foundation of religion, and leads to its total overthrow." Ibid. p. 218.

⁵ "Had it been," he says p. 228, a "*divine* reformation, it would at no time, and under no condition, have severed itself from the sacred centre and venerable basis of Christian tradition; in order, reckless of all legitimate decisions, preceding as well as actual, to perpetuate discord, and seek in negation itself a new and peculiar basis for the edifice of schismatic opinion."

He speaks with high approval, p. 222, of the institutions of the *Jesuits*; as a religious order, wholly dependent on the Church, and from their opposition to Protestantism, as *the great want of the age*.

⁶ "Those negative and destructive principles,—those maxims of liberalism and irreligion, which were almost exclusively prevalent in European literature during the eighteenth century,—in a word, *Protestantism*, in the comprehensive signification of that term." Lect. xviii. p. 285.—So too p. 295; though he there allows that the English Protestantism of philosophy is to be distinguished from the French revolutionary Atheism; for that "though by its opposition to all spiritual ideas it is of a negative character, yet most of its partizans contrive to make some sort of capitulation with divine faith, and to preserve a kind of belief in moral feeling."

Then, after a notice of the Revolution and its twenty-five years' war "of irreligion,"—"a convulsive crisis of the world which has created a mighty chasm, and thrown up a wall of separation between the present age and the eighteenth century,"—he speaks of the late progressing revival of *Roman Catholicism*, as a revival of *religion*, more especially in the countries of France and Germany: and finally expresses his hope of a true and complete regeneration of the age, at no great distance of time (though not till after a temporary triumph of some antichristian spirit of evil,¹) as the fit conclusion to the philosophy of history:²—its *essence* to consist in a thorough Christianization alike of the state and of science;³—its *form* to be somewhat like the perfecting of the noble but imperfect Christian Empire of Charlemagne;⁴—its *introduction* to be preceded by a display of fearful divine judgments,⁵ and indeed attended by Christ's own coming and intervention:⁶—and, with this *divine* reformation, and its accompanying complete victory of truth, "that *human* reformation, which till now hath existed, to sink to the ground, and disappear from the world."⁷

How different the philosophy of the same history of

¹ Lect. xv. Vol. ii. p. 199. ² Lect. xviii. p. 323. ³ Ibid. 320, 322, 336.

⁴ This is spoken of at p. 320 as a magnificent ground-work for a truly Christian structure of government, which then indeed remained unfinished, but is to be the object of our hope for the future. See the next Note.

⁵ "This exalted religious hope,—this high historical expectation,—must be coupled with great apprehension, as to the full display of *divine justice* in the world. For how is such a religious regeneration possible, until every species, form, and denomination of political idolatry be entirely extirpated from the earth." p. 319.

⁶ "As every human soul is conducted to the realms above by the gentle hand of its divine guardian, so the Saviour himself has announced to all mankind, in many prophetic passages, that when the period of the dissolution of the world shall approach, he himself will return to the earth, will renovate the face of all things, and bring them to a close." So Lect. x. Vol. ii. p. 20. He adds that mankind had "to traverse many centuries, before the promise was to be fulfilled, the final and universal triumph of Christianity throughout the earth to be accomplished, and all mankind gathered into one fold and under one shepherd:" so showing that it is the *earthly* renovation of all things, and triumph of Christianity on this earthly scene, that Schlegel expected Christ's advent to introduce. To the same effect is the heading of his last Lecture (p. 300, on the "Universal Regeneration of Society.") with the accommodated text, "I come soon, and will renew all things." Schlegel was, in his way, a *Premillennarian*.

⁷ Ibid. p. 318.

Christendom, as traced out to *St. John* in the divinely-planned visions of the Apocalypse:—a difference based in fact on a totally different view from *Schlegel's*, both as to *Christ's true religion*, and as to *Christ's true Church* ! After a rapid prefiguration in its six first picturings of the chief eras and vicissitudes of the Roman Pagan persecuting empire, thenceforward successively to occur, until its total overthrow and dissolution before the power of Christianity, there was then most strikingly intimated to him, in the next or Sealing Vision, that already, at the æra so depicted, a general though covert *apostacy* would have begun, and be progressing, among the professing Christian body raised to power in Roman Christendom :—an apostacy which alike the foreshadowings of the prophecy, and the parallel facts of after history, referred in chief part to that selfsame Judaic and unscriptural view of the church-sacraments and church-ministry with which *Schlegel* would connect the essence of religion ; and the gravity of which hence appeared, from its being further depicted as the cause of a series of fearful avenging judgments, soon to follow. At the same time there was also foreshown God's gracious purpose, while allowing scope to ungrateful man's apostacy, yet to preserve to Himself in the world a faithful church and witnesses. And the formation, character, and secret history of those that would constitute this the Lord's *real* church, was also shown him : how they would be no *visible corporate body* ; but strictly a *κυριακη εκκλησια*,¹ Christ's own outgathering

¹ These two words have both somewhat remarkably been preserved, in the signification of *church*, in our modern European languages :—the one, *εκκλησια*, in the *église*, *chiesa*, *iglesia*, of the French, Italian, Spanish, &c ; the other, *κυριακη*, in the *kirche*, *kirk*, *church*, of the German, Scotch, English, Dutch, Swedish, and other northern tongues.

Archbishop Whately has indeed in his late Work on the Kingdom of Christ, p. 76, suggested a very different origin to the latter appellative. "The word *church*, or its equivalent *kirk*, is probably no other than *circle*, i. e. an assembly, *ecclesia*." But what his authority for the statement I know not ; and its truth seems more than problematical. In Suicer's Thesaurus it will be found that both *κυριακη*, and much more generally *κυριακον*, had come in the 4th century to be words used in the sense of *church* in Greek Christendom. "Κυριακον usitatissimè notat *templum*. Sic Can. 5. Neo-Cæs. Κατηχεμενος, εαν εισερχομενος εις το κυριακον, εν τη των κατηχουμενων ταξει στηκη" Can. 27 Laod. 'Οτι ου δει εν τοις κυριακοις, η εν ταις εκκλησιαις, τας λεγομενας αγαπας ποιειν' Eusebius H. E.

and election of grace, individually chosen, enlightened, quickened, and sealed by Him with the Holy Spirit of adoption —a body notable as “God’s servants” for holy obedience; and though few in number, compared with the apostate professors of Christianity, yet in God’s eye numerally perfect and complete.¹—Thenceforward these two lines and successions were traced distinctly and separately in their respective histories, through all the series of events and revolutions following, even to the consummation; and the invisible inspirers of their different politics and actions, whether *the Evil Spirit*, or the *Good*, also made manifest. On the one hand there was depicted the body of *false professors*, multiplied so as to form the main and dominant constituency of apostate Christendom, as developing more and more a religion not christian but antichristian, it being based on human traditions, (the same that figure so high in Schlegel’s estimate,) not on God’s word;² and, after falling away to the worship of departed saints and martyrs as mediators, in place of Christ,³ as alike in its *western* and its *eastern* division judicially visited and desolated by the divine avenging judgments of emblematic tempests, scorpion-locusts, and horsemen from the Euphrates; in other words, of the Goths, Saracens, and Turks:⁴—then as, in its *western* division, rising up again from the primary desolating judgments of Gothic invasion, in the new form of an *ecclesiastical empire*, (the same that Schlegel eulogizes as Christ’s true Church,) *enthroned on the seven hills of ancient Rome*: its secret contriver being the very Dragon, or Satanic Spirit, that had ruled openly before in the Pagan Empire: its ruling head proud, persecuting, blasphemous, and self-exalting

ix. 10; *Και τα κυριακα οπως κατασκευαζοιεν συγχυπειται*. He refers also to Can. 74 in Trullo, to Athanasius, and Zonaras. (I may add that Cyprian similarly so uses the corresponding Latin word, *Dominicum*.)—From the language of Greek Christendom it was transferred, I presume, by Ulphilas, at the close of the fourth century into the Gothic language; and so into the Saxon and other cognate tongues. Thus Johnson in his Dictionary; “Church (cyrce Saxon, *κυριακη* Greek).”

¹ Apoc. vii.

² Compare Apoc. xii. 17.

³ Apoc. viii. 3. See Vol. i. pp. 305—315.

⁴ Apoc. viii. ix.

against God, even beyond his Pagan precursors ;¹ its constituency and priesthood, throughout Schlegel's boasted middle ages, characterized by "unrepented idolatries, (such is God's representation of the Romish image-worship so strangely patronized by the German philosopher,²) and fornications too, thefts, murders, and sorceries :"³ in fine as continuing unchanged, unchangeable, in apostacy, notwithstanding the repeated checks of woes and judgments from heaven, even until the end : and therefore then at length in its impenitency to be utterly abandoned to judgment, and, like another Sodom, made an example of the vengeance of everlasting fire :⁴ — *this being in fact the grand essential preliminary to the world's intended and blessed regeneration.*— On the other hand the Apocalyptic prophecy represented *Christ's true Church*, the *election of grace*, consisting of such as should hold to Christ as their head, and keep the word of God and testimony of Jesus, as almost at once entering on a great and long tribulation ; yet though in number few and fewer, and reduced soon to a state spiritually destitute and desolate, like that of the wilderness, so as to constitute them a church invisible rather than visible, as still secretly preserved by their Lord :⁵ a revelation of God's *doctrines of grace*, (doctrines directly antagonistic to those of the incipient apostacy,) being, it seemed, vouchsafed, the result of a direct *primary* intervention from heaven at this crisis of time, with a view to their spiritual preservation and life : which revelation, singularly acted out before St. John in the light-bearing visions of the sealing and the palm-bearers, just before the burst of the emblematic tempests, was in Augustine's history and teaching (teaching never altogether forgotten afterwards) perfectly realized and illus-

¹ Apoc. xii, xiii.

² See the quotation from Schlegel about the iconoclastic Greek emperors in Note ², p. 275, *suprà*.

Mr. Sibthorp, it is said by Mr. Faber, went over to the Church of Rome, under the belief that it did not require idolatrous worship of the Virgin Mary ; and that he has left it, and rejoined the English Church, on finding that this was in very truth required of him. But did it need that he should enter the Romish Church for evidence on such a point ?

³ Apoc. ix. 20, 21. See my chapter on it, Part iii. ch. i.

⁴ Apoc. xviii.

⁵ Apoc. xii. See Vol. iii. p. 53, &c.

trated.¹ It then depicted the actual *witnesses for Christ's cause and truth*, from out of this little body, and protestors against the reigning apostacy, (witnesses verified historically afterwards in the history of those whom Schlegel would make *heretics*, the Waldenses more especially, and Wiclif, and Huss, and their followers,)² as made war on by Rome's revived Empire, soon after the completion of their testimony against the several chief doctrines of its apostacy, and the Pope's full establishment of his power, like as by a Beast from the Abyss of hell ; and so being at length conquered and apparently exterminated :—with the added figuration however of their sudden and most extraordinary revival and exaltation almost instantly after, in the presence of their enemies :³ a revelation from heaven introducing and accompanying it, yet more glorious than the former one, even of Christ as the Sun of Righteousness ;⁴ and a great political revolution attending or following, under which the tenth part of the ten-kingdomed Ecclesiastical Empire would fall. All this the prophecy figured as the result of God's great *second* intervention for his Church ; and all this we saw, on irrefragable evidence, to have been fulfilled in the great *Reformation* of the xvith century : the discovery introducing it of the doctrine of justification simply by faith in Christ Jesus ; and the downfall following it of the tenth part of the Popedom in Papal England. Thus was this Protestant Reformation distinctly figured in the Apocalypse as a glorious *divine* act, not *human*, so as Schlegel would have it :—its excommunication of the Roman Papal Church, with all its false rites and traditions, (by Schlegel so fondly cherished,) and its national establishment too in Northern Germany, England, and elsewhere, being further depicted as acts directed from heaven ;⁵ and its faith, instead of being (so as *he* would call it) a mere negation, represented to have its very origin from the positive recognition of Christ as the Sun of Righteous-

¹ See the second Section of my chapter on the Sealing Vision ; Vol. i. pp. 267—292.

² See Part iii, Chap. vii.

³ Apoc. xi. 7 ; Part iii, Chap. viii.

⁴ Apoc. x. 1, Vol. ii. pp. 41—43. and 91—99.

⁵ Apoc. xi. 2. See Vol. ii. p. 179, &c.

ness, and only source of man's justification, light, and life.—As to the subsequent “*indifferentism in religion*,” as Schlegel truly designates it, which followed afterwards in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, even in the states and churches of Protestantism, it was not unforeseen in the further developments of the Apocalypse. But what the cause assigned? Because, amidst all the rejoicings of states and churches on the establishment of a purer religion, it would still be but the 144,000, the election of grace, *a church within a church*, that would be really the *κυριακη εκκλησια*, the Lord's Church.¹ Yet it seemed also pre-intimated how (as if from some gracious revival of religion in God's still favoured Protestantism) there would afterwards speed forth in the latter times three missionary Angels, flying through mid-heaven, with voices of gospel-preaching, warning against Papal Rome, and denunciation of its quickly-coming judgment; ² a contemporary revival of the Papacy, (the same that Schlegel boasts of as the glorious characteristic of these our own days,) being but the last putting forth of its bravery, to hasten the final crisis, and constitute the precursor and justification of its fall: acts these that would be nearly the last public ones promoted, or mingled in, by the little body of Christ's faithful ones on earth. For it was foreshown how that Christ's advent would speedily follow; and contemporarily therewith, and with the mystic Babylon's destruction by fire, his witnessing saints and all that fear him, small and great,³ have the reward given them of an entrance into the everlasting kingdom of their Lord: and that so, and then, (not before, or otherwise,) the promised regeneration of all things (the Christian's great object of hope⁴) is to have its accomplishment, in Christ's own reign with his saints; and

¹ Apoc. xiv. 1. See Part iv, Chap. x; Vol. iii. p. 258.

² Apoc. xiv. 6, &c. See Vol. iii. p. 412, &c.

³ Apoc. xi. 18.

⁴ On this point Schlegel, in his fifth Lecture, beautifully contrasts the religion of the ancient Jews (to which Christianity has succeeded) with that of all the other Asiatic nations. In the traditions of these latter, he observes, *regret* was the prominent feeling expressed for what man had *lost*; in the Hebrew religion *hope* for the future. “The whole existence of this people turned on the pivot of *hope*; the keystone of its moral life projected its shadows far into futurity.”

therewith at length the true and only complete evangelization of the world.

Such is the Apocalyptic philosophy of the history of Christendom ; such its contrast with Schlegel's. (To its philosophy on certain other interesting points the reader's attention was directed very early in the introductory chapter of my Work.¹) And the review of it will well prepare us for applying to ourselves, in conclusion, the moral lessons of the whole ; as we look to the probabilities,—the awful and the hopeful probabilities,—of the fast-coming future.

As a *nation* then does it not, while pointing out how and wherefore England has been raised to its present greatness,—viz. in order to its being the great bulwark and promulgator throughout the world of the Protestant evangelic faith,²—solemnly warn us also against being seduced by any spirit of mistaken expediency, false liberalism, religious indifferentism,³ or, I may add, party faction, to seek nationally to identify ourselves with the Papal antichristian religion, or any further to foster its power, either at home, or in the colonies ? Surely of toleration and civil privilege the utmost has been granted to our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects (to say the least) consistent with our character as a Protestant state. Let us beware lest, in the vain hope of thoroughly conciliating and uniting the Romish priesthood in our land,—a thing which history and reason, as well as prophecy, have shown to be impossible,⁴—we abandon our distinctive Protestant character ;⁵ and therewith, in the great coming

¹ Vol. i. pp. 107—109.

² See Vol. ii. pp. 406, 417 ; and Vol. iii. pp. 421—434.

³ I use Schlegel's phrase.

⁴ A year or two before the Act of Roman Catholic Emancipation, Mr. Gally Knight, in an influential and able Pamphlet, pointed to the case of the then Dutch and Belgian kingdom, in proof of the possible thorough union of Protestants and Catholics under a Protestant Government. The year after that Act had passed, the Protestant Government there was overthrown by a united Romish and democratic insurrection.

As to the Irish Roman Catholic Emancipation Act, who, even of its most sanguine advocates, has not confessed to disappointment in the results ?

⁵ For example by "the great measure," as some have called it, of paying the Irish Roman Catholic Priesthood from the national funds.

crisis, forfeit the high protectorate, hitherto granted us, of heaven.¹—Nor, let me add, if in that crisis (as prophecy seems to intimate) the evangelization of the heathen, or evangelization and restoration of the Jews, prove in the issue to be the occasion of the great Romish (and perhaps too Mahomedan) powers uniting together in some hostile and opposing confederacy, let it be forgotten which is the Lord's side : ² lest here too we act as an ally, if not constituent, of Babylon ; and become nationally a partaker of her sins, and nationally, in God's coming judgment on the nations, a partaker also of her tremendous punishment.

Further, has it not a voice to us as a *Church* ? I speak of the Church established by God's gracious Providence in this kingdom. May we not, from that holy prophecy that we have been considering, infer it to be its paramount duty, wisdom, and even safety, to hold fast the pure and scriptural doctrine on which it was founded at the Reformation : and to eschew and repudiate, not the principles of direct Popery only, or even of the modern Tractarian semi-Popery ; (which is but in truth that earlier form of the great apostacy revived, to which in due time, as we have seen, and through Satanic artifice, Rome did but furnish the fitting headship ;³) but also of every modification of the same, which may seek to make religion a thing *ecclesiastical*, rather than a thing *personal* and *spiritual* ; and to interpose the Church, with its priesthood and services and sacraments, *between* the soul and Christ, instead of asserting it as their one grand prerogative and office to direct the soul *to* Christ ?—Surely it is a strange misnomer to call this system, as with laudatory title, *High Church*, and decry the opposite system by the vituperatively-intended title of

[Alas ! since the publication of my First Edition, our national Protestant character has been further compromised by the Maynooth endowment :—an act originated, no doubt, from patriotic motives by the ministry ; but of patriotism how mistaken, because how contrary to the Word of God !—2nd Edit.]

¹ Let me refer on this head to the interesting illustrative historic sketch prefixed by Dr. Croly to his Treatise on the Apocalypse.

² See pp. 171, 172 *suprà*.

³ Apoc. xiii. 2.

Low Church. The *true low churchmen* seem to me they who fashion their *beau ideal* of an ecclesiastical system, simply or chiefly, with reference to an *earthly church*, and its *human* administration and administrators. The true *high churchmen* seem to be they, the Church of whose chief affections and thoughts is the *Jerusalem above*:—that which has for its head, Christ; its home, heaven; and this our earth as but the scene of its preparatory formation and trial: a scene whereon its members, scattered everywhere through the visible Church, and known to God, though often unknown to men, are by the common principle of union with Christ their invisible head, united verily and in truth with each other, and united with those too of the same body that may have already passed into Paradise.¹ It is this Church which St. Paul's glowing eloquence set forth to the Ephesian Christians, as the Church, the Bride, "which Christ loved, and purchased, and purposes to present to himself, glorious, without spot or wrinkle;"² to the Galatians as "the Jerusalem that is above, which is the mother of us all;"³ and to the Hebrews, as "the church of the first-born⁴ whose names are written in heaven:" this that of which, in the Apocalyptic visions, St. John beheld the fortunes figured, throughout all its successive generations militant on earth; even until the time of their perfected union, number, and blessedness, as the Lamb's bride, New Jerusalem.⁵ And so, accordingly, the earlier confessors, that witnessed for Christ under Pagan Rome, recognized her as *the Church*, the *Mother Church*, and rejoiced in her as children.⁶ And when

¹ Compare Eph. iii. 15,—“our Lord Jesus Christ, from whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named.”

² Eph. v. 25—27.

³ Gal. iv. 26.

⁴ ἐκκλησία πρωτοτόκων Heb. xii. 23.

⁵ Apoc. vii. 3, 4, &c. xiv. 1. &c. xvii. 14, xx. 4, xxii. 3, 4, &c.

⁶ Let me exemplify, as I have not directly done so before.

1. *Ignatius*, in the heading of his Letter to the Church at Ephesus, (a very striking and illustrative document, of chronology immediately following the Apostolic time,) speaks of it as *predestinated by God before the world to glory*: thereby distinctly defining the *true spiritual church* at Ephesus as the object of his address, though in *charity* supposing all to belong really to it of the members of the *professing church* there constituted; professing as they did under

stealthily afterwards *the earthly mixt corporate body, so called*, came to be more and more substituted for it, and to usurp to itself the other's dignity, titles, privileges, and claims,—man's earthly church those of God's heavenly Church, the thing ecclesiastical those of the thing spiritual,¹—then, we saw, (let me be excused if I repeat

circumstances of trial and persecution, so calculated to prevent the adhesion of any but true disciples. *Ιγνατιος, ὁ καὶ Θεοφορος, τῇ εὐλογημένῃ ἐν μεγεθεὶ Θεῷ Πατρὶ καὶ πληρωματὶ, τῇ προορισμένῃ προ αἰώνων εἶναι διὰ παντός εἰς δοξάν παραμονὸν ἀτρεπτόν, ἡνωμένην, καὶ ἐκκληγεμένην, ἐν παθεὶ ἀληθείᾳ, ἐν θελήματι τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν, τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ αξιομακαριστῇ τῇ ὁσῇ ἐν Ἐφέσῃ.*

2. The Epistle which contains the *Acts of Polycarp's Martyrdom* is addressed from "the Church of God which sojourns at Smyrna, to that which sojourns at Philippi, and in all places where the Holy Catholic Church sojourns throughout the world:" thereby designating necessarily, I think, that *spiritual and true Church*, of which the members feel and live as pilgrims here, and with their home in heaven.

3. *Justin Martyr*, Dial. cum Triph. p. 287, speaks of the Church as Christ's Bride, prophesied of in Psalm xlv. : which Church we know from other scriptures to be that symbolized as *the heavenly Jerusalem* ; made up only of the true and the saved.

4. Similarly *Tertullian*, De Baptismo, c. 15, says ; " Et una ecclesia in cœlis : " * and in his De Cor. Mil. c. 13, " Sed tu peregrinus es mundi hujus, civis supernæ Hierusalem ; noster, inquit, municipatus in cœlis." See Vol. i. p. 194.

5. And so again the Author of the beautiful *Epistle to Diognetus*, quoted before by me Vol. i. p. 101. " Christians (i. e. the constituency of the Church) display the wonderful nature of *their peculiar polity*. They dwell in their own country but as *sojourners* : they abide on earth, but are *citizens of heaven*."

¹ Of all the early fathers none, I believe, contributed to this more than the excellent Cyprian ; especially by his well-meant, and in many respects valuable Treatise, *De Unitate Ecclesiæ*. For the error attaches to it, of arguing from those passages, " Thou art Peter, &c. and on this rock will I build *my Church*," " What thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven." " As my Father hath sent me, so send I you," with reference wholly, or almost wholly, to the *apostolic commission* transmitted *officially* downwards to the episcopal rulers of the Church ; instead of urging the essentiality, as other fathers did,† in order to the enjoyment of these promises and prerogatives, of adherence to the *apostolic faith* : and the error also of identifying the earthly *Church visible*, governed by these rulers, with that against which the gates of hell should not prevail, viz. Christ's spiritual Church, the Bride. " Super unum (sc. Petrum) ædificat ecclesiam suam.... Exordium ab unitate proficiscitur, ut ecclesia una monstretur :

* On which observes his Romish Editor Pamelius ; " *et in terris videtur desiderati. Etsi autem ad Eph. iv. id apertè non habeatur, subindicatur tamen his verbis, Unum corpus et unus spiritus : quemadmodum S. Cyprianus pulchrè explicat Libro De Unitate Ecclesiæ.*"

† So *Cyril Alex.* De Trin. iv. 1 : Πέτραν οἰμαι παρωνυμῶς ἕτερον οὐδεν ἢ τὴν ἀκατασείστον καὶ ἐδραιωτάτην τοῦ μαθητοῦ πίστιν ἀποκαλῶν, ἐφ' ἣ καὶ ἀδιαπτῶτως ἐρηρεῖσται καὶ διαπεπηγὴν ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ αὐταῖς ἀναλώτοις ταῖς ἁδὸν πυλαῖς εἰς αἰεὶ διαμενοῦσα. And *Origen* : Πέτρα γὰρ καὶ ὁ Χριστοῦ μαθητὴς, ἀφ' οὗ ἐπὶ οἱ ἐκ πνευματικῆς ἀκολουθοῦσης πέτρας καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν τοιαύτην πέτραν οἰκοδομεῖται ὁ ἐκκλησιαστικὸς πᾶς λόγος, καὶ ἡ κατ' αὐτὸν πολιτεία. ἐν ἑκάστῳ γὰρ τῶν τελειῶν, συμπληρουμένων τὴν μακαριότητα λόγων καὶ ἐργῶν καὶ νοημάτων, ἐστὶν ἡ ὑπο τοῦ Θεοῦ οἰκοδομουμένη ἐκκλησία. In Matt. xvi. 18.—So too *Augustine*.

on a point so momentous,) Augustine seemed raised up for the special purpose of setting it forth again before men as the only true Church of the promises.¹ Taught by whom, or at least, accordantly with whom, when ages succeeded afterwards of darkness deeper and deeper,² (very much through this self-same error,) the confessors of the middle age, living under that perfected form of the apostatized ecclesiastical and earthly thing, *Rome Papal*, "*Mother and Mistress*," were mainly saved from her sorceries by recognizing the distinction, and choosing and appropriating the heavenly Church as their own.³ And so too, still later, the Churches of the Reformation, our own especially inclusive: which, while *in charity*, like the Apostles and early Christians, regarding and speaking of all members of the Church Visible, not openly inconsistent, as belonging to it,⁴ did

quam unam ecclesiam etiam in Cantico Canticorum Spiritus Sanctus ex personâ Domini designat, et dicit, "Una est columba mea, perfecta mea."

¹ More often Augustine speaks of Christ's true church under its character of a *polity*, the *Civitas Dei*. But at times he conjoins the two phrases. So C. D. xvii. 4. 3; "Ecclesia Christi, Civitas Regis Magni;" also xvii. 16. 2, &c.

² See my Vol. i. 285.

³ See my historical application of the Vision of the 144000 seen by St. John with Christ on Mount Zion, in contrast and opposition to the Beast Antichrist's multitudinous worshippers in Babylon, Vol. iii. p. 258.

"In common with the soundest divines," says Professor Le Bas, "Wicliff allows the distinction between the *Church Visible* and the *Church Invisible*. The *latter* he calls the *very body of Christ*, the former his *medlied* (or mixed) body; which includes men ordained to bliss, and hypocrites doomed to perdition." p. 338. Mark, too, the prominence of this point in the examinations of *Lord Cobham* and others of the later *Wickliffites*, before the Romish tribunals; and the "*Credo unam esse sanctam catholicam Ecclesiam*," perpetuated as *Huss's* motto on his medal, given at Vol. ii. p. 404: also *Luther's* public recognition of this doctrine of *Huss*, quoted Vol. iii. p. 262, Note ¹; and the same in the examination of *Philpot* and other Anglican reformers of the xvth century.

⁴ I beg to call the reader's careful attention to this point, as one that seems to me most important. There are two principles on which an interpreter may attempt the explanation of the various eulogistic phrases, such as *the elect*, *the faithful*, &c, address by the apostles to the churches they write to. The *one* is that which explains them of mere *ecclesiastical election*, and *profest faith*; and consequently applies them to all the members of the professing church indiscriminately, the true alike, and the false. The *other* is that which regards the phrases as properly belonging only to the *true* members, i. e. the constituency of the *spiritual* church: and consequently applies the terms *generally* only in the spirit of *charity*; hoping, where there exists no plain evidence to the contrary, in the sincerity of men's profession.—I feel deeply persuaded that the *latter* is the only one that can be consistently and satisfactorily carried out.

So *Leighton*, on 1 Pet. i. 2. "The Apostle denominates all the christians to whom he writes by the condition of *true believers*; calling them *elect* and *sanctified*, &c: and St. Paul writes in the same style in his Epistles to the churches.

still prominently set forth, distinctively from the *Church Visible*,¹ “the blessed company of all faithful people,” “the members incorporate of the mystical body of Christ : ”²—that *spiritual Church* the gathering of whose

Not that all in these churches were such indeed ; but because they professed to be such, and by that their profession and calling as christians were obliged to be such, and as many of them as were in any measure true to their calling and profession were really such. Besides in all probability, there would be then fewer false Christians.” Compare the extracts from Clement of Rome and Justin Martyr, given in my Vol. i. p. 243, Note ¹.

¹ In its xviith Article, our Church sketches the history, formation, and character of the blessed company that constitute Christ's *true invisible Church* ; in its xixth, a *true visible Church*, (such as may be fitted to gather in, and nourish *the invisible*,) as being “one in which the pure word of God is preached, and sacraments rightly administered.” Its Burial Service alludes to the *invisible* or *spiritual Church* under the appellation of *the number of the elect* : “That thou wouldest shortly accomplish the number of thine elect, and hasten thy kingdom.”

So too in the Prayer for the Ember Weeks : “Almighty God, who hast purchased to thyself an *Universal Church*, by the precious blood of thy dear Son.”

² So the Anglican Communion Service.—Similarly says the Homily on Whitsunday, though speaking of this Church's earthly state ; “The true Church is an universal Congregation or fellowship of God's faithful and elect people, built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets.”

Let me add the following from King Edward the VIth's Short Catechism.

M. Now remaineth that thou speak of the *Holy Church*.—S. Afore that the Lord God had made the heaven and earth, he determined to have for himself a most beautiful kingdom and holy Commonwealth. The Apostles and ancient Fathers that wrote in Greek called it *εκκλησια* ; in English a *congregation* or *assembly* : into the which He hath admitted an infinite number of men, that should all be subjects to one king as their sovereign, and only one head : Him we call *Christ*, which is to say, *Anointed*. . . To the furnishing of this Commonwealth belong all they as many as do truly fear, honor, and call upon God, wholly applying their mind to holy and godly living ; and all those that putting all their hope and trust in him, do assuredly look for the bliss of everlasting life. But as many as are in this faith stedfast, were fore-chosen, predestinate, and appointed out to everlasting life, before the world was made. Witness thereof they have within their hearts, the Spirit of Christ ; the author, earnest, and unfailable pledge of their faith. Which faith only is able to perceive the mysteries of God, only bringeth peace into the heart, only taketh hold on the righteousness that is in Christ Jesus.

Then, in answer to the question, “Canst thou yet further *depaint me out* that congregation which thou callest a kingdom or commonweal of Christians,” (evidently the same Christian congregation, kingdom, commonwealth, or Church of which a description had been given in the preceding extract from the Catechism,) “and so set it out before mine eyes that it may be known asunder from each other fellowship of men,” “some certain congregation that may be seen,”—the Scholar defines it as consisting of those who not only “profess the pure and upright learning of Christ, as it is faithfully set forth in the Holy Testament,” and “use his Sacraments with pureness and simplicity,” but also “in all points are governed and ruled by the laws and statutes of their king and high bishop Christ, in the bond of charity,” and banish out of the Church such as will not amend their lives.” And he concludes respecting it thus. “This is that same Church which Paul calleth the pillar and upholding stay of truth. To this Church belong the keys, wherewith heaven is locked and unlocked : for that is done by the ministration of the word ; whereunto properly belongeth the power

members out of "this naughty world,"¹ and their nourishing, strengthening, and edification,² is the great object of all earthly and visible orthodox churches, with all their admirable and divinely-appointed instrumentalities and means of grace: an object on the completion of which such scaffoldings will be set aside; as things that have answered their purpose, and are needed no more.³—Is it not by confusion of these two very different things, *the invisible*, or rather *spiritual Church*,⁴ and the visi-

to bind and loose, to hold for guilty and forgive sins." After which the Catechism proceeds thus.

"M. This would I hear of thee, why it immediately followeth (after mention of the *Holy Ghost*) that we believe the *holy Universal Church* and the *Communion of Saints*?—S. These two things I have always thought to be most fitly coupled together, because the fellowships and incorporations of other men proceed, and be governed by, other means and policies; but the Church, which is an assembly of men called to everlasting salvation, is both gathered together and governed by the Holy Ghost. Which thing, sith it cannot be perceived by bodily sense or light of nature, is by right and for good reason here reckoned among things that are known by belief, (i. e. placed in the *Creed*.) And therefore this calling together of the faithful is called *universal*, because it is bound to no special place. For God throughout all coasts of the world hath them that worship Him: which, though they be far scattered asunder by divers distance of countries and dominions, yet are they members most nearly joined of that same body whereof Christ is the head; and have one spirit, faith, sacraments, prayers, forgiveness of sins, and heavenly bliss, common among them all."—Liturgies of King Edward VI. pp. 511, 514. Parker Edition.

¹ So our Ordination Service. "Ye are called to teach, feed, and provide for the Lord's family: and to seek for Christ's sheep that are dispersed abroad, and for his children who are in the midst of this naughty world; (i. e. professing Christendom;) that they may be saved through Christ for ever."

² Compare Eph. iv. 12; "He gave some apostles, some evangelists, some pastors and teachers, for the perfecting of the saints, for the edifying of the *body of Christ*:"—i. e. of *the Church of the redeemed*, "which is his body." Ibid. i. 23.

³ So Leighton (the truest as well as sweetest exponent of Anglican Church doctrine) on 1 Pet. ii. 5. "Ye are built up a spiritual house." "This building is the *whole invisible Church of God*, and each good man is a stone of this building.—For this purpose chiefly did God make the world, the heaven and earth, that in it He might raise this spiritual building to himself, to dwell in for ever. . . . The continuance of this present world, as now it is, is but for the service of this work, like the scaffolding about it: and therefore, when this spiritual building shall be fully completed, all the present frame of things in the world, *and in the Church itself*, shall be taken away, and appear no more."

⁴ I here prefer this adjective to the others, because it is very possible not only for individual members of Christ's true Church to be visible as "lights in the world," which indeed they generally more or less must be, supposing their walk and conversation consistent, but also for a *community* of true Christians to be visibly associated together in social fellowship and religious worship. Such, for example, was the earliest primitive Church constituted on the great day of Pentecost at Jerusalem; such the primitive Churches, as first constituted, at Philippi and Thessalonica: which beautiful model the Catechist of King Edward seems to have had in his eye in the Extract just given from the Catechism, but which has subsequently been too much only an *ideal* model of a Church visible. For in

ble,¹ (conjoined indeed with misunderstanding or forgetfulness as to the great predicted *ecclesiastical apostacy*, that was to run on even from St. Paul's time within the profess-

every case tares began almost immediately to mix with the wheat in the early Churches, as the Apostolic Epistles themselves show, agreeably with our Lord's prophetic parable. And so corruption becoming more and more prevalent, and tainting not only the individual character of the professing Church's members, but even its doctrinal teaching, profest faith, and public worship, the Apocalyptic symbol at length received its fulfilment of the *true Church* being driven into a state of invisibility and barrenness, like as of a wilderness. Nor even in that comparatively small portion of ancient Roman Christendom in which orthodox doctrine and pure forms of worship were restored at the Reformation, has the mass of any visible Church community answered in spirit and character to its profession. Compare Apoc. xiv. 3; a passage already before referred to.

¹ I cannot better illustrate this than from Mr. Gresley's "*True Churchman*." He observes (p. 35, 6th Ed.); "It is the right or the wrong belief in one doctrine of the one *Catholic and Apostolic Church*, which makes all the difference, rendering men sound orthodox Churchmen, or wavering Schismatics. Some not very spiritual persons have adopted a mode of speaking of *the Church as the body of true believers in all the world*. It is manifestly a mere political manœuvre.* Let us turn to the Bible. The word *Church* occurs in a good many places in Scripture; in the large majority of which it is applied to *a religious community existing visibly upon earth*, which was liable to persecution, vexation, extension, could receive complaints, admit or reject members, deliberate, decide controversies, send messengers, be edified, take care of, salute, and be saluted, in short could exercise all the functions of a visible human society." Then he adds: "There are a few, very few, exceptions; as in the Epistle to the Ephesians, where it is said that Christ gave himself for it, that he might present it to himself a glorious Church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing. Here evidently the Apostle alludes to some *prospective* condition of *the Church*; because not even one individual member of the Church on earth is on this side of the grave perfectly sinless. This perfect holiness therefore can be ascribed only to the Church triumphant: as in the Hebrews, where the heavenly Jerusalem is spoken of as the general assembly and Church of the first-born which are written in heaven, the spirits of just men made perfect."

Let me ask, Is there not some confusion of ideas, or of language, in this passage? In the first part Mr. G. speaks of *the Church* (the *one Catholic and Apostolic Church*) as a *religious community existing visibly on earth*, including (as appears from the context, all its professing members, and governed by bishops of the official apostolic succession: then he quotes a certain few passages from Scripture, which allude, he says, to a *prospective* and *triumphant* condition of *the Church*. Now, in thus speaking, either Mr. G. means by *the Church* the same community that he before designated under that name, though in a different stage and state of existence; which is the natural and only proper meaning of his words: in which case he makes *all professing and unexcommunicated members* of the earthly episcopal Churches to be members of the Church triumphant in heaven; an error surely as fearful as palpable!—Or else he means by *the Church* in one sentence one thing; in the next quite another: viz. in the first, *the Christian visible community*, including both true and false, the tares and the wheat; in the other the *wheat*, or *true Church* only. On which latter hypothesis he virtually admits the distinction that he is so bent on denying, between the *Church visible* and *Church invisible*; while violating at the same time that distinctness, which is a primary rule of writing. What if, in Algebra, the equation $A = a + a$ being proposed, (as the *Church visible* includes both the *true* and

* Was it so with Archbishop Leighton? Or with the founders of the Church to which Mr. G. belongs, whose views to this effect I have quoted above?

ing Church, parallel with the constituency and doctrine of Christ's true Church, and at length all but to stifle the latter,¹ together with a mistaken *Judaic* view also of the Christian Church and priesthood,²) that most of those Oxford anti-Anglican errors have sprung, whose legitimate end and perfecting is in the Romish doctrine and Church?³—At home and abroad let but its own proper and original⁴ evangelical spirit and acting characterize our beloved Anglican Church; and then surely we may the rather hope for the Divine blessing upon her. By the joint application of her Apocalyptic *Augustinian* doctrine respecting the Lord's *true living Church*, as one made up of his individual *election of grace*, chosen from out of visible professing Churches through grace unto salvation, and her Apocalyptic *Lutheran* doctrine of *justification simply by faith in Christ our Righteousness*, (doctrines alike prominently set forth in the Apocalypse,

the *false* members of it) some one in the working out of the problem were quietly to use *a*, after a step or two, as the equivalent of *A*?

As to the difference between Mr. G. and his own Church on the general view, the Notes preceding will, I think, show it clearly.

I am not unaware that certain eminent opponents of the ecclesiastical system advocated by Mr. Gresley, do yet agree with him in speaking of the appellative *sons of God* as applied by St. Paul to all the members of *the Church visible*, "whether they walk worthy of their high calling or not." So Archbishop Whateley in his *Kingdom of God*, p. 8: who also at p. 52, notes all these as constituting the *communion of Saints*. But would *St. Paul* have counted in that communion such false professors as he alludes to Acts xx. 30, Phil. iii. 19, 2 Cor. xi. 13, 15, Jude 12; &c.?

¹ See in Vol. iii. p. 79, my reference to Archdeacon Manning's argument on this point.

² See my general argument on this subject on the Sealing Vision, Part i. ch. vii. § 1, concluded Vol. i. pp. 264—267.

It was through this erroneous view, primarily, that Mr. Sibthorp was led to join Rome. So he himself tells us, in his very illustrative Letter of justification.—And I fear it still partially affects some, who would yet shrink back from Oxford Tractarianism. I might exemplify in a late Ordination Sermon by one much to be esteemed, on 2 Cor. viii. 23, based very much on this official, ecclesiastical, Levitical view of the Episcopacy, Church, and Priesthood:—as if from his mere *office* a bishop or presbyter can be the *glory of Christ*, unless he hold, preach, and live the doctrine of Christ; or as if men baptized can be *really* brethren to Christ's saints, unless they be *really* and *in heart* members incorporate with Christ the head.

³ What an illustration of this has been given, since my first Edition was published, in the Apostacy to Rome of the chief Oxford Tractarians, Messrs. Newman, Ward, Oakley, Faber, &c!—[2nd Ed.]

⁴ *Original*, with reference to the Cranmers, Riddleys, Jewels, &c., the actual founders of the English Church; not to the Lauds or Bulls, whom some would refer to as its fathers, of a later and very different generation.

as re-discovered to men by express revelation,¹) we may expect that she will detect and expel from within her pale, as with touch of the spear of Ithuriel, every the most specious heresy: and that so, at the last great day of Christ's collecting together his jewels, the memorial of Zion shall be hers yet more abundantly, that "many were born in her, and that the Most High did establish her."²

And might not a word be fitly added also of solemn practical application of the lessons of this prophecy to *other churches*, orthodox and unorthodox, among us?—In the anticipation of some tremendous approaching conflict, (if such anticipation seem warranted by the prophecy,) and yet more in the view of this conflict of the nations as but a prelude to the fearful and fiery judgments that are to accompany the Lord's own coming, do we not see motives pre-eminently cogent for union among all that love the Lord Jesus in sincerity? And does it not appear lamentable that, whether from political or ecclesiastical differences of opinion, there should be cherished by any such in the *Protestant dissenting body* a feeling of bitterness against our Anglican Church; a Church which they yet allow to be in its *doctrines* and *profession of faith* eminently scriptural and evangelic: especially considering that the supposition of Christ's declaration, "My kingdom is not of this world," militating against a national established Church, depends on an inference from that text very questionable;³ and indeed, unless

¹ See my Vol. i. pp. 270, 271, and Vol. ii. pp. 39—43. ² Psalm lxxxvii. 5.

³ With regard to this famous text, John xviii. 36, "My kingdom is not of this world," (Ἡ βασιλεία ἡ ἐμὴ οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου,) it seems essential to its right understanding, that we consider it in the light not only of its immediate context, but also of the larger context of Scripture (especially New Testament Scripture) in which Messiah's kingdom, called also the *kingdom of God*, or the *kingdom of heaven*,* is a topic perpetually recurring.

And this must, I think, at once strike a considerate inquirer, that as in Daniel's first celebrated prophecy respecting it (a prophecy probably whence the phrase *kingdom of heaven* chiefly originated) there was figured the distinction between the *regnum lapidis* and the *regnum montis*,†—the primary humbler state of Mes-

* In St. Matthew we find it generally called *the kingdom of heaven*, in St. Mark and St. Luke *the kingdom of God*.

† Dan. ii. 34, 35. I use Mede's well-known Latin.

my solution of the vision of Apoc. x, xi can be refuted, that the establishment of the Anglican, as well as of the German and other reformed Churches of the 16th cen-

siah's kingdom, as a stone (the temple's destined corner-stone*) cut out without hands, and its ultimate triumphant state, after shivering the world's great image to pieces, and as a mountain (the mountain of the Lord's house,† I suppose,) filling with its glory the whole earth,—so this twofold state and phase of Jesus Christ's kingdom is prominently set forth by Christ himself and his apostles in the New Testament. The *first* is that which had its commencement from after the King's presentation of himself in human form on earth, rejection by those that deemed themselves the master-builders in Israel, suffering as man's redemption-price from the kingdom of darkness;‡ and then absenting himself for a while, with a view to receive investiture of the kingdom,§ and both to prepare his people for it, and it for his people.|| And it is described as the *preparatory* state of the kingdom's proclamation and heralding¶ over the earth, with earnest invitation from the King to all to enter it: a state this which answers to the seed-scattering and net-throwing of the Parable; ** with the foreseen result of a promiscuous gathering of bad and good, false as well as true: and which includes prominently among its characteristics a provision for the meet spiritual education and nourishment of all its true members; while still sojourners, far away from the King and kingdom of their hearts, in a world under the dominion of the Evil One.†† The *second* state and phase described is that of its manifestation in the heavenly power and majesty prefigured at the transfiguration;‡‡ and establishment on the ruins of Antichrist's kingdom,§§ and of each other dominion allied with the Prince of darkness. It is this same for which Christ has bid us pray incessantly, "Thy kingdom come:" one that is to be ushered in by the King's own visible return in glory; the retinue of all his faithful saints and subjects of every age rising to attend him, in reflected lustre like as of the sun, and to the exclusion of the insincere and false: ||| but which even the saints themselves in flesh and blood cannot inherit; ¶¶ and with a view to their entrance on which the

* Matt. xxi. 42, Luke xx. 17. In what our Lord adds, as recorded both by St. Matthew and St. Luke, "On whomsoever it shall fall *λικμησει αυτον*," we have I think a very interesting connecting link between *David's* prophecy about the corner-stone (Ps. cxviii. 22, "The stone which the builders rejected, &c.") here quoted by Christ, and *Daniel's* about the image-smiting stone. For *λικμησει* is not exactly rendered in our translation, "it shall grind him to powder." It should rather be, "it shall reduce him to dust like as of winnowed chaff from the threshing-floor." The similarity of which to Dan. ii. 35 is so evident and striking that I cannot think it unintended: "The stone smote the image upon his feet of iron and clay; and then was the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold broken to pieces together, and became like the chaff of the summer threshing-floor; and the wind carried them away." It is the self-same word that is used in the Septuagint, Dan. ii: *λικμησει και λεπτυνει πασας τας βασιλειας*.

† Is. ii. 2, Mic. iv. 1. Compare Apoc. xxi. 10. ‡ Col. i. 13, 14.

§ Luke xix. 12.

|| John xiv. 2.

¶ Matt. iv. 23, Acts xxviii. 31, &c. I need hardly observe that *κηρυσσειν*, usually rendered *to preach*, is literally *to proclaim as a herald*.

** Matt. xiii. 24, 47.

†† 1 John v. 19.

‡‡ Mark ix. 1; "There be some standing here which shall not taste of death till they see the kingdom of God come with power. And after six days Jesus taketh Peter and James and John up into an high mountain apart, and was transfigured before them; &c." Compare 2 Pet. i. 16—18.

§§ Dan. ii. 44, vii. 26, 27.

||| 1 Thess. v. 16, 17; Matt. xxv. 31, 34; xiii. 41—43.

¶¶ 1 Cor. xv. 50,

tury, seems expressly noted in the Apocalyptic figurations as the Lord's own doing.¹—The same as to the

robing of incorruption is provided for them, and the world to be made a new world wherein dwelleth righteousness.*

Conformably with all which the text under discussion is, I conceive, thus to be explained : “ My kingdom is not of this world,” might be said by Christ to Pilate, 1st. with reference to the *principle of its constitution*; as neither seeking for its object the grandeurs, dignities, or secular supremacy of the kingdoms of this world, nor involving disobedience or violation of allegiance in secular matters to the earthly sovereign : † but only vindicating to itself the empire of the heart : —2dly. in respect of *its constituency*, as including those only who in heart “ are of the truth,” in contrast with a world of which he had the night before said, that “ the Spirit of truth the world could not receive ; ” ‡ its members being thus “ not of the world, even as Christ was not of the world : ” —3rdly. in respect of *the mode of its propagation and advancement*, as not by force or the sword, like this world's kingdoms, “ else would my servants fight : ” —4thly. in respect of *the time of its proper manifestation and establishment* ; as not during the existence of the world that now is, but in the world to come, as says St. Paul, § at the end of the present age ; || in the regeneration, or new creation, when the Son of Man shall sit on the throne of his glory ; ¶ the new heaven and new earth, of which speak Isaiah and St. Peter.**

Supposing which explanation of the text correct, it seems, although what might be called a decidedly *spiritual* explanation, yet to involve no precept or argument against a national establishment of the orthodox faith. For the rich and the noble and kings are no more excluded from the offer of a part in Christ's kingdom than the ignoble and the poor. And in case of their accepting the offer, and becoming members of it, they are surely as much bound as any others to promote the interests of the kingdom, by such legitimate means as God may have put within their power : including especially, on the part of Christian kings, the provision of a gospel-ministry and an evangelic worship, throughout the countries ruled by them. Can the Queen of the Sandwich islands have violated any principle of duty involved in Christ's declaration to Pilate, in making provision for them in her distant territory ? Or our pious King Edward at the Reformation in England ?

¹ See my Vol. ii. p. 184, 185, &c. on the *ραβδος*, or *rod of authority*, given by the Angel to the representative man, St. John.—“ The Elector John,” says Milner, in a passage quoted by me, Vol. ii. p. 187, “ assuming to himself that supremacy in ecclesiastical matters which is the natural right of every lawful sovereign, exercised it with resolution and activity, in forming new ecclesiastical constitutions, modelled on the principles of the great Reformer.”—How in the Anglican church this same principle was acted on is notorious, and may be seen in Burnet.

[After the publication of my 1st Edition, my argument from the *ραβδος* was impugned as an unfounded fancy of the Author's, both in the *Patriot* and other dissenting publications : but on my calling for proof of incorrectness in my Apocalyptic inference and argument, none was given. Subsequently, and since the publication of my 2nd Edition, Dr. Candlish has argued elaborately against it, in the second of his Four Letters addrest to me on certain subjects in the *Horæ*. I beg to refer the reader to his Letter and my Reply. Certainly the result does not seem to me to be the overthrow, but rather the confirmation, of my interpretation and argument. 3rd Ed.]

* 2 Pet. iii. 13.

† Compare Rom. xiii. 1 ; 1 Pet. ii. 13, 17.

‡ John xiv. 17.

§ ‘Η οικουμένη ἡ μελλουσα, Heb. ii. 5.

|| Matt. xiii. 39.

¶ Matt. xix. 28.

** Compare Justin Martyr, Apol. ii ; Ὑμεῖς ἀκουσαντες βασιλειαν προσδοκῶντας ἡμᾶς ἀκριτως ἀνθρώπινον λεγείν ἡμᾶς ὑπειληφάτε, ἡμῶν τῇ μετὰ Θεοῦ λεγομένη.

Scotch *Free Church* in its relation to the *National Church* of Scotland. For if the perfect healing of the breach be hopeless, that has been caused by the lamented secession from the latter of so large and influential a body of its members, inclusive of many of its most eminent and excellent ministers, it should surely be remembered how small the grounds of separation of *heart*, in comparison with those of union :—seeing that it is not on questions involving the essentials of Christian faith that the disruption has arisen, but on questions of *ecclesiastical constitution and government*, never perfectly to be resolved in a world where all is imperfect,¹ and on which sincere and enlightened Christians may reasonably hold different opinions ;—that the objected *Erastianism*² of the Established Church, in so far as it attached also to the

¹ I mean in regard of the chief disputed points on which the disruption arose. Thus, first, if the principle of *patronage* be objected to, and the *popular call* or nomination be preferred, as the prerequisite to ordination to a benefice, is not the doubt both permissible and reasonable whether the latter be not to the full as liable to abuse as the former, or even more so?—Again, if on questions involving both secular and ecclesiastical rights, in combination such as to make their enjoyment separately the one from the other in practice absurd and almost impossible, so as in the case of a presentee to the fruits of a benefice, in his character of pastor of the congregation,—if, I say, on such questions, the supremacy of the highest ecclesiastical over the highest civil court, to all practical intents and purposes, be on the one side advocated, is it unreasonable to doubt on the other side whether this constitution of things might not as probably be abused to ecclesiastical tyranny, and even oppression of the truth, as the supremacy of the civil court? The operation and result of Gratian's law, mentioned by me in a Note Vol. iii. p. 168, by which exclusive jurisdiction over the clergy was assigned to the higher ecclesiastical or episcopal court, altogether distinctively and apart from the secular, is to my own mind a very instructive and striking fact; especially when considered in contrast with the satisfaction it was hailed with by the clergy of the day, as a great boon. For it laid the foundation of their ultimately almost hopeless enthrallment to their episcopal superiors, and of these latter to the Popes. Does not the Free Church, or rather do not able and excellent writers associated with it, speak freely of the arbitrariness and despotism of the General Assembly, or Scotch supreme Ecclesiastical court, towards the inferior Presbyteries, when acting altogether independently of the Civil courts, during the ascendancy of Dr. Robertson in the last century? On the other hand has not the supremacy of the Civil court in England been on more than one important occasion within the last century a defence, not only of the beneficed clergy personally, but even of the truth itself, against the abuse of episcopal authority?

² *Erastus* was a German divine of the xvth century. Neal, in his History of the Puritans, Vol. ii. Pref. p. ix,—after observing on the two Houses of Parliament, during the civil war, being almost all of the principles of *Erastus*, who maintained that Christ and his apostles had prescribed no particular form of discipline for his Church, but had left it in the hands of the civil magistrate to appoint such particular forms of church government as might most subserve the welfare of the Commonwealth,—adds, “ These were the sentiments of the Re-

primary constitutions of the German or other Churches of the Reformation, can rightly be viewed as no subject of the Divine disapprobation, supposing my explanation correct (as already just before remarked) of the Apocalyptic symbol of St. John's measuring the Temple, under the Covenant Angel's express regard and direction ;¹—that as regards *Christ's headship* and *kingship* over his Church, the doctrine in the highest and most scriptural sense of those phrases,² nay, and even in a more earthly

formers, from Cranmer down to Bancroft."—This last statement, however, needs the important modification of the magistrate doing nothing contrary to the Bible.

With regard to Erastus' *doctrine*, it may be useful further to give Archbishop Whateley's explanation of *Erastianism*. "Erastianism has always been considered as consisting in making the State *as such*,—the civil magistrate by *virtue of his office*,—prescribe to the people *what they shall believe*, and how worship God." (Kingdom of Christ, p. 266.) Now if this be correct, then the inapplicability of the charge of *Erastianism* made by the seceders against the Scotch Established Church, will be evident. For has the State attempted to impose new *Articles of Belief* on the Church? Or have the seceders, in consequence of *such* Erastian pretensions, left the Establishment? * Dr. Candlish, however, on the other hand, (Letters on Horæ, p. 120) asserts that "neither *articles of belief* nor *manner of worship* came into question at all in the Erastian Controversy, properly so called; that it is more than doubtful if the earlier and more intelligent Erastians would have asserted, or even conceded, the civil magistrate's jurisdiction in these departments; and that it was on the lawfulness, according to Scripture and right reason, of the civil magistrate's jurisdiction in the exercise of *Church discipline*, particularly in the acts of *excommunication*, and of *admitting to membership and office in the Church*, that the dispute about which Erastus was concerned really turned."

At any rate it must be allowed that *Erastianism* is a just cause of reproach, in so far only as it can be proved to be *anti-scriptural*. And in such a case as the famous Marnoch and Strathbogie one, where the two jurisdictions met and conflicted, was God's revealed will so clear as that a Christian man, wishing to judge by that rule, might not honestly differ from the opinion of the majority in the General Assembly, who subsequently seceded from the Established Church?

¹ See Note ¹ p. 294 *suprà*.—I have said above, "in so far as the objected Erastianism attached also to the *primary* constitutions of the German or other Churches of the Reformation," because it is to these that the Apocalyptic symbol (if I am correct) relates; not to such changes in their ecclesiastical constitutions as may have been made at any later epoch. Moreover my argument from the Apocalyptic symbol has reference of course only to main points in the constitution of the Reformed Churches, not to details.

² It may be well to subjoin, with a view to a right judgment on the *scriptural* sense of the phrase, all the passages in the New Testament which speak of *Christ's headship over the Church*.

And first we have Christ figured to us as the *head corner-stone* of his temple

* Let me contrast the case of the Ministres demissionaires, now Ministers of the Free Church in the Canton de Vaud. Here the first and grand step of the secular government towards the oppression of the Vaudois Church was the abolition by it in 1839, at one fell swoop, and altogether by its own authority, of the *Helvetic Confession of Faith*.

the Church. So in Matt. xxi. 42, and the parallel passages in Mark and Luke. But what temple or Church? the visible earthly Society so called, including both false and true members; or that constituted of the true only? St. Peter (1 Pet. ii. 4—6) defines it distinctly as the latter. "To whom coming, as unto a living stone, disallowed of men, but chosen of God and precious, ye also *as living stones* are built up a spiritual house," &c; as it is in the Scripture, I lay in Zion a chief corner-stone. . . and, The stone which the builders disallowed the same is made the head of the corner."

Then, passing over 1 Cor. xi. 3, where it is said of *individual* Christians that "the head of the woman is the man, and the head of the man is Christ," a passage therefore not directly bearing on the point now in question, we come to the following apposite and famous passages in St. Paul's Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians. Eph. i. 22; "And God gave him to be *head* above all things *to the Church*; which is his body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all." Eph. iv. 11—15; "And he gave some apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers, for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ; till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ; that speaking the truth in love we may grow up into him in all things, which is *the head*, even Christ: from whom the whole body fitly joined together . . . maketh increase of the body unto the edifying of itself in love." Eph. v. 23, &c; "The husband is head of the wife, as Christ is *the head of the Church*. . . And he loved the Church, and gave himself for it, that he might present it to himself a glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing; but that it should be holy and without blemish." Col. i. 18; "And he is the head of his body the Church." Col. ii. 18, 19; "Let no man beguile you of your reward, by a voluntary humility and worshipping of angels, intruding into those things which he hath not seen, *and not holding the Head*; from which all the body, by joints and bands having nourishment ministered, increaseth with the increase of God."

In all which passages, especially as compared together and mutually illustrated by each other, it seems to me clear that *the true Church* is meant always and distinctively, as that of which *Christ is head*. I am surprised to see that Dr. Candlish (Letters, pp. 26, 27, 123), while fully admitting, nay contending, that "holding the head," Col. ii. 19, is said distinctively of *true* believers, yet contends also that most of the passages quoted belong both to the true Church, and also to visible Churches, "outstanding societies" (including of course both good and bad) formed in Christ's name; and especially that Eph. iv. 11, &c. has reference to these latter—"If there be meaning in words it must apply to a visible organized society." But why? Because, says he, the provision specified of outward means and ministers of grace, (apostles, prophets, evangelists, &c.) necessarily belongs to a visible organized Society. But whose edifying is accomplished by them? Surely not that of mere professors in the Church Society, but of the true members only. Which last therefore can alone in the scriptural sense be deemed Christ's body; * (just as in Col. ii. 19, where Dr. C. as I observed allows it;) which last alone can have Christ as a head; which last alone grow up into him in all things; &c.†

As to the Scriptural view of *Christ's kingship* in the Church, and of those to whom the privilege attaches of having him for their king, the most illustrative passage that I know is John xviii. 37, "Every one *that is of the truth* heareth my

* So Augustine, Vol. iii. p. 99: where, speaking of Tichonius' second interpretative principle, *De Domini corpore bipartite*, as including both the true members of Christ's body and the false, Augustine says that the phrase is wrongly exprest; because hypocrites and false professors do not really belong to Christ's body at all.

† How strongly Christ is set forth as *the Church's head*, in this Scriptural sense of the phrase, by the founders of the Anglican Church, which yet has been spoken against as Erastian, will have been seen in the extract from King Edward's Catechism given a little earlier.

and less Scriptural sense of them,¹ may be considered, I presume, to be held by the members of the Scotch Established Church as truly as of the Free ;—in fine,

voice : " following as it does on Christ's saying that he was born to be a king, though over a kingdom not of this world ; * and being in fact his explanation of the subjects that would belong to it. Does not St. John teach us (1 John iii. 19 &c.) that none but real heart-believers are *of the truth* ? Does not Christ state it (John x. 27) as the distinctive of his own true sheep, that they *hear his voice* ?

¹ I need hardly say that the Free Church holds Christ's headship over the *visible Church* ; and this as an important principle in the right ecclesiastical constitution of Christian communities. So the Address by the Convocation to the People of Scotland, as also Dr. Candlish's, Mr. Grey's, and Mr. Hamilton's Pamphlets, &c. " Christ is not only inwardly a spiritual head to his mystical Church, but externally a spiritual head to the *politic body of the Visible Church of professors*, and *their only lawgiver* : "—a principle which the *Reply by the General Assembly's Special Commission to Sir J. Graham* applies, by declaring that an acknowledgment of the right of the Secular Court to act as it has, is a repudiation of the doctrine contained in the Scotch Confession of Faith, that the *Lord Jesus is the only Head of the Church*.

But since the Church visible in any professedly Christian country must be held to embrace the whole community and *πολιτεία*, people as well as pastors, prince as well as people, all in allegiance to Him whom they in common profess to regard as their King, ought not the Prince's subordinate officers, *the Judges of the law inclusive*, to be considered as acting under the heavenly King, while conscientiously fulfilling their several appointed functions, as truly as Church officers so called, (in a narrower sense of the word Church,) while fulfilling theirs ? Was Sir Matthew Hale in his *secular* court less a servant and minister of the Church's Head and King Christ Jesus, than Archbishop Laud in his *spiritual* or rather *ecclesiastical* court ? So that the difference on this point between the Free Church and both the English and Scotch Established Churches seems to be still more narrowed. It strikes me that this large view of the Church constituent body, and its various functionaries, has been practically too much overlooked, on one side at least, in the controversy ; the Church and the State, Church Courts and Secular Courts, being spoken and written about as antagonistic, and the former only as under Christ, the Church's Head and King.

And let me suggest whether another misapplication of language (as it seems to me to be) may not have further confused the question, needlessly widened the difference, and even opened what might be a door to serious error ; I mean the use of *spiritual* for *ecclesiastical*, in speaking of the members of Church Courts in contradistinction to those of Secular Courts. Says Mr. Hamilton, in

* See my Note on the text, " My kingdom is not of this world," a little *suprà*.—Archbishop Whateley, in his well-known Work on the *Kingdom of Christ*, already more than once referred to, appears to me to have greatly impoverished and understated Christ's meaning in this declaration ; by explaining it (p. 29) wholly or chiefly, as "*the renunciation of all secular coercion in behalf of his religion*." This view of the words in the text's latter clause arises from his viewing *Christ's kingdom* in the former clause as meaning only *the earthly visible society*, called *the Church*, in its earthly present mixt state : for he says scarce a word in his Treatise of *this earthly state* being one in which many would profess to attach to Christ's kingdom that really do not, the tares as well as the wheat ; or of the *future state* as that in which alone the *true constituency* of the kingdom will be separated from the *untrue*, and in perfect union and glory shine forth for ever.—The different views from this of Wicliff and of the Anglican Church have been shown before.

that, instead of that established Church being an "Egypt" that God's Israel had to come out of,¹ it was and is by that evangelic *Confession of Faith* which it holds for its standard, as well as the Free Church, a joint Witness and bulwark with it against the only figurative Egypt of New Testament prophecy, I mean Papal Rome.² To the noble devotedness of the Free Church, since the disruption, and zeal and energy and self-denial in carrying out its many high objects, the world itself bears testimony. But has not one thing been wanting? And would her labors be less holy or less blest, if acrimony towards the Church she has seceded from were altogether banished; and if, instead of it, there was exhibited by her in clearer daylight the holding of the fellowship of the Spirit in the bond of peace?³

his "Harp on the Willows," p. 20; (and he is only one among many that have used the same language;) "They hold that the Lord Jesus is the only Head of the Church. In their *ecclesiastical procedure* they desire to follow his will, as that will is revealed in his word. They believe that the Spirit of God, *speaking through spiritual men*, is the sole interpreter of that word. And they cannot allow *the commandments of men*, the *verdicts of secular courts*, to interpose between them and their heavenly King." It seems to me evident that the *spiritual men* here meant are the members of the Scotch *ecclesiastical Courts*, as opposed on the questions that finally caused the disruption to the Judges of the *Secular Courts*; and it is the decisions of the former that are characterized as *the voice of the Spirit*, in opposition to the verdicts of the latter, which are styled *the commandments of men*. Now is not the similarity of this to Papal language about Councils, held under Papal presidency, ominous and a warning? "Spiritus Sancti testatur præsentiam congregatio sacerdotum," said Pope Celestine of the Ephesian Council held A.D. 468; and it was deemed fitting that the Seal of the Council of Trent should have a *dove* engraved on it, in token of the same presence of, and inspiration of the Council by, the Divine Spirit. (See my Vol. iii. p. 198.) *Ecclesiastical men*, congregated on ecclesiastical matters, were deemed by Rome *spiritual men* inspired in their decisions by God's Spirit. On the other hand I believe that in the New Testament the word *πνευματικός*, *spiritual*, when said of persons, is only used of true Christians. So 1 Cor. ii. 14, 15; iii. 1; xiv. 37; Gal. vi. 1; 1 Pet. ii. 5. See especially the first passage on the list, 1 Cor. ii. 15; "The *natural* man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness to him: but *the spiritual man* judgeth (or discerneth) all things."

¹ So the title of Mr. Hamllton's Sermon, "Farewell to *Egypt*; or the Departure of the Free Church out of the Erastian Establishment." And other writers of the Free Church have used the same figure.

² See my Vol. ii. p. 385.

³ I believe that the *Evangelical Alliance*, formed subsequently to the first publication of my Work, very much at the instance of some eminent members of the Scotch Free Church, and on the principle of comprehending all that "*hold the Head*," in the *Scriptural* sense of the phrase, has already operated in some cases to reconcile differences, and bring members of the Established and the Free Churches nearer together. This is a subject for real thankfulness. *

* In regard to the passage on the Free Church here concluded, and what may

And can I omit altogether a word of affectionate address and warning to members of the *Romish Church*; should there in God's providence be any such among the readers of this Commentary? If what has been here written appear indeed to bear the stamp of God's own truth, (and I am well persuaded that not all the learning or ingenuity of Rome can in its main points confute it,) then may the Divine Spirit carry home conviction to them: and make the view of God's own judgment, here fully drawn out on the great questions at issue between Romanism and Protestantism, and the view too, which the prophecy gives us, of the probable nearness of the great day of his publicly pronouncing and acting out that judgment, to be like the warning-cry in their ears, "If any man worship the Beast and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead or in his hand, the same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, and shall be tormented with fire and brimstone in the presence of the holy angels, and of the Lamb, and the smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever:"¹ or, rather, like that other kindlier voice from heaven, "Come out of her, my people," (for many, I doubt not, of this character through some delusion or ignorance are still, in respect of outward communion, *in* the Romish Church, although in spirit not *of* it,) "Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues; for her sins have reached unto heaven."²

But it is *individually* that the application of the subject is most important. And when thus personally applied, need I say how unspeakably deep and solemn

¹ Apoc. xv. 9—11.

² Apoc. xviii. 4, 5.

seem to many its too extended and elaborated Notes, let me be permitted to observe that this has partly been occasioned by a not unfriendly controversy with Dr. Candlish, arising out of observations on the Free Church less carefully made in my 1st and 2nd Editions, and expressed with less of kindness towards the Free Church than they ought to have been. As bearing directly moreover on the great questions respecting the *true* and the *visible* Church of Christ, they may be regarded as having a real Apocalyptic interest. For a fuller discussion of the subject I beg to refer the reader to his Pamphlet and my Reply.

its interest ! It is not enough that we belong to the most orthodox Church, profess the most scriptural faith, and be even zealous for it against the many errors and heresies of the day. The question is, Are we of Christ's *true disciples*, his "*little flock*," to which alone the Father has given promise of the kingdom ?¹ Have we then the evidence of belonging to it ? Have we received the Apocalyptically-noted mark and seal of God's Holy Spirit ; and the inward light, life, and spirit of holiness and adoption, which He alone can give ?² Is our faith fixed on Christ as the sun of righteousness ?³ Do we hold to the written word in life, as well as in doctrine ?⁴ Do we witness for Christ in an apostate world ; as in the world, but not *of* the world ? Do we seek to follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth,⁵ in holiness, spiritual-mindedness, benevolence, self-denial, and patient perseverance in well-doing, through evil report as well as good report ? Do we seek to improve our several talents for him, as those that must soon give account ?⁶ Does our charity abound to Christ's flock and people ?⁷ Is the lamp of faith trimmed, and its light kept burning within us, as by men that watch for their Lord ?⁸ Is the thought of his coming precious to us ? Do we look for, and love the thought of his appearing ?⁹—Doubtless there are many who can answer these questions in the affirmative. And happy are they. But there are many more, it is to be feared, with whom misgivings will arise in the conscience, as they reflect upon them. Alas ! who can doubt the prevalence, in what has been not inaptly called "*the religious world*," of much of false profession ; much of the Laodicean spirit of lukewarmness, self-conceit, religious pride, earthly-mindedness ; much of the eharacteristic deadness of the Church of Sardis, "*having a name to live, but being dead* ?"¹⁰

¹ Luke xii. 32.² Apoc. vii. See my Chapter on this Sealing Vision.³ Apoc. x. 1.⁴ Apoc. xii. 17, &c.⁵ Apoc. xiv. 4.⁶ Matt. xxv. 14, &c. 1 Cor. iv. 2.⁷ Matt. xxv. 35, &c.⁸ Matt. xxv. 7. Luke xii. 35.⁹ 2 Peter iii. 12. 2 Tim. iv. 8.¹⁰ I know not any more searching passages in Holy Scripture, for self-applica-

With all such, what cause is there, in contemplation of the coming future, for humiliation, holy fear, repentance! Blessed be God, though the acceptable time remaining be short, it is not ended. Though the Master seems to be on the point of rising, he has not as yet actually risen, and shut to the door.¹ Not only is the probationary period of permitted evil as well as good prolonged, as it is written, “He that is unjust let him be unjust still, and he that is holy let him be holy still,”² but the voice of mercy and love is also yet to be heard, inviting sinners to salvation; “The Spirit and the Bride say, Come; and let him that is athirst come; and whosoever will, let him take of the water of life freely.”³

For himself (if such personal allusion be permitted him) the Author cannot but recollect that awful declaration by Christ, “Many shall say to me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name, and I will say unto them, I never knew you.”⁴ as one that ought to suggest to him very solemn matter for self-examination and fear. It is one thing intellectually and historically to search out Scripture truth; another, and very different, experimentally to know and feel it. The former he has done, he can truly say, without grudging of time or trouble: but to himself of what avail, if the *latter* be wanting? Under this feeling he will venture to address to every Christian reader this one parting request;—that if, from the explanation of the holy Apocalyptic Book in the present Commentary, they may have received any spiritual light, comfort, or edification, then they will not refuse to make requital by prayer earnest and personal for him, that he may not fall under the condemnation just spoken of; nor, having preached to others, be found in that day of trial himself a cast-away.—At this present crisis of the world, this time of the end, in the evidence of prophecy, in the signs of the

tion on this great question, than those suggested by the Lord's Epistles to the Seven Churches of Asia.

¹ Luke xiii. 25.

² Apoc. xxii. 11. Such I conceive with Vitringa to be the meaning of this controverted text.

³ Apoc. xxii. 17.

⁴ Matt. vii. 22.

times, in the general agitation of Christendom, and the increased and increasing expectancy of him by his people, the Saviour's voice seems to be heard, distinct and clear as perhaps never before, "Surely, I come quickly." God grant that it may be the privilege of both reader and writer, whether first summoned to meet Him by death, or by the brightness of his coming advent, to be enabled each one to answer the summons with the inmost soul's welcome, "Amen ! even so ! come, Lord Jesus !"

A P P E N D I X.

A P P E N D I X.

PART I.

A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF APOCALYPTIC INTERPRETATION.

It will, I think, conduce to clearness, if we classify the Apocalyptic expositors whom we shall have to notice under the chronological divisions following :—1. those between St. John's publication of the Apocalypse, and Constantine's establishment of Christianity in the Roman Empire ;—2. those between Constantine, and the completion of the fall of the Empire, and rise of the new Romano-Gothic kingdoms, at the close of the 5th century ;—3. those between the epoch last-mentioned and the middle or end of the 10th century ;—4. those from the 10th century to the Reformation ;—5. those of the æra and century of the Reformation ;—6. those of a yet later date, down to the present time.

§ 1. FROM ST. JOHN TO CONSTANTINE.

The earliest profest Apocalyptic Commentary extant is that by *Victorinus*, Bishop of Pettau in Pannonia ; who was martyred in the Diocletian persecution, just at the very ending of the period now under review. Before that time, however, various brief hermeneutic notices of certain parts of the Apocalypse had been given to the Christian world by the earlier fathers *Justin Martyr*, *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, and *Hippolytus*, ranging in date from the middle of the second to near the middle of the third century, too interesting to be past over by any careful inquirer into the history of Apocalyptic interpretation. And, though I have already partially noted them in my

sketches either of the æra or the topics concerned, in the foregoing Commentary, yet I think it will be well here to present them again somewhat more in full, connectedly and in one point of view, as the fittest introduction to our whole subject.

In *Justin Martyr* the chief direct reference to the Apocalypse is on the *Millennium* announced by it; which, as we have seen,¹ he interpreted literally:—how St. John prophesied that believers in Christ would reign 1000 years with Him in Jerusalem, Jerusalem having been restored, enlarged, and beautified, agreeably with the Old Testament prophecies of the latter day; after which would follow the general resurrection and judgment. Further, in regard to *Antichrist*, though referring for authority more directly to Daniel,² yet it is evident that he considered the Apocalyptic ten-horned Beast, or rather its ruling head, as identical with Daniel's little horn of the fourth wild Beast,³ and each and either identical with St. Paul's Man of sin and St. John's Antichrist: also that he regarded this Antichrist as still future, though at the very doors; as destined to reign literally three and a half years; and as to be destroyed by Christ's glorious advent.⁴

In *Irenæus* too these are the two chief Apocalyptic subjects commented on; and with just the same opinions respecting them as Justin Martyr's. But his comments are fuller. With reference to the Apocalyptic Beast, Antichrist, he directed his readers, as we saw long since,⁵ to look out for the division of the Roman empire into ten kingdoms, as that which was immediately to precede and be followed by Antichrist's manifestation: also how that he, being some way of Roman polity or connexion, (though by birth, Irenæus thought, a Jew,) his characteristic title, in fulfilment of the Apocalyptic enigma, might very probably be *Λατίνος*, *the Latin Man*, a name numerally equivalent to 666.—Besides which I may observe that there occurs in his Book iv a passing notice of the *White Horse and its Rider*, of

¹ See the Note, pp. 177, *suprà*.

² See the Note, Vol. i. p. 204.

³ Because the millennium of the risen saints' reign with Christ, which in the Apocalypse is made to follow immediately on the destruction of the Apocalyptic Beast, by some interposition of Christ from heaven, is by Justin stated to follow immediately on the destruction of Daniel's Little Horn, or Antichrist.

⁴ See Vol. i. p. 205, Note ².

⁵ See the quotations in my Note Vol. i. p. 204.

the first Apocalyptic Seal; and explanation of it as signifying Christ born to victory, and going forth conquering and to conquer.¹

Next, turning to *Tertullian*, his general view both as to the *Apocalyptic Beast* and the *Apocalyptic Millennium* appears to have been precisely similar to that of the two preceding fathers.² The symbol of the *first Seal* too he seems to have explained like Irenæus.³ But by far the most interesting to my mind of his passing Apocalyptic comments, are those on the fifth Seal's vision of the *Souls under the altar*, and that of the *palm-bearing company*, figured before the opening of the seventh Seal.⁴ The martyrs of the *former* vision, he explains as martyrs then in course of being slain under Pagan Rome for the testimony of Christ: thereby distinctly assigning to the then

¹ "Ad hoc enim nascebatur Dominus;" (viz. to overthrow his adversary, like his antitype Jacob;) "de quo et Joannes in Apocalypsi ait, *Exivit vincens ut vinceret.*"

² See the Notes, Vol. i. pp. 204, 205, for Tertullian's view of Antichrist, and the imminence of his manifestation on the breaking up of the Roman empire: also, on his Millenary view, the abbreviated extract given in the Note p. 177 *suprà*. But it will be quite worth the reader's while to read the whole passage from which this extract is taken; which passage, I see, is given by Bishop Kaye in his *Tertullian*, p. 362.—Respecting the New Jerusalem, it will be there seen, his idea was that it was to be of *heavenly fabric*, and would descend from heaven to be the abode of the resurrection saints during the Millennium; while the converted Jews, still in a mortal state, were restored to, and occupied their own land of Judah adjoining. So he distinguished between the *earthly* promise to the Jewish people, and the *heavenly* (typified by the other) to the saints of the Christian Church: and so too expected, very much as I have myself exprest it at pp. 202—208 *suprà*, that the fulfilment of the two promises would coincide in time. He tells too of a glorious city which had been seen shortly before in Judæa for forty successive days, suspended in the air at break of morning; the image, it was supposed, and he believed it, of the New Jerusalem.

³ "Accepit et Angelus victoriæ coronam, procedens in candido equo ut vinceret." De Cor. Mil. ch. 15. The context shows that Christ the Covenant-Angel is meant.

⁴ The passages are given in my Vol. i. p. 207; but they are so illustrative that I must beg to bring them here again distinctly under the reader's eye.

1. De Res. Carn. ch. 25. "Etiam in Apocalypsi Johannis ordo temporum sternitur, quem martyrum quoque animæ sub altari, ultionem et judicium flagitantes, sustinere didicerunt: ut prius et orbis de pateris angelorum plagas suas edibat, et prostituta illa civitas a decem regibus dignos exitus referat, et bestia Antichristus, cum suo pseudo-propheta certamen ecclesiæ Dei inferat; atque ita, Diabolo in abyssum interim relegato, primæ resurrectionis prærogativa de soliis ordinetur dehinc, et igni dato universalis resurrectionis censura de libris judicetur."

2. Scorp. adv. Gnost. ch. 12. "Quinam isti tam beati victores (Apoc. ii. 7) nisi propriè martyres? Illorum etenim victoriæ quorum et pugnæ; eorum vero pugnæ quorum et sanguis. Sed et interim sub altari martyrum animæ placidè quiescunt; et fiduciâ ultionis candidam claritatis usurpant, donec et alii consortium illorum gloriæ impleant. Nam et rursus innumera multitudo albat, et palmis victoriæ insignes, revelantur; (Apoc. vii. 9, &c;) scilicet de Antichristo triumphales."

passing æra that particular place in the Apocalyptic prefigurative drama. The palm-bearers of the *latter* vision, that had to come out of the great tribulation, he identifies as that same second set of martyrs that had been predicted to the souls under the altar ;—those that were to make up the martyr-complement by suffering under *Antichrist*, and so suffering to become triumphant, and attain Paradise. And hence chiefly he formed to himself an *Apocalyptic plan*, and “ *ordo temporum* ” in the prophecy :—how that before the judgment and vindication promised to the souls under the altar, the harlot-city Rome was to be destroyed by the ten kings, after the vial-plagues had first been poured out on its empire : then the Beast Antichrist to rise, make war conjunctively with his False Prophet on the Church, and add an innumerable multitude of sufferers, during the tribulation of his tyranny, to the martyrs previously slain under Pagan Rome, Christ’s two Witnesses, Enoch and Elijah, specially inclusive : then, Antichrist having been thereupon destroyed from heaven, and the Devil shut up in the abyss, the privilege of the first resurrection, and millennial reign with Christ, to be allotted to its chosen participants ; and afterwards the conflagration to follow, and the general resurrection and judgment.—Altogether the view is an eminently common-sense view of the prophecy ; as a prefigurative drama, in orderly succession, of the chief æras and events in the history of the church and of the world, from Christ’s first coming, or near it, to his second : indeed, excepting his apparent restriction of Rome’s fated burning (if such it be ¹) to that by the ten kings, and dating of that event previously (if I rightly understand Tertullian) to Antichrist’s rise and manifestation, there is little in it on which we might not even now join hands in concord with the venerable and sagacious expositor.

Fourthly comes into review on this head *Hippolytus*, Bishop of Porto, a Roman port of doubtful locality : ² one that was an immediate successor of Irenæus and Tertullian ; indeed it is said Irenæus’ disciple : ³

¹ Elsewhere indeed he dwells on the *eternal* fires in which the persecuting Roman Emperors and Magistrates would suffer. See my Vol. i. p. 200, Note ¹.

² Some say that it was the Portus Romanus, or *Ostia*, at the mouth of the Tiber ; some *Aden*, the ancient Portus Romanus near the entrance of the Red Sea. See Lardner, ii. 421.

³ So Photius, apparently on the authority of Hippolytus himself. *Μαθητης Ειρη- ναις ο Ίππολυτος. . . Ταυτας δε φησιν ελεγχους υποβληθηναι ομιλουντος Ειρηναίου.* Quoted by Lardner, p. 424.

and who suffered martyrdom, probably about A.D. 240 or 250, under the Emperor Maximin or Decius.¹ Jerome reports that he wrote a Treatise specifically on the Apocalypse, as well as one on Antichrist.² If so, the former has perished. But there is still extant a short Treatise purporting to be that by him on *Antichrist*, and with every mark of genuineness.³ This includes in it sundry Apocalyptic notices of much interest; and I therefore give the following brief abstract.

After observing on God's will that the mysteries of the future, foreshown by the ancient Prophets or seers, should be concealed from none of his servants, he opens his subject by laying down strongly respecting the coming Antichrist, even as if his grand characteristic, (a view derived evidently in part at least from the Apocalypse,⁴) that he would in every thing affect resemblance to Christ. "The seducer will seek to appear in all things like the Son of God. As Christ a Lion, so he a lion; as Christ a King, so he a king; as Christ a Saviour, so he a saviour; as Christ a Lamb, so he as a lamb, though inwardly a wolf: as Christ sent out apostles to all nations, so will he similarly send out false apostles:"⁵ it being added that there would be also a similar connexion with the Jewish people. Then, after extracts from other Scriptures, and especially from Daniel's two great symbolic prophecies of the quadripartite Image and the four wild Beasts, which he explains, just like the other fathers, of the Babylonish, Persian, Macedonian, and Roman empires, and the little horn of the fourth Beast as Antichrist, he thus turns to the Apocalypse for information as to the fated end of both Antichrist himself,

¹ Lardner, p. 428.

² Ib. 422.

³ I may specify particularly the clause following; which shows the Treatise to have been written in the times of Pagan persecution, and so before Constantine's establishment of Christianity. "Nos qui in Filium Dei speramus, ab infidelibus à quibus conculcamur persecutionem patimur." I quote from Combefis' Latin translation given in the B. P. M. xxvii. 7. Moreover every such notice of monasticism, and of the Virgo Deipara, as are found in the spurious Treatise *De Consumatione Mundi ac de Antichristo*, bearing Hippolytus' name, and with much of his real Treatise incorporated, are here wanting: notices which tell of the latter half of the 4th century, or a period yet later.

⁴ Antichrist's affected likeness to a *lamb*, which is one of the points here specified, is in a later part of the Treatise expressly inferred by Hippolytus from the Apocalyptic figuration of Antichrist and False Prophet as a *two-horned lamb-like Beast*: "Quòd autem ejus cornua Agni similia dicit, hoc significat fore ut ille se similem Dei Filio præferat."—p. 6.

⁵ P. 2. I have already referred to this, Vol. ii. p. 85, Note ⁵.

and his city Rome. "Tell me, blessed John, thou apostle and disciple of the Lord, what thou hast heard and seen respecting Babylon:—wake up, and speak; for it was she that exiled thee to Patmos."¹ And then he gives large extracts from Apoc. xvii and xviii. containing the Angel's explanation of the beast-riding Harlot, and the consequent vision of her destruction: and, adding and interweaving other explanatory notices both from the Apocalypse and Daniel, he expounds the whole subject to the effect following:—that the last of Daniel's seventy weeks,² (for he insulates this last from the rest, and says nothing of the others,) that in which the Lord would confirm the covenant with many, and in the half of which would occur the taking away of the daily sacrifice and oblation, would fall at the end of the world:—that in the former half of it, or first three and a half years, Enoch and Elias would preach as Christ's two sackcloth-robed witnesses, the precursors of Christ's second advent, as John the Baptist was of the first;³ and its latter half, or next three and a half years, include the rise and reign of Antichrist, his slaying of the Witnesses marking its commencement;—that of the two Apocalyptic Beasts the former, or seven-headed ten-horned Beast,⁴ meant the Roman empire, wounded to death by a sword; the other, or two-horned lamb-like Beast, Antichrist, inclusive of his False Prophet; who would revive as it were the *image* or *ghost*, of the old empire, (such is his singular and ingenious interpretation of *the giving life to the image of the Beast*, and *making it speak*,) just as Augustus once did by his new laws and constitution;⁵ and would on this account, probably have *Λατῆινος*, *the Latin Man*, as his designative title, a name

¹ P. 5.² Ib. p. 5.³ His precursor, says Hippolytus, in Hades, (Lat. in inferno,) as well as on earth. p. 6.⁴ With regard to this first, or seven-headed ten-horned Beast, it appears from Andreas, B. P. M. v. 621, that Hippolytus explained its seven heads of the seven ages or millenniums of the world; five of which had past (according to the Septuagint chronology) when St. John received the revelation in Patmos, the sixth was then current, and the seventh when it came must continue, he thought, but a little space. How so, he does not explain.—I presume this is taken by Andreas from his Treatise on the Apocalypse; as it is not to be found either in the true or the spurious Treatise of Hippolytus on Antichrist.⁵ "Bestiam ascendentem de *terrâ* futurum vocat Antichristi regnum. Duo autem cornua ipsum ac qui illi comes pseudopropheta. Quòd autem potestatem prioris bestiae faciebat, facitque ut terra et qui in eâ habitant adorent primam bestiam cujus plaga mortis curata est, hoc significat ex Augusti legum rationibus, per quem Roma-

containing the fated number 666: ¹—that meanwhile the Church, figured in Apoc. xii as a travailing woman, because by her preaching daily bringing forth Christ (or Christ's members) in the word, ² would, while the Antichrist established his abomination in the holy place of Jerusalem, flee to the mountains, pursued from city to city by him, and sustained only by faith in Christ crucified; his arms, extended on the cross, being like the sustaining wings of the great eagle in the Apocalyptic vision:—and that then, and thereupon, should take place Christ's coming: Antichrist be destroyed by its brightness; the first resurrection of the saints follow; the just, welcomed by Christ, take the kingdom prepared for them (Matt. xxv) from the world's beginning, and, as Daniel says, shine forth in it as the sun and the stars; the judgment of the conflagration being meanwhile executed on unbelievers; and so Isaiah's word fulfilled, "They shall go forth and look on the carcases of the men that have sinned against me: for their worm dieth not, nor is their fire quenched; and they shall be for a spectacle to all flesh." ³

So we come to *Victorinus*; the author, as before observed, of the earliest profest and continuous Apocalyptic Commentary now extant; and who died by martyrdom under the persecution of Diocletian. His Commentary is noted by Jerome, who speaks of it as one of millennarian views.⁴ And hence has arisen a doubt as to the

num conditum Imperium est, ipsum quoque imperaturum esse, legesque sanciturum. Hæc enim quarta Bestia est, cujus capiti illatum vulnus et rursus curatum est. Quòd scilicet prope conciderit imperium; tunc vero Antichristus, sagacis homo ingenii ac versutus, velut ipsum curaturus ac renovaturus est. Hoc enim est quod dictum est, *daturum eum spiritum flatumque imagini, ac locuturum esse bestie imaginem*. Vigebit enim et invalescet rursus ob sancitas ab eo leges." So p. 6; and again, a little after; "Bestiæ plagam curatam esse, ac loqui imaginem fecisse, est robur illi viresque tribuisse."

¹ A passage quoted by me Vol. iii. p. 210, in my Chapter on the Name and Number of the Beast.

² "Et habens in utero clamat parturiens, et cruciabatur ut pareret, quia non cessat ecclesia ex corde verbum gignere, quod in mundo ab infidelibus persecutionem patitur." Again; "Christum Dei masculam ac perfectam prolem semper parit, docet (quod docens?) omnes gentes."—p. 8. (So too *Methodius*, in his Symposium, a little later: "Mulier sole induta est ecclesia," &c.) And on the *caught up to God*; "Cœlestem regnum non terrenum esse significat, qui ex illâ semper nascitur." The meaning is rather obscure.

³ Ad fin. p. 8.

⁴ "Et Papias et Nepos de mille annorum regno ita ut Victorinus senserunt."—De Vir. Ill.

genuineness of the Treatise still extant, that goes under the name of Victorinus' Treatise on the Apocalypse ; containing as it does, at its conclusion, a distinct anti-millennarian declaration.¹ But the objection vanishes on examination ; for various indubitable millennarian intimations occur in the body of the Commentary :² and the anti-millennarian passage is an evident interpolation by another hand, perhaps Jerome's own ;³ as well as one or two shorter passages elsewhere.⁴ Moreover in Ambrose Ansbert I have observed a reference to the true Victorinus' statement on a rather singular point ; which precise statement we find in the extant Commentary.⁵ In the edition given in the Bibliotheca Patrum Maxima, now before me, there is the farther disadvantage of transposition of various parts of the Comment from their right places. But the Apocalypse itself makes the rectification of this easy, as Victorinus' is evidently an orderly Comment on it. I have only further to premise, that the work is very short, occupying but seven folio pages, or fourteen columns in the Bibliotheca, Vol. iii. pp. 414—421. Of these fourteen columns, three and a half are devoted to the Apocalyptic introductory Vision and Epistles to the Seven Churches, three more to the Apocalyptic scenery, four to the Seals, Trumpets, and Witnesses, two to the Vision of the Dragon and

¹ " Audiendi non sunt qui mille annorum regnum terrenum esse confirmant."—Ad fin. B. P. M. iii. 421.

² 1. On the Epistle to the Church of Thyatira, " I will give him the *morning star*," the explanation is given, " Primam resurrectionem scilicet promisit:" and again, on " I will give him power over nations," " id est, judicem illum constituet inter cæteros sanctos."—p. 416.

2. Speaking of the nations to be destroyed at Christ's coming, (" gentibus perituris in adventu Domini,") signified by various figurations, such as the harvest and the vintage ; the writer adds, " Sed semel in adventu Domini, et consummationis, et regni Christi, et apertione regni sanctorum futurum est."—p. 420.

3. " In Judæâ ubi omnes sancti conventuri sunt, et Dominum suum adoraturi." p. 415.

³ For Jerome, in returning the copy of Victorinus sent him, says that he had not only corrected the transcriber's errors, but himself made additions: " A principio libri ad signum crucis quæ ab imperitis erant vitiata scriptoribus conneximus ; exinde usque ad finem voluminis additum esse cognosce." The anti-millennarian addition, of which I gave in Note ¹ the concluding sentence, occupies near a column at the end of the Treatise as now printed.

⁴ Especially at p. 417 ; where, Victorinus having mentioned twenty-four Books of the Old Testament, the gloss occurs ; " Sunt autem libri veteris Testamenti qui accipiuntur viginti quatuor, quos in Epitomis Theodori invenies:" in which the reference is to Theodorus, a writer of the sixth century.

⁵ See the Note at p. 319 *infra*.

the two Beasts, and one only to all the rest: herein well agreeing with what Cassiodorus says of it, that it only explained the more difficult passages.¹ I now proceed to give an abstract of it: and this somewhat at large, as due to its chronological interest.

At its opening Victorinus dwells on the particulars of Christ's first appearance to St. John:—*his head and hair white* marking the antiquity of the Ancient of Days, for the head of Christ is God; and perhaps with reference, in the *wool* that it is compared with, to the sheep his members, in the *snow* to the multitude of baptismal candidates, white as the snow-flakes from heaven; his *face as the sun*, not only in expression of its glory, but of his having risen, and set, and risen again in life on this world; his *long priestly robe* marking his priesthood; his *breasts* the two Testaments, whence his people's nourishment; and the *sword from his mouth* his preached word, by which men shall be judged and Antichrist slain: his *voice* likened to *many waters*, not only from its power, as that of many people, but perhaps with reference to the baptismal waters of salvation issuing from him; and *his feet to brass glowing from the furnace*, in reference to the apostles purified in the furnace of affliction, by whom he walks as it were in his preached Gospel through the world.—Then, after a short notice of the Epistles to the Seven Churches, (which seven he explains as representatives of the Church Universal,²) he proceeds to the second series of visions, on the door being opened in heaven, and John called up thither: by Christ's satisfaction heaven once shut having been opened; and in St. John's person, originally of the circumcision, but now a preacher of the New Testament, it being apparent that alike the faithful of either dispensation had been invited.³ In the heavenly scene now presented to view, the *throne* was that of Divine royalty and judgment: its *jasper* colour, as of water, signifying God's earlier judgment by the water of the deluge; its fiery *sardine* colour that to come by fire; and the *sea* before the throne the gift of baptism, and offer of salvation through it, previous to judgment. The

¹ So Professor M. Stuart's Comment. i. 454.

² Like Paul, he adds; who first taught that seven Churches represented the Church Catholic, by addressing epistles to just seven Churches. Victorinus therefore did not include that to the *Hebreios* among St. Paul's Epistles.

³ Such seems to me his meaning: but it is obscure.—Thus early is St. John's representative character on the Apocalyptic scene hinted.

twenty-four elders he explains as the twelve patriarchs and twelve apostles, seated on thrones of judgment; agreeably to the patriarchal privilege, "Dan shall judge his people," and the apostolic, "Ye shall sit on twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel;" while the *four living creatures* typified the four evangelists, and their preaching of the Gospel: the eyes within signifying the insight of that preaching into man's heart; and the six wings of each (twenty-four in all) having reference to the twenty-four books of the Old Testament, because it is only by help of the previous testimonies of those books that the Gospel can fly abroad. The voices and thunderrings from the throne meant God's preachings, and threats, and notices of Christ's coming to judgment; the seven torches of fire the Spirit, granted to men in virtue of Christ's crucifixion. As to the *seven-sealed book*, it was the book of the Old Testament: a book opened by none but Christ; who alone, as the lamb that was slain, could fulfil its types and prophecies: and the saints' new song of thanksgiving had reference to the new salvation and new blessings so imparted to believers. Besides which, its opening signified the foreshowing of things by preachers that were to be in the last times.¹

Arrived thus at the opening of the *Seals*, Victorinus explains the *four horses and their riders* of the first four seals as indicating the spiritually-triumphant *progress of the Gospel*, commenced from after Christ's ascension, and the *wars*, and *famines*,² and *pestilences*, which Christ himself declared would precede his coming; also the souls under the altar, as the continuous persecutions and martyrdoms of Christ's saints: the region under the *brazen* altar of vision figuring the place where the separate spirits rest, as the place of the *golden* altar typified heaven. Further, the earthquake of the sixth seal he

¹ So I suppose we are to understand him. "Resignatio sigillorum, ut diximus, apertio est Veteris Testamenti, et prædicatorum prænuntiatio in novissimo tempore futurorum:" it being added; "quæ licet Scriptura prophetica per singula dicit, omnibus [tamen] simul apertis sigillis, ordinem tamen suum habet prædicatio. Nam aperto primo sigillo dicit se vidisse equum album et equitem coronatum, habentem arcum; hoc enim primo factum est. Postquam enim ascendit in cælos Dominus, et aperuit universa, misit Spiritum suum; cujus verba prædicationis tanquam sagittæ, ad corda hominum pergentes, ut vincerent incredulitatem." Thus, though he refers at first to the *last times*, yet the vision is explained by Victorinus as having the beginning of its fulfilment from the time of Christ's ascension.

² Hurt not the wine and oil he explains, "Spiritualement hominem ne læseris."

makes the last persecution :¹ that wherein the doctrine obscured would answer to the eclipsed sun in the vision ; the bleeding saints to the moon as blood ; the separation of professors by force of persecution to the falling stars ; and the removal of the Church from public sight to the rolling away of the figured firmament.—In the sealing vision, Apoc. vii, next following, the four angels of the winds (the same as the four winds of Apoc. ix. 14, beyond the Euphrates²) signified four nations, (nations being ruled over by angels,) who were not to transgress their limits till they should come in the last æra with the Antichrist. The Angel from the East meant Elias ; who would anticipate the times of Antichrist, turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, i. e. of the Jews to the Gentile believers, and convert to the faith both many of Israel, and a great multitude of Gentiles : viz. those whose white robes signified their washing in the blood of the Lamb by baptism.³ In Apoc. viii, ix, the half-hour's silence figured the beginning of eternal rest ; one half-hour only being mentioned, to signify the subject's then breaking off. For chronological order is not followed in the Apocalypse ; but the Holy Spirit, when he has come to the chronological end, returns often, and repeats, by way of supplement.⁴

Next comes the vision of the *incense-offering Angel*. Victorinus supposes this incense-offering to depict the prayers of saints ; these saints, on Antichrist's reign approaching, praying that they may not enter into temptation : and the Angel being figured, because Angels offer the prayers of the Church, as well as pour out wrath on Antichrist's kingdom ; which wrath was signified alike in the seven trumpets and seven vials, the one description supplying what was omitted in the other.—As to the particular subjects of these Trumpets and

¹ He does not say the persecution by Antichrist ; and one might almost suppose he meant one before his coming ; as Elias' coming is next notified, who (according to Victorinus) was to precede Antichrist.

² So Victorinus ; agreeably with the Gloss in Griesbach, which on Apoc. ix. 14 reads *τεσσαρες ανεμους*, for *τεσσαρες αγγελους*.

³ The white robes given in the *σφραγίς* seal he explains as the gift of the Holy Spirit.

⁴ He here, and elsewhere, strongly insists on the *retrogressive* character of the visions. “—Licet repetat per phialas ; non quasi his factum dicit ; sed, quoniam semel futurum est quod est decretum à Deo, ideo his dicitur. Quidquid igitur in tubis minus dixit hinc in phialis est. Nec aspiciendus esto ordo dictorum ; quoniam sæpe Spiritus sanctus, ubi ad novissimi temporis finem percurrerit, rursus ad eadem tempora redit, et supplet ea quæ minus dixit.”

Vials, he does not unfold it in detail. He only generally says of them, that they depict "either the slaughters of plagues sent on the world, or the madness of Antichrist, or a diminishing of the peoples, or a delaying of the plagues,¹ or the hope in the saints' kingdom, or the ruin of states, or the destruction of the great city, Babylon—i. e. *Rome*." And just expounding, as he passes, the warning cry of the eagle flying in mid-heaven after the fourth trumpet-woe, to mean the Holy Spirit's warning voice by the mouth of *the two prophets*, against the wrath to come in the impending plagues, he so proceeds to the Angel vision of Apoc. x.

The first part of which vision he expounds as a parenthesis, of St. John *personally*. The *Angel* is explained to be *Christ*; the *open book* in his hand the Apocalypse revealed to John; his *lion-like* voice, that declaring that now only is the time of repentance and hope; the *seven thunders* the mysteries of the future spoken by the septiform Spirit; which voices John was not to write, because an apostle of higher functions than that of *interpreting* Scripture mysteries; an office this latter belonging rather to later Church subordinates.² Further, the charge to *eat the book, and preach again* to peoples and tongues, Victorinus explains of St. John's returning personally on Domitian's death to Ephesus, and publishing the Apocalypse;³ also his *taking the measuring reed* with which to measure the Apocalyptic temple and altar, of St. John's further publishing his Gospel;⁴ whereby, and by the creed laid down in it,⁵ the orthodox and faithful were

¹ "*Differentia plagarum*." I suppose this is his meaning.

² "*Apostoli virtutibus, signis, portentis, magnalibus factis, vixerunt incredulitatem: post illos ecclesie datum est solatium prophetarum scripturarum interpretandarum.*"

³ I have quoted this, Vol. i. p. 38.

⁴ Victorinus' testimony on this point of the publication of St. John's Gospel subsequent to his return from Patmos, and apparently too after the Apocalypse, should be noted. "*Nam et evangelium postea scripsit:*" his writing it being, it is said, at the request of the assembled Christians of the whole neighbourhood of Ephesus, in consequence of the Gnostic heresies referred to.

⁵ This is a curious early specimen of something like a creed; and one, not, I think, as yet noted by those who have written on creeds.—"*Mensura autem Filii Dei, mandatum Domini, (1.) Patrem confiteri omnipotentem. (2.) Dicimus et hujus filium Christum, ante originem seculi spiritualem apud Patrem genitum, hominem factum; et morte devictum in celos cum corpore a Patre receptum, effudisse Spiritum sanctum, donum et pignus immortalitatis:—hunc per Prophetas prædicatum, hunc per legem conscriptum, hunc esse mandatum Dei, et Verbum Patris, et conditorem orbis.—Hæc est arundo et mensura fidei. Et nemo adorat [ad] aram sanctam, nisi qui hanc fidem confitetur.*"—p. 418.

marked out and defined as true Church-worshippers; and heretics, such as Valentinus, Ebion, and Cerinthus, excluded.

On the *two Witnesses* he supposes (like Hippolytus) a passing, in the resumed figurations of the future, into the last hebdomad of the last times: during the *former* three and a half years of which, Christ's two witnesses, Elijah and Jeremiah,¹ would prophesy:—these witnesses to be killed in Jerusalem by the Beast from the abyss, Anti-christ, at the commencement of his three and a half years reign succeeding, after many plagues first inflicted on the world, answering to the *fire out of their mouths* in the symbol: but to rise again on the fourth day after; the fourth, not the third, so as not to equal Christ.

So he comes to the vision of the *Dragon and Woman*, Apoc. xii; or rather to the concluding verse of Apoc. xi, about the temple appearing opened, and the ark appearing, which he connects with it: to the chronological retrogression in which, from the last times previously depicted, he calls especial notice.² For he construes the woman to signify the ancient Jewish Church, the Church of the twelve

¹ For, says Victorinus, Jeremiah had the original commission, "Before that I formed thee in the womb I knew thee; and sanctified thee to be a prophet among the nations." Now, argues Victorinus, during his recorded life Jeremiah was not a prophet *among the nations*; and also that there is no record of Jeremiah's death. He adds that his opinion is that of "all the ancients." A mistake, doubtless; as Enoch and Elijah were generally supposed the two prophets.

The Apocalyptic Expositor Ambrose Ansbert, at B. P. M. xiii. 522, notices this opinion and reasoning as that of the Martyr Victorinus; a fact furnishing conclusive evidence of the Treatise under consideration being indeed that of Victorinus, inasmuch as the opinion appears to have been a singular one. As the point has not, I believe, been observed on before, and the question is so interesting a one, I subjoin the passage. "Victorinus hoc in loco duos testes Eliam vult intelligi et *Jeremiam*. Dicit enim præfatus vir, et (ut debitam ei venerationem exhibeamus) martyr Dei, quia mors Jeremiæ in Scripturâ sacrâ non reperiatur, et quia Prophetam cum Dominus in gentibus posuerit, ille autem nondum ad gentes missus fuerit, idcirco ipsum cum Eliâ venturum credi debere, ut ecclesiam *gentium* contra Antichristi perfidiam roboraret."

² "Diligenter et cum summâ sollicitudine sequi oportet prophetica prædicationem; et intelligere quoniam Spiritus ex parte prædicit, et præpostulat, et cum præcurret usque ad novissimum rursus tempora superiora repetit."—So in the passage quoted p. 315.—I call attention to this, because Professor M. Stuart not only says (Vol. i. p. 455) of *Victorinus*, that "no plan of the whole work is sought after," but that *Ambrose Ansbert* "seems first to have noted that the Apocalypse is occasionally retrogressive." (Ib. p. 458.)—Victorinus notes three retrogressions prominently: the first, after the sounding of the seventh Trumpet and half hour's silence in heaven; the second, on the transition at the end of Apoc. xi. to the visions of the Dragon and Beast: the third, with reference to the Vial-outpourings, which he identifies with the Trumpets.

Patriarchs, (like the *sun* glorious in the hopes of the resurrection, like the *moon* bright even when to man's sight dark in death, and only waning to grow again,) travailing with desire of Christ's birth out of that nation, according to the promise; and in Christ's birth and ascension, in spite of the Dragon, or Devil, traces the fulfilment of the child's rapture to God's throne in the symbol: the *Dragon's* colour *red* being explained as that as of a murderer from the beginning; the *third of stars* swept by his tail, as the angels or men seduced by him; and his *seven heads* and *ten horns*, as of the same significancy with the *Beast's* seven heads and ten horns, of which more presently.—Then the time changes. The Woman fleeing into the desert is the Church, made up or inclusive of the 144,000,¹ now in Christian not Jewish form: being forced by the Dragon's flood-like armies of persecution into mountains and deserts; and upheld in her flight by the two wings of the two witnesses. The Dragon's fall from heaven, or interdiction from there appearing as before,² is explained as following Elias' three-and-a-half years of witnessing,³ and being the beginning of Antichrist.—Then as to the *Beast Antichrist*, his likeness to the *leopard* signified the variety of nations that would be in his kingdom; his *seven heads* both Rome's seven hills, and also seven Roman Emperors; viz. *Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian, Titus*, (which five had fallen at the time of the Apocalypse,) the sixth *Domitian* then reigning, the seventh *Nerva*, who was to continue but a short time, (for he reigned but one year and four months,) and the eighth *Nero*; who, as a *Roman Emperor*, might be said to have been one *of* (or *with*) the seven:⁴

¹ "Ecclesiam illam catholicam, ex qua in novissimo tempore creditura sunt 144000 Heliae."

² "Ante oportet Eliam prædicare, et pacis tempora esse, et postea, consummatis 3½ annis prædicationis Eliæ, jactari eum de cælo, ubi habuit potestatem ascendendi usque ad illud tempus, et angelos refugas universos." So, I suppose, as described in Job i.

³ There seems here some confusion in the chronology. For as the Witnesses were to be the supporting wings of the woman, her three and a half years in the wilderness would need to be the three and a half of the Witnesses being alive. But Victorinus quotes in reference to the time, "Then let them that are in Judæa flee to the mountains:" a prophecy applicable to the times of the abomination of desolation being in the holy place; which abomination he explains afterward of Antichrist's establishment in Jerusalem: an event this not of the *earlier*, but the *later* three and a half years.

⁴ Such seems Victorinus' meaning: "Bestia de septem est, quoniam ante istos reges Nero regnavit."

—of which Nero St. Paul spoke, when he said, “The mystery of iniquity doth already work,” for Nero was then reigning; and who, having had its throat cut, and so had his head wounded to death, was to rise and reappear as Antichrist.—Victorinus notes his Jewish as well as Roman connection. He would appear both under a different name, and in a different character from before; professing before the Jews to be *the Christ*, with a view to gain them, and by them received as such; (a king and a Christ worthy of them!) and whereas once most impure, now renouncing all desire of women, (so Dan. xi. 37 is explained,)¹ and, instead of patronizing idolatry, now inculcating the religion of the circumcision.²—His *number* 666 is explained as some name of numerals in *Greek* to that amount; and two solutions offered, veiled in a corrupt text, yet not I think undecypherable: one, it may be, Victorinus’ own, the other interpolated by a writer of later date.³—Of his ally the *False Prophet*, the *two horns as a Lamb’s* signified his assuming the form of a just man: the *fire from heaven*, that which sorcerers seem to men’s eyes even now to evoke; the *Beast’s image*, a golden statue of Antichrist; which image the false prophet would get placed in the temple at Jerusalem, and from which Satan will utter oracles.—So will there be the *abomination of desolation* in the Holy Place: called the *abomination*, because God abominates the worship of idols instead of himself, and the introduction of heresy into Churches; the *desolation*, because many men, previously stable, will by these false signs and portents be turned from the faith.—As to the *ten kings*, Victorinus says that they would have already received royal power, when Antichrist should either have

¹ Noted by me p. 151, *supra*.

² The reader should mark Victorinus’ view of Antichrist’s religious profession and character.

³ “Numerus ejus sexcenti sexaginta sex. Cum attulerit ad literam Græcam hunc numerum explebit. AI. N. L. T. CCC. F. V. M. L. X. L. O. L. XX. CCC. I. III. EVN. LCC. N. V. III. P. CIX. K. XX O LXX. CC.”—The two words meant are, I think, *Αντιχριστος* and *Γεννηπιος*: of which the first is given also by Primasius, in the sense (says he) of *honoris contrarius*, as if for *ατιμος*, or *αεντιμος*: the other by Ambrosius Ansbertus, with reference to the Vandal persecutor of the fifth century, *Genserius*. The correspondence of these solutions with the text, slightly altered, will appear by separating the letters and their Greek numeral values, instead of intermixing them. Thus,

1. { A N T E M O Z 2. { Γ E N Z H P I K O Z
 { I L CCC V XL LXX CC { III V L CC VIII C X XX LXX CC

set out from the East Romewards, or from Rome Eastwards ;¹ that three of them would be eradicated by him ; and the other seven become his subjects, and also the haters and burners of the harlot city, Rome.

The Commentary now hurries to a conclusion. Of the *three angels* of Apoc. xiv, flying in mid heaven, the first (the same as in Apoc. vii.) is Elias, anticipating Antichrist by his preaching ; the other two, other prophets associated with him. The *earth's harvest* and *vintage* are signs of the nations to perish at Christ's coming : the blood shed to the extent of 1600 (= 4 + 400) stadia, bloodshed in all the four parts of the world. The *seven vials* are the same seven judgments before signified under the Trumpets ; and poured out on the contumacious, after the Church's retirement from the scene into the wilderness.² *Standing on the glassy sea* signifies the promises of baptismal faith. The *Woman* sitting on many waters, and borne by the seven-headed ten-horned Beast, is the Babylon alike of the Apocalypse, Isaiah, and Ezekiel ; viz. the city Rome seated on the Devil, as before explained : of Rome red with the blood of saints : her wickedness having been consummated by a *Decree of the Senate*,³ and extending to the prohibition of all preaching of the gospel in all nations. Then Christ (answering to him that was figured on the White Horse with his armies) will come and take the kingdom ; a kingdom extending from the river even to the world's end : the greater part of the earth being cleansed inductively to it ; the millennium itself not ending it. All souls will next, and finally, be called to judgment.⁴

¹ "Decem reges accepisse regalem potestatem, cum ille *moverit ab oriente*, aut mittitur *ab urbe Romæ* cum exercitibus suis." A passage indicating thoughtful consideration of a difficult subject.

² "Dicit quæ in ultimo futura sunt, cum ecclesia de medio exierit."

³ "Vidi, inquit, mulierem ebriam de sanguine sanctorum. Decreto Senatûs illius consummantur nequitiae." A curious passage needing illustration. In Diocletian's time what was the *Roman Senate's* part in the decrees of persecution against Christians ? Probably Victorinus may have referred to the earlier Roman Emperors' custom of having their acts formally authorized by the Senate ; which generally was of course a mere form. So Tillemont, ii. 160, of the reign of Aurelius Antoninus. "C'estoile style ordinaire des Empereurs de faire presque tout par l'autorité du Senat ; et ce corps, soit par bassesse, soit pour se conserver cette ombre de son ancien pouvoir, ne manquait jamais d'ordonner tout ce que les Empereurs vouloient faire."

⁴ Here is the anti-premillennial addition. As *ten* is the number of the *decalogue*, says the interpolator, and 100 signifies the crown of *virginity*, therefore the *millenary* number, = 10 + 100, indicates a perfect man ; who may be said (i. e. while in his earthly state) to reign with Christ, and to have the Devil bound within him, &c.

On the whole it will be seen that thus far the Apocalypse, though very fancifully explained in regard of many of its symbols, yet continued to be regarded by its expositors as mainly a prophecy of *events*, not without *chronological succession and order* : nor indeed without *geographical or topographical distinctness* ; at least on that one grand turning-point of the prophecy, the *seat*, the *seven-hilled seat*, of *Antichrist*.—The famous *Origen* had meanwhile lived and taught.¹ And, had he fulfilled his declared intention of giving the Christian world an Apocalyptic commentary,² we can scarcely doubt but that it would have been of a different character. His principle of *anagogical*³ and *spiritualizing* exposition, (a principle not altogether to be exploded, but needing in its application to Scripture a cautious attention to the requirements of context, Scriptural analogy, and good sense, abundantly greater than Origen cared to use,)⁴ could not but

¹ He died at Tyre, A. D. 253. in the 70th year of his age.

² “ Omnia hæc exponere sigillatim de capitibus septem draconis (Apoc. xii. 3) non est temporis hujus : exponentur autem tempore suo in Revelatione Johannis.”—In Matth. Tr. 30.—Elsewhere, as Eusebius tells us, H. E. vi. 25, he thus singularly notes the prophecy ; “ John wrote the Apocalypse ; being commanded to keep silence, and not write what the *seven thunders* uttered.” I suppose he had some anagogic solution of what he deemed an apparent contradiction.

³ *anagwgn*, a passing to a higher sense than the literal ; i.e. to a more spiritual sense.

⁴ Scripture, like man, said Origen, has a *body*, *soul*, and *spirit* :—viz. the *literal* sense, useful to those who preceded the Christians, i.e. the ancient Israel ; the *internal* sense (intra literam) to Christians ; and the *shadowing forth of heavenly things*, to saints arrived in heaven. This he remarks on Lev. vi. 25, about the sin-offering.—Elsewhere he speaks of the *historic* sense, the *moral*, and the *mystical*.

He carried his inclination to the *anagogical* so far, as to depreciate, and sometimes even nullify, the *literal* and *historic* sense. He often says that the literal sense is “ proculcandum et contemnendum.”—So 1. of *things typical*, as the sin-offering, Lev. vi. 25 ; “ Hæc omnia, nisi alio sensu accipias quàm linea texta ostendit, sicut sæpe diximus, obstaculum majus Christianæ religioni quàm ædificationem præstabunt.”—2. Of *historic statements* : as in Hom. vi. on Genesis : “ What the edification of reading that Abraham lied to Abimelech, and betrayed his wife’s chastity ? Let Jews believe it ; and any others that, like them, prefer the *letter* to the *spirit*.” Also in the Mosaic history of the creation ; the statement of there having been three days without sun, moon, or stars, being pronounced by him impossible : as also that of the devil leading Christ to a high mountain, &c.—3. of *precepts* : e. g. that which says, “ If a man smite thee on the one cheek, turn to him the other.”

Now it is evident that St. Paul himself has authorized the ascription of an anagogical or spiritual sense, as well as the literal, to the *types* of the law. They were shadows of things to come, And to certain *facts* of Old Testament history he has also ascribed an allegorical, as well as literal sense. So in the allegory of Sarah and Isaac, Hagar and Ishmael.—But surely in *historical* narratives to allegorize beyond what Scripture itself teaches, is unsafe ; and to allegorize away a scripturally-asserted

have been largely applied by him to the Apocalyptic prophecy: especially as one involving allusions to *Babylon, Israel, Jerusalem*; terms always, according to him, to be construed *anagogically* in Scripture. But this commentary he in effect did not write: and it remained for others to apply his principles to Apocalyptic exposition in a later æra.

§ 2. FROM CONSTANTINE TO THE COMPLETION OF THE FALL OF THE
ROMAN EMPIRE.

Lactantius, in his famous work on the Divine Institutions, formed a connecting-link between the Constantinian æra, or that of the establishment of Christianity in the Roman empire, and the one which preceded it: the work having been nearly all written before the end of the Diocletian persecution, but dedicated to Constantine in one of the closing Chapters.¹ His sketch of the ending of the great mundane drama involved necessarily even Apocalyptic notices. Of these the following are the chief; partly mixed up however with ideas derived from both the prophecies of Daniel, and others of mere human origin.

He states then, that the first grand preliminary to the consummation was the breaking-up of the Roman empire: an event to be hastened by the multiplication of emperors ruling it, with civil wars consequent, till at length *ten* kings should arise: whereupon an enemy from the extreme North should come against them,² over-

historic fact (whether from judging it to be unedifying or impossible) most unjustifiable.

With regard to *prophecy* he lays down this rule: "Whenever the prophets have prophesied any thing of Jerusalem or Judea, of Israel or Jacob, then this (agreeably with St. Paul's own teaching) is to be referred anagogically to the *heavenly Jerusalem, Judæa, and Israel*: also what is said of *Egypt, Babylon, Tyre*: cum sint in cœlo loci terrenis istis cognominea, ac locorum istorum incolæ, animæ scilicet." Thus his general rule of *prophetic* interpretation is sufficiently manifest.

I have thought it well to abstract the above from a chapter in the Abbé Huet's *Origeniana*; as there occurs so much of Origen's *anagoge* in subsequent Apocalyptic interpretation.

¹ After chapter 27 of the last Book of the Institutes: "Sed omnia jam sanctissime Imperator figmenta sopita sunt, ex quo te Deus summus ad restituendum justitiæ domicilium excitavit."

² "Tum repente adversus eos hostis potentissimus ab extremis finibus plagæ septentrionalis orietur: qui, tribus ex numero deletis qui tunc Asiam obtinebunt, assumetur

throw the three most easterly of the ten, be received and submitted to by the rest as their head, change the name and seat of the empire, and by his cruelties introduce a time of grievous calamity, especially to persecuted Christians; portents on earth and in the sky accompanying, and plagues such as once in Egypt;¹—then, the consummation drawing on, that a great prophet would be sent by God, with power of working miracles, shutting up heaven, (like Elias,) turning water into blood, and by fire from his mouth killing such as would injure him; by whose preaching and miracles many would be turned to God: which done, that another king would rise from Syria, born of an evil spirit; and, after destroying that former evil one,² (the king from the North?) conquer and kill God's prophets, whose corpse, left unburied, would on the third day be reanimated, and rapt before the enemies' eyes to heaven:—that the king his murderer would be a prophet too, but a prophet of lies; and with the miraculous power of evoking fire from heaven, arresting the sun in its course, and making an image speak: whereby he would make multitudes of adherents; branding them like cattle with his mark, and requiring worship from them as God and the Son of God: for that this would be in fact the ANTICHRIST; falsely claiming to be Christ,³ but fighting against the real Christ, and persecuting unto the death his saints; that the fated time of his domination would be forty-two months; at the end of which time, the saints having fled in a last extremity to the mountains, the heaven would be opened for their deliverance;⁴ and Christ himself intervene to save them, and destroy this Antichrist and his allied kings. After which that the

in societatem à cæteris, ac princeps omnium constituetur.—Hic insustentabili dominatione vexabit orbem . . . denique immutato nomine, atque imperii sede translata, confusio humani generis consequetur." vii. 16.—A singular view! derived in part, I presume from Dan. xi. 40—43; the three kings destroyed being those of Egypt, Ethiopia, and Lybia.

¹ The (Roman) world being then, says he, to the people of God, what Egypt was to God's ancient people Israel, vii. 16.—So on Apoc. xi. 7, "the city which spiritually is called Egypt."

² "Peractisque operibus ipsius," i. e. the works of God's prophet, (agreeably with the Apocalyptic declaration, When they shall have completed their testimony,) "alter rex orietur ex Syria, malo Spiritu genitus, qui reliquias *illius prioris mali*, cum ipso, simul debeat." Ib. xvii.—Is there in this an illusion to Daniel's, "But tidings out of *the east* shall trouble him;" i. e. the king of the north? Dan. xi. 43.

³ "Hic est qui appellatur Antichristus: sed se ipse Christum mentietur."

⁴ So Apoc. xix.

saints, raised from the grave, would reign with Christ through the world's seventh Chiliad; a period to commence, it would seem, in about 200 years;¹ the Lord alone being thenceforth worshipped on a renovated world; its still living inhabitants multiplying incalculably in a state of terrestrial felicity; and the resurrection saints, during this commencement of an *eternal* kingdom, in a nature like the angelic, reigning over them.²

The great Constantinian revolution, accomplished (as I before observed) just after Lactantius' publication of his 'Institutions,' could hardly fail of exercising a considerable influence on Apocalyptic interpretation. A revolution by which Christianity should be established in the prophetically-denounced Roman Empire, was an event the contingency of which had never occurred apparently to the previous exponents of Christian prophecy; and suggested the idea of a mode, time, and scene of the fulfilment of the promises of the latter-day blessedness, that could scarcely have arisen before: its *scene* the earth in its *present* state, not the *renovated earth* after Christ's coming and the conflagration; its *time* that of the present dispensation; its *mode* by the *earthly establishment* of the earthly Church visible. (It occurred not that this might in fact be one of the chief necessary preparations, through Satan's craft, to the establishment after a while of the great predicted *antichristian ecclesiastical empire*, on the platform of the same Roman world.) Thus Eusebius, as we saw long since,² applied to this great event both Isaiah's promises of the latter day, and also (though with more of doubt) the *Apocalyptic* prophecy of the *New Jerusalem*:⁴ at the same time that the symbolic vision of the seven-headed dragon of Apoc. xii, cast down from heaven, was with real exegetic correctness (as I conceive) applied to the dejection of Paganism, and the Pagan emperors, from their former supremacy in the Roman world.⁵—But to carry out such views

¹ Noted by me, Vol. i. p. 372.

² Mark the distinction between the two classes. "Tunc qui erunt in corporibus vivi non morientur, sed per eodem mille annos infinitam multitudinem generabunt: qui autem ab inferis suscitabuntur, ii præerunt viventibus, velut judicea." Ib. 24. And in ch. 6 preceding: "Ut similes angelis facti summo Patri serviamus, et simus æternum Deo regnum."

³ Vol. i. p. 231.

⁴ See ib. Note ².

⁵ See Vol. iii. p. 24, Note ⁴; and p. 25. notes ¹, ². This view of the vision we shall

of the New Jerusalem must soon have appeared most difficult: the Arian and other troubles, which quickly supervened, powerfully contributing to that conviction. It resulted, perhaps not a little from this cause, that the Apocalypse itself became for a while much neglected. Especially in the Eastern empire, where the imperial seat was now chiefly fixed,¹ we find it almost passed over in silence by the great Greek Fathers of the remainder of the fourth century: by *Basil* and *Gregory Nazianzen*, who directly acknowledged its genuineness and inspiration, as well as by its less explicit advocates *Cyril* and *Chrysostom*.² In the Western empire, however, at the close of the fourth century, two of the most eminent of the Latin Fathers, I mean *Jerome* and *Augustine*, not only recognized the work as divine, but threw out hints also on Apocalyptic interpretation, of no little importance, and with no little influence.

Of *Jerome* I may specify as most important the three following particulars:—1. that the Apocalypse was a book that had in it as many mysteries as words, and that sundry particular words had a manifold meaning:³—2. that the Apocalypse was to be all *spiritually* understood; because otherwise Judaic fables would have to be acquiesced in; such as the rebuilding Jerusalem, and renewal in its temple of carnal ceremonies:—3. that the place where the two Apocalyptic witnesses were to be slain was not the literal Jerusalem, (as it had both been already subverted, and was moreover never called in Scripture either the great city, or Egypt,) but the same great city *Babylon* afterwards described in Apoc. xvii, xviii; in the sense however of *the world*:⁴ or as he elsewhere explained it, more literally according to the Apocalyptic symbols and the Angel's explanation,

find repeated by other patristic expositors afterwards. Eusebius intimates that Constantine may have alluded possibly to Isa. xxvii. 1, "The Lord shall punish Leviathan that crooked serpent:" but the *casting down* of the Dragon, which Constantine notes prominently, is not in Isaiah's prophecy, but that of the Apocalypse.

¹ The sole reigns of Constantine and Constantius, with the capital Constantinople, occupied some forty years.

² See Vol i. pp. 32—34.—Cyril's exposition of the *eighth head* of the Apocalyptic Beast must not be overlooked;—that Antichrist, after subduing three out of the ten kings of the Roman Empire in its later form, would, as the first and chief of the remaining seven, be the Beast's *eighth head*.

³ Letter liii to Paulinus.

⁴ Ib. Also the letter of Paula and Eustochion (his disciples) to Marcella.

Rome: ¹—4. that the millenary theory of Victorinus and others was utterly foolish and untenable. ²

Of *Augustine's* hints on Apocalyptic interpretation, the three following appear to me most deserving of remark.

1. That the Apocalypse embraced for its subject of prefiguration the whole period *from Christ's first coming to the end of the world.*³

2. That the 144,000 of the sealing vision (as also of Apoc. xiv) depicted distinctively (*not* the earthly professing visible Church, *but*) the *Church of the saints, or elect*,⁴ the constituency of what he calls the *City of God*, ultimately united into the heavenly Jerusalem: ⁵ while the appended palm-bearing vision figured the blessed and heavenly issue assured to them of their earthly trials and pilgrimage.⁶

3. That the millennium of Satan's binding, and the saints reigning, dated from Christ's ministry, when he beheld Satan fall like lightning from heaven; it being meant to signify the triumph over Satan in the hearts of true believers: and that the subsequent figuration of Gog and Magog indicated the coming of Antichrist at the end of the world; the 1000 years being a figurative numeral, expressive of the whole period intervening.⁷

¹ So in the Letters contrasting Bethlehem with Rome.

² So in his observations on Victorinus; and in the additions at the end of Victorinus, if Jerome's. Yet in his Comment on Isaiah lxxv, referring to different views of the Apocalyptic millennium, &c. he says: "Which if I take *figuratively* I fear to contradict the ancients."—On Ezekiel xl, I may observe, he says; "*Quod templum* Judæi secundum literam in adventu Christi sui, quem nos esse Antichristum comprobamus, putant ædificandum; et nos *ad Christi referimus ecclesiam*. Et quotidie in *sanctis ejus* ædificari cernimus." Where the words "*in sanctis ejus*" are to be remarked; and suggest an idea of Jerome's perhaps regarding the *Church of the promises* (like Augustine) as that made up only of *true* Christians. I say perhaps; because he sometimes used *sancti* in the lower and merely ecclesiastical sense.

³ "Per totum hoc tempus quod liber iste (sc. Apocalypsis) complectitur, à primo scilicet adventu Christi usque in sæculi finem." C. D. xx. 8. 1.

Elsewhere he notes the obscurity of the Apocalypse; very specially from its *repeating* the same objects under different figures.—C. D. xx. 17.

⁴ So in his Doctr. Christ. iii. 51; "Centum quadraginta quatuor (mille), quo numero significatur *universitas sanctorum* in Apocalypsi."

⁵ "Civitatem sanctam Jerusalem, quæ nunc in sanctis fidelibus est diffusa per terras." C. D. xx. 21. In which city he says, on Psalm cxxi. 2, that the angels will be fellow citizens.

⁶ See my Vol. i. pp. 284—287, with the extracts from Augustine in the Notes.

⁷ See pp. 179, 180, *suprà*. So the Greek *Andreas* afterwards: as also *Primasius* of the Latin Church, before *Andreas*. It continued in fact the current opinion through the Middle Ages.—That Professor M. Stuart should have ascribed the origin of this

I may add, that he expounded the *woman clothed with the sun*, in Apoc. xii, of the *true Church*, or *Civitas Dei*; clothed with the *sun of righteousness*, trampling on those *growing and waning things of mortality* which the *moon* might figure, and travailing both with Christ personally, and Christ in his members: ¹ also the complementary set of martyrs, spoken of to the souls under the altar in Apoc. vi, of martyrs to be slain under Antichrist.² As to Antichrist himself, like other earlier fathers, he viewed him as one that would arise and reign three years and a half at the end of the world; though meanwhile the *body and city of Antichrist* might be considered realized (so as Jerome also had intimated) in *the world* and its members.

There remains for consideration one direct Apocalyptic Expositor of the fourth century, I mean *Tichonius*. We know both from Augustine,³ and from the later Expositors Primasius and Bede,⁴ that a *Donatist* of that name wrote on the Apocalypse: whose date according to Gennadius was about A.D. 380,⁵ and was at any rate included within the thirty years of the Donatist Parmenianus' Episcopate, from A.D. 361 to A.D. 391; ⁶ as the latter took umbrage at Tichonius' anti-Donatist sentiments, though a Donatist, and wrote against them.⁷ There is still extant an Apocalyptic commentary bearing his name, drawn up in the form of Homilies, in number nineteen; affixed to the fourth volume of the Paris Benedictine Edition of Augustine. And the question has arisen respecting these, whether they are the real work of this aforesaid Tichonius, or not. The arguments *against*

opinion (as he appears to do in his Vol. i. p. 459) to *Andreas*, not *Augustine*, appears surprising.

¹ So on Psalm cxlii. 3.—On Psalm xliii. 25, he explains the opened Book in Apocalypse x, given to St. John to eat, not of the *Apocalypse*, but of the *Bible*.

² On the Donatists claiming to be the complementary set of martyrs spoken of to the souls under the altar, Augustine observes; "Quid est stultius quàm quòd putatis prophetiam istam de martyribus, qui futuri prædicti sunt, non nisi in Donatistis esse completam. Quòd si a Joanne usque ad istos nulli occisi essent martyres veri, ut nihil aliud, vel temporibus Antichristi diceremus futuros in quibus ille martyrum numerus compleretur." Contra Gaudent. i. 31. In this he coincides with Tertullian. See pp. 309, 310 *suprà*.

³ Viz. Vol. iii. p. 99, in his statement of Tichonius' seven Rules of interpretation.

⁴ Who both refer to him in their Apocalyptic Commentaries.

⁵ So the Benedictine Editor of Augustine, Vol. ii. col. 371, Note.

⁶ So the same Editor.

⁷ He wrote a letter of reprehension to Tichonius. So Augustine.

(as the Benedictine Editor observes) are, 1. that, whereas Primasius says there were decided Donatistic statements in Tichonius' work, in this such are wanting, and anti-Donatistic inserted against *re-baptizing*; 2. that certain passages cited by Bede from Tichonius are here wanting; 3. that on a point in which Tichonius' opinion is said by Augustine to have been illustrated with a copious argument, the opinion is here indeed given, but without any such copious argument in connection. To which I may add that there occur here and there brief quotations (unless indeed Tichonius be the original)¹ from Augustine.—On the other hand there are the arguments following in favour of the *substantial* identity of the extant Treatise with that of Tichonius: (arguments omitted by the Benedictine Editor:)—1st, that the expository principles in the former agree well with the expository rules recorded by Augustine as laid down by Tichonius;²—2. that one of the anti-Donatistic sentiments more than once occurring in these Homilies is precisely such a recognition of the Catholic Church as was objected to Tichonius, as an inconsistency, by his Bishop Parmenianus;³—3. that a

¹ Especially, for example, that given in my Vol. iii. Note ² p. 234.

² They are thus enumerated by Augustine, Vol. iii. 99; and as Rules intended by Tichonius to solve the difficulties of Scripture.

1. *De Domino et ejus Corpore*; there being sometimes a transition in the sacred writers from Christ the head, to the Church his body.—A rule rightly applicable sometimes, says Augustine.

2. *De Domini corpore bipartito*; the true members of Christ's body and the false.—A view of things right, says Augustine, but wrongly exprest; because hypocrites and false professors do not really belong to Christ's body at all.

3. *De Promissis et Lege*; otherwise exprest, like as by Origen, *De Spiritu et Litera*: in reference to cases where figures are used; and one thing said, another meant.

4. *De Specie et Genere*:—where a species is spoken of, e. g. Egypt, Judæa, &c.; but the whole world meant.

5. *De temporibus*:—where, especially in chronological statements, a *whole* is said for a *part*, or *part* for a *whole*: as Christ's three days in the grave, when the actual time was only one full day; and Jeremiah's seventy years of Israel's captivity, though applicable to the Church's whole time of earthly pilgrimage. Tichonius applied this Rule to other numerals also; e. g. to the Apocalyptic 144,000; which designated, as he says, the whole body of the saints.

6. *Recapitulation*.

7. *De Diabolo et corpore ejus*:—things being said of the Devil when meant of the wicked that constitute his body, and vice versâ. (Just the converse to Rule 1.)

The agreement of the extant Homilies with the above will be noted from time to time in my abstract.

³ Tichonius, says Augustine, Vol. xii. 66, “vidit ecclesiam toto orbo diffusam:” and that for this (ib. 63) he was reproved by Parmenianus. So in Hom. xix. “Civitas ista ecclesia est toto orbe diffusa;” and elsewhere.

particular clause on the horsemen of the second Woe, quoted by Primasius from Tichonius, appears in the precise words in these Homilies.¹—There remains a very important indication in the tenth Homily, respecting Arianism as dominant; “Videmus *hæreticos* in hoc sæculo potentes, qui habeant virtutem Diaboli: sicut quondam Pagani, ita nunc illa vastant ecclesiam:” and again; “Utique habeant potestatem *hæretici*; sed præcipuè *Arriani*:”—statements possibly referable to the Arian Emperor Valens’ oppression of the Trinitarians in the Eastern Empire, which occurred during the life of the real Tichonius: yet not *probably* so; as Valens’ power extended only to the Eastern, or Greek, Empire; not to the Western Empire, in which evidently² (and most likely in Africa) the writer of the extant Homilies resided. Hence more probably this indication points to the succeeding century; when the Arian Vandal kings Genseric and Hunneric did really desolate the orthodox African Church.—On the whole, and adding to the other evidence in favour of his authorship the important fact of the manuscript’s bearing his name, I feel strongly inclined to believe that the *main substance* of the extant Treatise is from *Tichonius*: but with certain alterations introduced, and an abbreviation into an Homiletic form, by some Presbyter of the Latin Catholic Church in the fifth century, probably an African. Under this conviction, I shall note its more prominent views and peculiarities; as of one distinctly appertaining to the æra under review.

To begin, there are in two different manuscripts two different introductions. The *one* (probably the original) states at once the Origenistic interpretative principle of *αναγωγή*, as that adopted in the commentary. “In lectione Revelationis beati Johannis Apostoli, fratres charissimi, *secundum anagogen* explanare curabimus.” The other thus speaks. “Respecting the things seen by St. John in the Apocalypse, it seemed to some of the ancient fathers that either all,

¹ “Numerus inquit his myriades myriadum sed non dixit quot *myriadum*.” Hom. vii. Which exact words are quoted by Primasius on the same Apocalyptic verse as those of Tichonius.

² There occurs a curious notice on Apoc. iv. 3, in the second of the extant Homilies, on the resemblance of the word *iris*, or its accusative *iris*, to the Greek word *ειρηνη*; as by a writer, and to readers, to whom alike the Greek was a foreign language. “Cui nomini si una in fine additur littera, et *iris* dicatur, utique hoc ipsum interpretatio sonare videtur: nam Græco vocabulo *ειρηνη* hoc appellatur.”—Moreover it appears that these Homilies were *Lectiones* on the Apocalypse: which Book was, I believe, little read at the time in the *Greek Churches*.

or at least the greater part, presignified the coming of Antichrist, or day of judgment. But they who have more diligently handled it, judge that the things contained in it began to have fulfilment immediately after Christ's passion ; and are to go on fulfilling up to the day of judgment : so as that but a small portion may seem to remain for the times of Antichrist."—Which two beginnings are quite consistent. For Tichonius' meaning in those words of the latter, "consummanda usque ad diem judicii," is not that the Apocalypse was like a dramatic prefiguration of the great *events* of the coming future, to be fulfilled in succession and order until the consummation : but rather a representation (for the most part) of *general truths*, detached and unconnected, concerning the Church ; all and ever in course of realization, and that will be so even to the end.

Thus, passing over his explanation of the primary symbolization of Christ, the details of which he takes very much from Victorinus, and that of the Epistle to the seven Churches, which Churches he also regards as symbolic of the Church universal,—in the *Seals*, the first horse and rider are expounded of Christ riding to victory on his apostles and prophets, in date from after the time of his ascension ; the three next as the Devil, riding on bloody-minded, hypocritical,¹ and wicked men, in antagonism to Christ : ² the souls under the altar as the cry of the martyred and persecuted against their persecutors.—So far with reference to the times of the Christian dispensation *generally*. Then in the sixth Seal the earthquake is explained of the *last persecution*, and falling of bad men from heaven, i. e. from *the Church*,³ under it.

Again, (passing over the *sealing* and *palm-bearing visions*, which he explains the one of the Church's ingathering of its mystical number, the 144,000 of Israel,⁴ the other of Church privileges enjoyed under the present dispensation,⁵ and passing, also over the half-hour's silence,

¹ Hypocritical in the third Seal, because of the rider's carrying in false pretence the *balance of justice*.

² Victorinus' explanation of the three last horses as "bella, fames, et pestis," is also given as an alternative ; Victorinus being however no where mentioned by name.

³ This is an explanation applied in various similar figurations afterwards.

⁴ "144,000 omnis omnino ecclesia est." A *Tichoniasm*. See Tichonius' Rule 5, in my Note, p. 330 *supra*.—The 144,000 of Apoc. xiv are similarly explained by him ; not, as by Jerome, of literal monks and virgins.

⁵ A singular explanation ; but agreeable with that of the *New Jerusalem*, noted by

here interpreted just as by Victorinus,) he thus expounds the *Trumpets*, or Church-preachments acted out : ¹ viz. the *first*, of luxurious men of the earth, burnt up grass-like by the fire of concupiscence ; ² the *second*, of the Devil thrown as a burning mountain into the world ; the *third*, or star falling on the waters, of heretics and their deadly doctrines ; ³ the *fourth*, of evil ones in the Church spiritually eclipsed, through being given up to their pleasures ; ⁴ the *fifth*, of evil men and heretics, fallen from the Church, ⁵ and with the heart's abyss of wickedness fully opened ; men wearing mock crowns, as if church-elders, like the enthroned twenty-four, and scorpion-like, under devilish guidance, striking both good, though only to quicken their repentance, and bad, so as to infuse the poison of their doctrine :—then the *sixth* Trumpet, ⁶ and its horse-borne myriads from the Euphrates (the Euphrates of the mystic Babylon,) of the *last persecution* ; (that I presume, by Antichrist ;) the hour, day, month and year being meant for three and a half years, those four parts for the whole.⁷

In the *Witness-narrative*, told by the descended Covenant-Angel Christ, (whose opened book, by the way, Tichonius explains as the Bible, his lion-like cry as that of the gospel-preaching by the Church, and the seven answering thunders as the seven Trumpets, or Church-preachments, sealed to the bad, though understood by the good,) the introductory charge, “ Measure the temple,” &c, is well and rather remarkably explained of a recension and preparation of the true Church “ *ad ultimum* ;” all other professors of religion except the true,

me p. 337 afterwards. The remark on, “ He shall lead them to living fountains of waters,” stands thus : “ Omnia hæc etiam in *præsenti vita* spiritualiter ecclesiæ eveniunt : cum dimissis peccatis resurgimus ; et vitæ prioris lugubris ac veteris hominis exspoliati, in baptismo Christum induimur, et gaudiis sancti Spiritûs implemur.”

¹ “ Septem angelos ecclesiam dixit ; septem tubas perfectam prædicationem.”

² So Isaiah xl. 6, says Tichonius ; “ All flesh is grass.”—“ Quos Deus justo judicio permittit incendio luxuriæ vel cupiditate exuri.”

³ E. g. on this verse, “ *The waters were made bitter, and men died of the waters*,” it is said, “ Hoc in his qui *re-baptizantur* manifestè intelligi potest.” This is an *anti-Donatism* that has been noted as *anti-Tichonian* ; but possibly it is such an anti-Donatism as Tichonius might have written. See Parmenianus' remonstrance, p. 330 *suprà*.

⁴ The *eagle* crying Woe, that follows, he explains of each minister when announcing the coming day of judgment.

⁵ “ Una stella corpus est multorum cadentium de ecclesiâ per peccata.”

⁶ “ Sed non dixit quot myriadum : ”—the Tichoniasm noted above, p. 330, Note ².

⁷ So I think he means : “ Hæc sunt quatuor tempora triennii et pars (qu. partis ?) tempora.”—Compare the Tichonian Rule 5.

whether heretics or badly-living Catholics, being shut out :—and then the witnesses themselves, (including the oil-supplying *Two Testaments*, and the lightgiving *Church* fed by the oil,)¹ as having for their appointed time of prophesying the *whole time from Christ's death* : the phrase “these *have* power,” not, *shall have*, marking time current, *till the last persecution* : and the chronological term *twelve hundred and sixty days*, being one explicable as the numeral, not only “of the last persecution, and of the future peace, but also of *the whole time from the Lord's passion* ; either period having that number of days.”²—Thus we have here a view of the witnessing, large and connected : and, during this prolonged time of the Church's testimony, the killing their injurers with fire out of their mouths is well explained of the killing effect of the Witnesses' prayers, and the heaven's not raining, of the absence of blessing on the barren earth.—After which, and on their finishing their testimony, (a testimony carried on to the very eve of Christ's revelation,) the *Beast from the abyss*, or “wicked ones making up the Devil's body,”³ *especially under Antichrist*,⁴ shall conquer them that yield, says Tichonius, and slay the steadfast, in the *πλατεια*, or “*midst of the Church* :” till after three and a half *days*, meaning three and half *years*,⁵ their dead bodies shall rise, and ascend to meet Christ at his coming.

Next let me sketch, in illustration of this Commentary, Tichonius' exposition of the connected visions of the *Dragon*, *Beast*, and *Beast-riding Harlot* ; given in Apoc. xii, xiii, xvii.

The *travailing Woman* then, he says, is the Church, ever bringing

¹ “Nam Zacharias unum candelabrum vidit; et has duo olivas, id est Testamenta, infundere oleum candelabro, id est ecclesie.”

² “Prophetabunt diebus 1260 : numerum novissimæ persecutionis dixit, et futuræ pacis, et totius temporis à Domini passione ; quoniam utrumque tempus totidem dies habet, quod suo in loco dicatur.”—How this *time times and half a time* might come to be viewed as a fit designative of the whole Christian æra, was first explained by Ambrose Ansbert. See p. 345 *infra*. How Tichonius might have inferred from it a nearness of the consummation to his own age will appear from a certain particular value put by him on a prophetic *time*, noted in the next page. How it meant the time of the *future peace*, I know not.

³ “Bestiam impios dicit, qui sunt corpus Diaboli.” (So Tichonius' seventh interpretative canon.) So too the Beast in Apoc. xiii is explained ; which will be like a leopard, adds Tichonius, *in the time of Antichrist*.

⁴ It is plain that Tichonius refers the death of the Witnesses to this period.

⁵ This early testimony for the *year-day* principle, and the reasoning added in its support, is noted by me in my Chapter on the year-day, Vol. iii. p. 238.

forth Christ in his members : the *Dragon*, the Devil seeking to devour ; his *seven heads and ten horns* indicating all the world's kingdoms ruled by him ;¹ his *dejection from heaven* to earth by Michael, i. e. Christ, his being cast out of the Church, or hearts of *saints*, into the hearts of earthly men :—the woman's *wilderness-dwelling*, the Church's desolate state in this world ; the *time times and half a time* measuring it, a period on the scale perhaps of *a year*, perhaps of *a hundred years* to a time :² (on the smaller scale, I presume, the term of special suffering under Antichrist, on the larger that of the Church's whole tribulation, from Christ's first to his second coming :)³ the Dragon's rage against the woman's seed, after the absorption of the floods from his mouth, the Devil's plan to raise up heresies against it, *after the failure of the Roman Pagan persecutions* ; floods absorbed however “*ore sanctæ terræ* ;” i. e. through the prayers of the saints.

Further, as before, the *Beast* he expounds as the impious of the Devil's body ;⁴ its seven heads and ten horns as the same with those on the Dragon figured previously : the *Dragon's giving the Beast his authority*, “*what now we see* ;” viz. heretics, especially Arians, vexing the Church, (the Devil's influence aiding them,) as *formerly did the Pagans* : a partial adoption, (as also on Apoc. xii.) contrary to his usual generalizing system, of the Constantinian explanation of the Dragon's dejection and discomfiture in the fall of Paganism.⁵ Further, the *second Beast* he interprets to be an heretical church,⁶ “*feigning Christianity, in order thereby the better to deceive ; and setting up for adoration*” the *Beast's Image*, or masked impersona-

¹ “*Capita reges sunt, cornua vero regna :—in septem capitibus omnes reges ; in decem cornibus omnia regna mundi dicit.*”

² “*Tempus et annus intelligitur et centum anni.*” A statement this last, peculiar to Tichonius, among the Christian fathers ; and borrowed probably from the Jews. (See my Vol. iii. p. 234, Note ⁵.) There is no *Scripture* authority for it, as for the *yearday*.

³ On the *one hundred year* scale the end of the Church's $3\frac{1}{2}$ times, just as of that of the Witnesses, (see p. 334, Note ²,) would occur not very long after Tichonius' own time, about the end (as was then thought) of the sixth millenary.

⁴ Compare Tichonius' *seventh* Rule, p. 330.

⁵ See the Notes in my Vol. iii. pp. 21—24 ; also p. 322, note ¹.

⁶ “*Habebat duo cornua similia agni, id est duo Testamenta ad similitudinem Agni, quod est Ecclesia.*” And again : “*Sub nomine Christiano Agnum præfert, ut draconis venena latenter infundat : hæc est heretica Ecclesia.*”

tion of Satan, under a Christian guise.¹ The Beast's *mark* and *number* is stated as $\chi\iota\varsigma'$, = 616 numerally;² and which also indicated an affection of likeness to Christ; (whose monogram, we may observe, was $\chi\rho\varsigma'$) the Beast boasting to be of Christ, when persecuting him.³

As to the *Woman on the Beast* it is explained thus. "*Corruptelam dicit sedere super populos in eremo. Meretrix, bestia, eremus, unum sunt; quod totum Babylonia intelligitur:*" and *Babylonia*, the great City, is expounded as *the world and its evil population*. (Of the seven hills nothing is said.) *The Beast that was and is not and shall be*,⁴ is explained in the sense that bad people rise from bad, in perpetual succession. The ten horns hating the woman, means that the wicked will hate and tear themselves; and, under God's permissive anger, make the world desolate. Further, the cry "Come out of her, my people," is one daily fulfilled in the passage of some from out of Babylon to Jerusalem; (while others pass from out of Jerusalem to Babylon :) and again, the cry to the birds to congregate to the supper of the great God, figures out the conversion of nations; seeing that when they are incorporated into the Church, they are spiritually *eaten* by it.⁵—As to the Beast's destruction, Tichonius makes it (agreeably with his system) that of the wicked, or constituents of the Devil's body, not of *Antichrist*.

So we advance towards the conclusion.—Omitting lesser points,⁶ I

¹ Such, I think, is his meaning.

² A reading observable; though unquestionably not the true one. See my extract from Irenæus, Vol. iii. p. 208, Note ¹. Tichonius does not notice the other and truer reading. $\chi\epsilon\varsigma'$, 666. Nor does he offer any *name* containing the number.

³ "Græcis literis 666 fiunt $\chi\iota\varsigma'$: quæ notæ solutæ numerus est: redactæ autem in monogrammum, et notam faciunt, et numerum, et nomen. Hoc signum Christi intelligitur: et ipsius ostenditur similitudo, quam in veritate colit ecclesia: cui se similem facit hæreticorum adversitas: qui cùm Christum spiritualiter persequantur, tamen de signo crucis Christi gloriari videntur." ⁴ So Tichonius reads, $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \pi\alpha\pi\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$.

⁵ "Hoc in ecclesiâ fieri in veritate cognoscimus: nam quando gentes ecclesiæ incorporantur, spiritualiter comeduntur."

⁶ Let me notice one. On Apoc. xvi. 14, speaking of the kings of the world as gathered to the war of *the great day of the Lord*, a primary explanation is given of the Lord's great day, as meaning "the whole time from Christ's death to the end of the world." Then, as an alternative, there is added a reference to the day of Jerusalem's destruction; which however I take to be an interpolation. "Potest hoc loco dies magnus intelligi illa desolatio, quando à Tito et Vespasiano obsessa est Hierosolyma; ubi, exceptis his qui in captivitatem ducti sunt, quindecies centena millia mortua referuntur."

may observe that in Apoc. xx the *millennium* is explained, on the Augustinian principle,¹ as commenced at Christ's first coming and ministry; the strong man being ejected out of the hearts of his people by one stronger, and bound from ruling over them: the first resurrection as meaning that by baptism; the thousand years, as the whole for the part yet remaining² of the sixth chiliad of the world; and the "*little while*" subsequent of Satan's loosing, as the three and a half years of Antichrist.

As to the *New Jerusalem*, alike in Apoc. xxi and in Apoc. iii, it is explained of the Church in its *present state*: (though not without a passing counter-view, given apparently by another hand, which applies it to the glorified Church after the resurrection:³) its four gates towards the four winds marking its diffusion over the world; the tree of life meaning the cross, and the river of life the waters of baptism.⁴—Agreeably with which view the *palm-bearers' blessedness* in Apoc. vii is also explained distinctly of the Church in its *present state*. "Omnia hæc (viz. what is said of the living fountains of water) etiam in *presenti sæculo*, et *his diebus*, spiritualiter ecclesiæ eveniunt."⁵

To this last expository view I must direct particular attention; as being now for the first time put forth in an Apocalyptic commentary; though not without a partial precedent, as we saw, in Eusebius.⁶ At the same time it is to be observed that by *the Church* Tichonius meant Christ's *true Church*; perpetually distinguishing between it and the *ficti et mali within*, as well as heretics and Pagans *without* it.—In his explaining away of *Babylon* the great city, as merely meaning the *world*, though expressly declared by the Angel to mean *Rome*,

¹ See p. 328 *suprà*.

² So the Tichonian Rule 5.

³ This occurs in Hom. xvii, after a quotation from Apoc. xxi. 1, "I saw the New Jerusalem descending as a bride," &c: the brief comment being thus added, "Hoc totum de gloriâ ecclesiæ dixit *qualem habebit post resurrectionem*." But this is an insulated sentence: and in three other different places the prophecy is distinctly referred to the Church on earth. See for example the next Note.

⁴ So in the Homily xix, where all the particular figures are gone into.—Similarly in Homily iii, on Apoc. iii. 12, "I will write on him the name of the city of my God, the New Jerusalem, which descendeth from heaven from my God," the Comment is; "Novam Jerusalem cœlestem ecclesiam dicit quæ à Domino nascitur. Novam autem propter novitatem nominis Christiani; et quia ex veteribus novi efficimur."

⁵ Homily vi.

⁶ See p. 326 *suprà*.

he was partly followed, as we saw, by Augustine and Jerome : i. e. supposing that their predecessor the real Tichonius originated it, not a later interpolator. It is another of the characteristic and notable points of Tichonius' commentary.

§ 3. FROM THE FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE, A.D. 500, TO A.D. 1000.

The period included in this Section comprises that of the early establishment, and growth to mature strength, of the Papal supremacy over the ten Romano-Gothic kingdoms of the revived *Western* Empire ; also in *Eastern* Christendom the reign of Justinian, and rise, conquests and decay of the Saracens. Its commencement is sketched in my Part II, chapter iii ; its later half in the chapter v, next but one succeeding the former. The end of the tenth millenary of the Christian æra constituted, as is obvious, and will be afterwards remarked on, an important epoch in the history of Apocalyptic interpretation. It furnishes therefore a fit ending to the present Section.

The *Latin* expositors that I shall first notice under this division are *Primasius* and *Ambrosius Ansbertus*, of the sixth and eighth centuries : then (after a passing word on *Bede* and *Haymo*) the *Greek* expositors *Andreas* and *Arethas*, also of the sixth and eighth or ninth centuries, respectively. And I shall close with another Latin expositor of rather peculiar character, who flourished somewhat later, about the beginning of the tenth century ; I mean *Berengaud*.

1. Beginning with *Primasius*, his name appears in the second Conference of the fifth General Council, held at Constantinople A. D. 553 ;¹ where he is noted as a Bishop of the *Byzacene* or *Carthaginian* province ; in which province he is supposed to have been Bishop of *Adrumetum*.² The manuscript of his works was discovered in a monastery near Lyons, in the sixteenth century ;³ and was published, with a high eulogy on the author, in the Dedication to the French king Francis, by the learned Gagnæus. These Works are all given in the xth volume of the B. P. M. ; that on the Apocalypse occupying from p. 289 to p. 339.

There is so much of general resemblance in this Apocalyptic Com-

¹ Harduin iii. 68.

² So Mosheim, &c.

³ So in the Dedication.

mentary to that of Tichonius, (to which indeed he refers as an exemplar before him at the outset,¹) that there will be no need to enter so much at large into it, after the full sketch just given of Tichonius. His mention of Jerome's Origenistic saying at the outset, that the Apocalypse has as many mysteries as words, and many hidden meanings too in each word, is ominous; and might well prepare us for the kind of commentary following. Indeed his seeking for mysteries has imparted an air of mysteriousness and obscurity to parts of it, such that I do not wonder at Ambrose Ansbert complaining of its frequent unintelligibility.² What follows will give a sufficient notion of his general views, and of his more remarkable particular explanations.

He begins with stating the objects of the Apocalypse. It needed to be revealed how the Church, then recently founded by the apostles, was to be extended, and how destined to be limited; (limited *temporarily*, I suppose; for he adds that it was to have the world for an inheritance :) that so the preachers of the truth might more boldly, though few, make aggression on the many. Which Church, its great subject, was in different parts of the Apocalypse ever prominently though variously depicted: alike, he says, by the seven Asiatic Churches, seven candlesticks, and seven stars; (the fitness of the septenary to signify unity being fancifully accounted for; ³) by Christ himself too, as figured on the scene, the Church being Christ's body; ⁴ and yet more by St. John as a representative: ⁵ (even his opening act of falling as one dead before Christ, being but a type of the Church dead to the world :) also, in the other and higher visions next vouchsafed, alike by the heaven, by the figured throne placed in it, by Him that sate on the throne, by the twenty-four elders, and by the four living creatures.⁶ "Quod est thronus hoc animalia; hoc et seniores;

¹ Ambrose Ansbert notices this also. "Post quem (Tichonium) Primasius, Africanæ Ecclesiæ Antistes, quinque prædictam Apocalypsim enodavit libris. In quibus, ut ipse asserit, non tam propria quàm aliena contexuit; ejusdem scilicet Tichonii bene intellecta deflorans." B. P. M. xiii. 404.

² "Fateor multa me in ejus dictis sæpissimè legendo scrutatum esse, nec intellexisse." Ibid.

³ B. P. M. x. 289.—Seven being a complete number: as man is made up of body and soul; the soul with its three parts, heart, soul, mind; the body with its four, hot and cold, moist and dry!

⁴ So Tichonius, Rule 1.

⁵ So Victorinus and Tichonius.

⁶ B. P. M. 294, 295.

id est ecclesia."¹—I need not suggest the confusion of ideas, and incoherence of interpretation, necessarily arising from this confused generalization, and identification in meaning, of the varied scenic imagery of the Apocalypse.

The *Sealed Book*, and the successive symbols of its six *Seals*, as opened, he explains almost precisely as Tichonius; with additional conceits however, arising out of his straining to find out yet further mysteries.² Like him, besides noting devilish agencies as meant in the second, third, and fourth Seals, opposed to Christ and his Gospel, as figured in the first, he also includes Victorinus' solution of the *bella, fames, pestis*: and like him joins Victorinus in explaining the sixth Seal, both in general and in detail, of the last persecution,³ towards the end of the last age of the Church: the chronology here passing from the whole period of Christianity generally to its last epoch specially. By which persecution (a persecution I presume by Antichrist, though Antichrist is not indeed mentioned as its author) the world generally, Primasius supposes, is to be oppressed.

Like Tichonius, again, he explains alike the 144,000⁴ and the palm-bearing company to mean the whole Church of the elect; and interprets the four angels of the winds, (a point unnoticed by the former expositor,) to be the four winds spoken of by Daniel as striving on the agitated scene of the four great empires: also the Angel from the East as Christ *at his first coming*; the stone being then cut out of the mountain, which was to smite the great image. The palm-bearer's predicated happiness he does not, like Tichonius, confine to the Church in its present state; but refers such particulars as, "God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes," to the Church's future

¹ Ib. 301.

² E. g. the fitness of a septenary to signify completeness and unity is illustrated by the seven modes of a verb in grammar, and the seven ages distinguishable in the inward and spiritual history of a spiritual man.

In the 4th Seal he thus accounts for the specification of the fourth part of the earth, as a scene of injury. The world is divided into two parts, one for God, one for the Devil; and the latter subdivided into three, Pagans, heretics, and false orthodox professing Christians. Now it is the first of these four only, or true Church, that is the part assailed.

³ "Sexta ætas mundi, circa cujus finem novissima persecutio nunciatur." He refers to Isaiah ii. 21, in illustration of the Church, and her Christian faith, being the world's refuge, under present suffering and future fears.

⁴ On the mysteries of the names of the twelve Jewish tribes, as applied to the Christian Church, Primasius has not less than three folio pages; from 305 to 308.

bliss.—*The half-hour's silence* he explains with his two predecessors of the beginning of the saints' eternal rest.

In the *Trumpets* he still follows Tichonius. Throughout the time of the Church's preaching voice, fulfilling the Angel's trumpet-blowings, there would be the destruction of the earthly-minded by God's wrath, the Devil's burning fury, and spread of false tradition and doctrine, obscuring the Church's light; by heretical teachers too and false prophets, with their venom-distilling scorpion tails: until under the sixth trumpet, or in the sixth age, the four winds, (and Devil too, as in Apoc. xx.) would be loosed from long partial confinement in the ruins of Babylon; and with the force of eight myriads, or myriads of myriads, including the whole body of the wicked, would during the fated hour day month and year, or three years and a half, urge the last persecution.¹

In the vision of the *rainbow-crowned Angel* of Apoc. x, Primasius combines Victorinus' and Tichonius' explanations. The opened book he makes the New Testament; the seven thunders the Church's preaching; the sealing a proper reservation of its truths from such as might abuse the communication: also John's charge to eat the book, and prophesy again, he explains as true both of John personally, by the publication of his Apocalypse and Gospel, so as Victorinus would have it, and of the Church always, as Tichonius,—Further, as to the *two Apocalyptic Witnesses*, their testifying included both the Church's witness, with the two Testaments, throughout the whole time of Christianity, in that mystical sense of forty-two months² which Tichonius prominently set forth; ³ and also Elias' witness, in the literal first half of Daniel's hebdomad,⁴ so as Victorinus; his death having to occur in the *literal* Jerusalem.

¹ I am not aware that any manuscript, or any Expositor but Primasius, exhibits the various reading, *οκτώ μυριάδες*.

² Primasius thinks that the *fire* and *sulphur* out of the mystical horses' mouth may refer to *hell* punishments: Tichonius had explained them of the blasphemies uttered.

³ By construing the forty-two months and three and a-half years literally, as well as mystically, and speaking of its having reference to the last persecution, (see p. 332,) Tichonius seems to have intended to mark the witnessing under Elias; whom he makes the wings sustaining the woman of Apoc. xii in the last persecution. But he does not express it.

⁴ The drought he makes *spiritual*; also the killing by fire from the witnesses' mouths to be spiritual death, through the church's anathema.

⁵ During which, adds Primasius, the Jews are to believe on Jesus Christ. B.P.M.

In the vision of the *Woman* and *Dragon* we still see Tichonius' track followed. It is the Church bringing forth Christ in *his members*; and the Devil wielding the supremacy of this world's dominion, and seeking to devour the *new man*. The wilderness where the woman is nourished is this world of her pilgrimage; the two wings sustaining her, the two Testaments; the time, both all of the Christian dispensation generally, and specially the three years and a half of Antichrist. Again, as to the Beast of Apoc. xiii, it is the whole mass of the reprobate, making up the Devil's body; the last of its heads being *Antichrist*, under whom *fully* and *specially* the Devil will act out his purposes. Primasius, like others before and after him, strongly marks this Antichrist's affected imitation and personation of Christ.¹—By the *Image of the Beast*, Primasius, like his precursor, seems to mean the *mask of one personating Christ*, under which mask the Devil is worshipped;² and he gives for the name and number 666 of the Beast, the words *αρρεμος* and *απrouμε*;³ the former from Victorinus.

The *Vials* he views with Tichonius as the same that were held by the twenty-four elders; for "we are a savour of death unto death," says he from Paul, "in them that perish." Under the sixth Vial he speaks of Christ as the *king* from the East, or sun-rising.⁴—In Apoc. xvii the Woman is the worldly, reprobate, or evil body, the desert in which she appears *God's absence*; (a striking sentiment!)⁵ the ten horns of the Beast she rides on Daniel's ten kings just preceding Antichrist; the diadems seen before on them marking them out as then the alone reigning powers. The seven hills indicate *Rome*; but Rome only as a type of the ruling power and dominion.

The *Millennium* Primasius expounds as Augustine and Tichonius: the new heavens and earth, and the new Jerusalem, as a new world,

p. 315.—He does not specify any companions to Elias. Daniel's seventy weeks he supposes to refer to Christ's first coming mainly.

¹ "Nunc publicè audeat blasphemare, quando dignitatem ei (Christo) specialiter debitam sibi ausus fuerit adsignare; et contrarius Christo se velit pro eo accipiendum."—Also of the second beast, his supporter; "Agnum fingit ut agnum invadat." Ib. 319. And again, p. 326: "Contrarius Christo (quod et nomen ejus Antichristus indicat) se velit haberi pro Christo."

² The want of distinction between the two Beasts and the Dragon or Devil, continually appears. So of the second Beast. "Bestia cum duo cornubus, quæ est pars Bestiæ, facit Bestiam adorare Bestiam." ³ For *απrouμαι*, *I deny*: as denying Christ.

⁴ So reading *τῷ βασιλει*, for *τοῖς βασιλευσι*.

⁵ "Desertum ponit Divinitatis absentiam, cujus præsentia paradus est." Ib. 325.

so changed from the old, as may befit the saints in their new bodies ; i. e. after their own resurrection, and the condemnation of the wicked.

2. *Ambrose Ansbert* is my next Latin Expositor. He fixes his own æra to about A.D. 760 or 770. For he dedicates his Apocalyptic Commentary, at its commencement to Pope Stephen ; and at the end tells us that it was written in the time of Pope Paul, and of Desiderius, king of the Lombards. Now Desiderius was king of the Lombards from 756 to 774 ; in which year he was defeated, and the Lombard kingdom overthrown by Charlemagne. Also Pope Stephen III died in 757, Pope Paul in 767, Pope Stephen IV his successor in 772.¹ He further tells us in his Postscript, that he was of Gaulic origin, and a monk of the monastery of St. Vincent in Samnium. Elsewhere he mentions that he had to write the comment with his own hands, the aid of a *notary* not being afforded him.² The Commentary is a copious one, occupying some 250 folio pages in the Bibliotheca ; viz. from p. 403 to p. 657 of its xiiith volume.

In his Comment, Ambrose Ansbert treads in the steps of Tichonius and Primasius so closely, that there is as little need as in the case of the African Bishop to give lengthened details. At the outset, he recognises John's representative character,—representative of the Church generally, of *holy preachers* particularly : also the principle of the Church (or at least its *prelates* ³) being figured in the twenty-four elders ; and indeed in Christ himself too, as being his body. The seven-sealed Book he viewed with his predecessors as the Old and New Testament ; the Old written without. An ominous notice of the seven different modes of expounding, viz. the *historic, allegoric, mixt historic and allegoric, mystical, parabolic*, that *which discriminates between Christ's first and second coming*, and that which “ *geminam præceptorum retinet qualitatem, id est vitæ agendæ vitæ-*

¹ Trithemius strangely writes of his age ; “ Claruit sub Arnol^{do} Imperatore, A. D. 890.” Quoted B. P. M. xiii. 403.

² “ Quia notariorum solatia deesse videntur, ea quæ dictavero manu propriâ exarare contendo.”

³ “ Una quippe sedes est ; quia sive in prælatis sive in subditis singulariter Christus omnem ecclesiam præsidendo examinat.” Ib. 431. I suppose the *subditi* are the subordinate clergy.

que figurandæ,"¹ is developed in some six folio pages preceding his exposition of the Seals. In which exposition of the *Seals* his chief difference from his predecessors, is in making the rider of the black horse, with a pair of balances, in the third seal, to mean the Devil and his followers deceitfully weighing the world against Christ, so as to cheat men with the idea of the world being the more valuable:² also in the fourth seal, in making that death by which (conjunctively with three other instrumentalities) the Devil kills men's souls, to be heretical teachers. Further, it may be observable, that under the sixth seal he makes the rocks of refuge in the last great persecution, and under fears of the approaching day of judgment, to be "*suffragia sanctorum*;" that is, of departed saints and angels. For, says he, even in regard of "the elect," and "the good works that may have preceded," yet "*necesse est ut semper ad cælestium civium confugiamus latibula; id est Angelorum intercessionibus ab irâ Judicantis nos deprecemur liberari.*"³ So does the taint of angel and saint worship, then current, appear on the face of this Apocalyptic Exposition.

Proceeding to the *Trumpets*, he makes the preparatory *half-hour's silence* to be that of the Church's silent contemplation: and then, (first I believe of expositors) compares the seven Trumpet-soundings with those of Jubilee under the old law, and those sounded on the seven days' compassing of Jericho;—Jericho the type in its fall of that of this world.⁴—Inconsistently with what he had said before of the need of the "*suffrages of the saints*," he explains the Angel Priest with the incense-offering, just as Primasius or Tichonius, to be Christ our Mediator. In the second Trumpet, he makes the burning mountain to be Antichrist (not the Devil) burning with envy. Under the fifth, he supposes the specification of "*hair as the hair of*

¹ Ib. 475. I think Ambrose Ansbert will be found sometimes as difficult of understanding by modern readers, as he tells us he found Primasius.

² "*Quibus (malis) Principis sui affectus paratissimus servit; cùm, staterem in manu tenens, temporalibus stipendiis quorundam vitam mercari quærit, quæ illum suamque esuriem saturare queat.*" He adds Christ's saying, "What shall a man give in exchange for his soul?"—Ib. 483.

³ Ib. 487.

⁴ Ib. 497. He notices this with unusual brevity: "*Has certe Angelorum tubas illæ præsignabant quæ in Jubilæi usibus per Moysem factæ fuisse memorantur: quibus septem dierum circuitu clangentibus, in typum hujus sæculi, muri Jericho cecidisse narrantur.*"

women" to have been made with reference to the heretics symbolized; because women have so often been misled by and patronized heretics; e. g. Constantine's sister, and afterwards Justina, in the case of Arius and the Arians, Priscilla of Montanus, Lucilla of Donatus. In the sixth Trumpet he supposes the four Euphratean Angels to be identical with the four Angels of the winds in Apoc. vii; like Primasius and other Expositors before him.

After this I see no variation from Primasius, either in the exposition of the *rainbow-crowned Angel's* figuration in Apoc. x, or that of *the Witnesses* in Apoc. xi. Indeed he often quotes at length from Primasius, though without acknowledgment; as, for example, in the exposition of the verse "Thou must prophesy again," as applicable both to John specially, and the Church universally.² The two Witnesses he makes Enoch and Elias; ³ reproving Victorinus for suggesting Jeremiah.⁴ The Great City in which the Witnesses would be slain, might be either the world, or the earthly literal Jerusalem: their time, 1260 days, (== three and a half years) either, mystically taken, the whole time of Christ's Church witnessing, *after the example of the three and a half years that was the whole time of Christ's ministry*,⁵ or literally.—In Apoc. xii, he expounds the travailing Woman, both of the Virgin Mary and the Church, specially and generally.—In Apoc. xiii. like Cyril, he makes Antichrist to be the eighth head of the Beast, by subduing the seven remaining kings of the ten. The second or two-horned Beast he well and truly (I think) distinguishes from the other, as signifying the *preachers and ministers of Antichrist*; ⁶ feigning the *lamb* in order to carry out their hostility against the Lamb: as Antichrist too, the first Beast's head wounded to death, would, he says, exhibit himself *pro Christo*,⁷ as Christ. The

¹ Ib. 503.

² See the full quotation at p. 151 of my 2nd volume.

³ So, he says, Jerome and Pope Gregory. Ib. 522.

⁴ See p. 319 Note ¹.

⁵ So at p. 537, in his notice of the woman's flight into the wilderness for three and a half times. "Cur hoc totum ecclesie tempus tribus annis et sex mensibus generaliter designatur patet ratio; propter evangelicam scilicet prædicationem, quæ trium temporum et dimidii spatii edita fuisse cognoscitur."—I do not remember to have seen any such reason given for this mystical sense in Ansbert's predecessors.—Elsewhere, p. 545, he compares the equivalent forty-two months to Israel's forty-two stations in the wilderness.

⁶ So p. 541: repeated again p. 548, "præpositi atque prædicatores Antichristi." Here he nearly follows Irenæus.

⁷ Ib. 544.

“bringing fire from heaven” he explains as pretending and seeming to men to have the power of giving the Holy Spirit, such as Simon Magus wished to obtain by money;¹ and that the second Beast would, by its preachings, signs, and dogmas, make men believe that the Holy Spirit resided in Antichrist.² (This seems to me original, and quite deserving of remark.) Also that the *Beast's Image* meant Antichrist, the Devil's Image, while pretending to be Christ's image; and that all who assumed a similar hypocritical garb, would make as it were to themselves an image of the Beast.—On the Beast's *mark* he observes, that its being required on the forehead meant a man's profession,—on his head, his acts: and, as names containing the number 666, he mentions Irenæus' *τεῖταν*, as well as those in Victorinus, *αὐτεμὸς, γεννητικός*.

After the *Vials*, in which nothing appears to me observable, but that he makes the *ulcer* of the first Vial to be *infidelity*, (such as with the Jews and Pagans,³) the subject comes up again in Apoc. xvii, of the Beast and the Harlot riding him. Here he speaks of the old notion that the Beast that was and is not meant Nero, once one of seven Roman Emperors, and destined to rise again as Antichrist, as “absurd:”⁴ that the Beast (answering to Antichrist's body) had existed from the beginning in Cain, and the wicked afterwards; and that it might be said to have been, and not be, and yet be, because of the fleeting and successive generations of evil men.⁵ Of the five kings that had fallen, his solution is certainly as “*absurd*” as that he ridicules:—viz., that as in man the five senses come before reason, and then on reason's coming man's sixth and mature age, so in its sixth age, then current, the world had come to its maturity; and, preferring error,⁶ that so in the seventh would come Antichrist.—As to which sixth *age* he takes the opportunity of saying else-

¹ “Quos ut illi ministri Sathanæ facilius decipere possint, coram ipais Spiritum sanctum dare se simulant; sicut dudum Simon Magus, &c.” p. 549.

² “Quomodo intelligendum est dare illi spiritum, nisi quia sive prædicationibus, sive signis et miraculis, suadere hominibus conatur spiritu prophetiæ plenum esse Antichristum?” p. 550.

³ Let me add that the Euphrates, the river of Babylon, will, he considers, be dried up when its power to injure and persecute is dried up; and that thus the way will be prepared for Christ the King from the East, according to Primasius' reading of the word in the singular; or, if in the plural, for the apostles and ministers of the Church. Ib. 580.

⁴ Ib. 592.

⁵ Ibid. So Tichonius. See p. 336.

⁶ Page 593.

where,¹ that it is not tantamount to the sixth *millennary*: the first age of the six being that from the creation to the flood, of more than 2000 years: so that none might argue from the 6000th year of the world approaching, that the end of the world was at hand; God keeping in his own hands the times and seasons.—On the *millennium* he of course follows his two predecessors and Augustine. And the *New Jerusalem*, and its blessings, he explains partly of the Church's present blessings; partly of those to be enjoyed in its future and heavenly state.²

During this same eighth century the venerable *Bede* flourished, who composed a Commentary on the Apocalypse. I have quoted from it in my third Volume, p. 235; but do not see need to say more of it, as it was most similar in general character and particular explanations to those of which I have just spoken.—Nor again need we stop at the Apocalyptic Comment by *Haymo*, Bishop of Halberstadt in the ninth century; whose Work forms a thick substantial duodecimo, in the princeps Editio printed at Cologne A.D. 1529; after collation, it is said, of many manuscript codices. For I have found it, on examination, to be little better than an abridgment from Ambrose Ansbert. There is scarce a chapter in which the examiner will not observe this.—I shall only therefore mention three things from his Commentary:—1st, that in support of the three and a half *days* of the two Witnesses lying dead meaning three and a half *years*, he cites (first I believe of expositors) the well known passage from *Ezekiel* iv. as others had that from Numbers xiv;—2ndly, that he reads in Apoc. xvii. 16, “the horns thou sawest *on* the Beast,” *ἐπὶ τῷ θηρίῳ*. whereas Ansbert read, *καὶ τὸ θηρίον*:—3rdly, that on Apoc. xviii. 3, which speaks of the reprobated merchandize of Babylon, he applies it to those that then sold their souls for lordships and *bishoprics*: “*comitatus et episcopatus*.”

I now turn to Primasius' and Ambrose Ansbert's two chief cotem-

¹ Viz. p. 553.

² So on the river of life; “*Possunt cuncta hæc ad præsens tempus referri, quo instar Paradisi prædicationis flumine saneta rigatur ecclesia*.” p. 646. At p. 647, however, on the absence of the curse, he explains it as fulfilled “in illâ *æternâ* felicitate,” &c.

porary expositors in the GREEK Church and empire ; viz. *Andreas*, and his follower *Arethas*.

Andreas was Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia. His *age* is said by Bellarmine, and also by Peltan the Jesuit, in his Preface to the Latin translation of *Andreas*' Apocalyptic Commentary,¹ to have been uncertain ; save only that it was later than Basil, the famous father of the fourth century, as *Andreas* quotes him. By Cave and Lardner,² while admitting its uncertainty, he is assigned to the latter part of the fifth century. And so too Professor M. Stuart.³ But I think internal evidence is not wanting to fix his date a half-century at least, if not a whole century later.

For *first*, besides other authors, he quotes *Dionysius*, the so-called Areopagite ; one whose work is cited by no authority of known earlier chronology than the middle of the sixth century,⁴ *Secondly*, after noticing (under the fourth seal⁵) a pestilence and famine in the Emperor Maximin's territory, at the close of the Diocletian persecution, in which dogs were wont to be killed that they might not prey on the unburied corpses, *Andreas* speaks of much the same thing having become *usual* in his own time ; “ Quin nostrâ quoque ætate quædam similia usu venisse novimus : ”—a statement scarcely applicable except to a time of prolonged pestilence and mortality ; and most exactly applicable to the æra of the great and almost universal plague and mortality under Justinian, prolonged from A.D. 542 to 594 ; during which it is expressly on record that corpses were frequently left unburied.⁶—*Thirdly*, while recording *generally* the calamities and slaughters experienced by the generation then living, especially from the barbarians surrounding the province or empire,⁷ *Andreas* more than once *particularly* specifies the *Persians*

¹ Given in the B. P. M. v. 589—633.

² Lardner cites Cave's statement. “ Vixisse videtur circa exitum seculi istius, ac claruisse anno 500. Incerta enim prorsus illius ætaa.” Lardner v. 77.

³ In Apoc. i. 267.—Hug too, in his Introduction to the New Testament, Vol. i. p. 230, (Wait's Translation,) speaks of *Andreas*' age as not known ; and that people vary in their conjectures from the 5th to the 8th century.

⁴ The earliest occasion, as Pagi admits, being the conference at Constantinople between the Catholics and the Severiani, A. D. 532.—Lardner himself, allowing a margin of fifty years, supposes that *Dionysius*' date may be perhaps set down at A. D. 490.

⁵ B. P. M. p. 600.

⁶ Gibb. vii. 421. I have noticed this famous pestilence in my Vol. i. p. 374.

⁷ So on the sixth Seal, p. 601, speaking of Christians fleeing from place to place, in

as persecutors and slaughterers of Christians, both long previously, and even up to the time when he wrote ; also their having been ever given up to magic (magiis) and superstitions :¹—statements well applicable to the period of Nushirvan's invasion of the Syrian province, A.D. 546, or of his last brief war with the Romans, A.D. 572 ; and still more to that of Chosroes' invasion and desolation of Cappadocia and other Roman provinces, in the year 611.² On the other hand there

the time of Antichrist, in order to escape his persecution, he adds ; “Cujusmodi incommoda et clades nos quoque, ante Antichristi adventum, propter peccata nostra jam experti sumus.” And on Apoc. xvii, p. 617, he says of many of his fellow-citizens of the Eastern Empire, that “Nefanda illa mala, quæ ex barbaris qui in circuitu degunt inferuntur, ægro animo ferentes,” they impeached God's goodness, “quasi tot illas tantasque afflictiones nostræ huic generationi reservare non debuerit.”

¹ So on Apoc. xviii ; p. 623. “Illa Babylonia quæ apud Persas extat,” (he means Susa the Persian capital,) “quæ multorum sanctorum sanguinem diversis temporibus effuderit, et usque in præsentem diem effudere non desinit ; magisque et superstitionibus semper dedita fuerit.” Again at p. 620, referring to the Persian Capital, he observes ; “God knows the wickedness of that Babylon which even now reigns.”

² The following chronological sketch (taken from Gibbon) of the Roman wars with Persia will illustrate what has been said : a sketch commencing from the æra of the great Theodosius, and his peace with Persia about 390. A. D.

A. D. 422, a slight alarm of Persian war ; which however scarcely disturbed the tranquillity of the East. A Bishop having destroyed a fire-temple at Susa, (the Persian capital,) the Magi excited a cruel persecution of Christians in Persia, under Yezdegerd and Bahram. Armenia and Mesopotamia were filled with hostile armies ; but no memorable acts. A truce for eighty years were agreed on, and the main conditions of the treaty were respected for nearly eighty years. Gibb. v. 428.

A. D. 502—505. A short Persian war ; in which Amida was taken by the Persians, and Edessa unsuccessfully assaulted : then a peace, and Dara built by the Romans, which for a while proved an effective frontier defence. Gibb. vii. 138, &c.

A. D. 540. Nushirvan (also called Chosroes) invades Syria, takes Antioch its capital, slaughters the people, pillages the Churches, and sacrifices to the Magian God, the sun.—A. D. 541, 542, he is forced beyond the Euphrates by Belisarius ; and, Dara and Edessa having shortly afterwards successfully resisted a Persian attack, “the calamities of war were suspended by those of pestilence ; and a tacit or formal agreement between the two sovereigns protected the tranquillity of the Eastern frontier.” Gibb. vii. 311—318. In Colchos the war still continued, till A. D. 561 ; when a peace for fifty years was agreed on.—A. D. 572—579. Renewal of war. Dara taken ; Syria overrun and despoiled ; *Cæsarea* (in Cappadocia) *threatened* ; till in the battle of Militene the tide of success turned in favour of the Romans.—A. D. 579, Nushirvan's death.

Soon after this Chosroes, Nushirvan's grandson, under the pressure of civil wars, fled for refuge to the Romans ; and was soon with their aid restored. On Phocas' murder of the Emperor Maurice, and usurpation of the eastern empire, Chosroes A. D. 603, invades the empire ; A. D. 611 conquers and desolates Syria ; then *takes and sacks Cæsarea* ; and then, A. D. 614, Jerusalem, the *Magi* and the Jews urging the holy warfare : the sepulchre of Christ is pillaged of the offerings of 300 years, and 90,000 Christians massacred. In 616 Asia Minor is overrun again to the Bosphorus ; and

is no notice whatever of Mahommedism or the Saracens; who in the year 636 A.D. finally overthrew both the Persian empire and the religion of the Magi.—*Fourthly*, on Apoc. xvii. 18, “the city which now reigns over the kings of the earth,” Andreas argues against *ancient Rome* being meant, because of its having some time before lost its imperial dignity:¹ a statement scarcely applicable to the time of Theodoric, A.D. 500, when Rome exhibited not a little of its ancient splendour;² but strikingly agreeing with the period from after its ruin by Totilas, about the middle of the sixth century, till the accession of Gregory to the Popedom at the end of that century; when, to use Gibbon’s language, “Rome had reached the lowest point of depression.”³—*Fifthly*, he alludes to the Roman Emperor, that is the one reigning at Constantinople, as holding the rod of power strong as iron in support of Christianity. So that the period of the Constantinopolitan Emperor’s depression under Chosroes’ invasions, from the year 616 to 622, seems thereby set aside.⁴—*Sixthly*, he speaks of certain Scythian Northern Hunnish nations, as among the most powerful and warlike of the earth:⁵—a statement perfectly applicable to the æra of the empire of the White Huns of Bochara and Samarcand, whose kingdom in 488 stretched from the Caspian to the heart of India, where Perozes the Persian king fell in an unfortunate expedition against them:⁶ and continued till their subjugation, about A.D. 550, by the Turks of Mount Altai: and also applicable, perhaps, to the empire of the Turks their subduers, as these too were of similar *Scythian* origin; an empire well known to the Greeks of the time, by means of the embassies that past between them and the Constantinopolitan Emperor, from A.D. 569 to 582.⁷—On the whole, we may date Andreas’ Treatise, I think,

for some six or eight years the Persian dominion and its worship of fire established: the Christians meanwhile being persecuted and oppressed: till Heraclius’s celebrated repulse of the Persians, and victories in 622. Gibb. viii. 222, &c.

¹ “Siquidem antiqua Roma jam olim majestatem amisit; nisi quiesquam arbitretur pristinam dignitatem et majestatem suo postea tempore de novo recuperaturam.”

² See Gibbon vii. 29, 30.

³ Gibbon viii. 158—161.

⁴ “Per quem Christus Deus nunc quidem Romanorum manibus, quasi ferrum robustia, gentes regit.” p. 610.

⁵ On the Gog and Magog of Apoc. xx, he writus: “Scythicas et Aquilonicas quasdam gentes, quæ alio nomine *Hunni*, bellicâ virtute, militum numero, quâvis terrenâ potentiâ finitimoque regno potentiores.”

⁶ Gibb. vii. 136.

⁷ lb. 288—297. Gibbon notes the *Scythian* characters in which the letters of the

either about 550, just before the Huns' overthrow by the Turks, the date which I prefer ; or A.D. 612—615, just before Chosroes' temporary subjugation of Asia Minor.¹

Let me now turn from this argument, which has indeed occupied us too long, to our Author's Apocalyptic Commentary. Like his predecessors, he speaks in the introduction of the tripartite sense of scripture, its *body*, *soul*, and *spirit* : and that the spiritual or anagogical sense is applicable in the Apocalypse, even more than in other Scripture.² Yet in fact Andreas admits a larger mixture of the literal, here and there, than Tichonius, Primasius, or Ansbertus : and there is also somewhat more of a consecutive historical view of its different parts ; as of a prophecy figuring successive events from St. John's time to the consummation.³—Passing by the primary figuration of Christ, which he explains somewhat as Victorinus, and the Epistles to the seven Churches (representative of *all* Churches) on which I give two or three of his detached remarks below,⁴ he exemplifies in the heavenly scene next opened the *literalizing* tendency I spoke of, by explaining the *glassy sea before the throne*, not only *anagogically* of the virtues and blessed tranquillity of the heavenly state, but *literally* also, as perhaps the *chrystalline heaven*.—Of the *seven-sealed Book* (the Book of God's mind and purposes, or Book of prophecy) he explains Greek Khan of the Turks to the Greek Emperor were written.—It may be remarked too from him, how they “proudly computed their cavalry by millions.”

¹ By his speaking (on Apoc. xx. 7) of the 6000th year from the world's creation as not then elapsed, we might perhaps infer an earlier date than either ; as the Septuagint Chronology usually received in the Greek Church, (i. e. according to the Alexandrian copy,) would have made the 6000th year expire about A. D. 500. But there were various readings in some Septuagint copies that made that epoch later ; and moreover the Hebrew Chronology, that had by this time made progress in the West, may also have been very probably preferred by Andreas in the East. See my Vol. i. p. 371.

² B. P. M. 590.

³ On Apoc. i. 1, “things which must be shortly,” he says : “Nonnulla ex iis jam præ foribus urgere, brevique eventum sortitura esse ; sed et ea ipsa quoque quæ ad sæculi tandem finem continent hand procul abesse, quippe cùm mille anni apud Deum ut dies.”

⁴ 1. On the threatening to Ephesus of *removing its candlestick*, Andreas says that some referred it to the transfer of the earlier Ephesian Archbishopric to Constantinople.

2. Respecting *Antipas* he says that he had formerly read his *martyrium*.

3. The promise, “*I will give him the morning star*,” he explains as meant either of Isaiah's Lucifer, (i. e. morning star) to be trodden ; or of Peter's morning star, viz. the light of Christ, to be received into the hearts ; or of John Baptist and Elias, the herald stars of Christ's first and second coming, to be associated and company with.

the several *Seals* to signify as follows:—1st, the apostolic æra, and victories of the Gospel:—2nd, the æra of bloody martyrdoms next to the apostolic; when Christ's words were fulfilled, "I came not to send peace, but a sword:"—3rd, that of true Christians mourning over others, who under trial, *being weighed in the balance*, were found wanting; there being also perhaps famine at the time:—4th, a calamitous time of joint famine and pestilence; such as Eusebius relates to have happened under Maximin, the Eastern Emperor, when corpses lay unburied, and dogs were killed that they might not devour them:—5th, the martyrs' cry for vengeance against their injurers,¹ a cry even then continued:² as to whom, while waiting till the martyr-number should be completed, it was shewn that white-robed in virtues they repose on Abraham's bosom, anticipating eternal joys:—6th, a transition to the times and persecution of Antichrist: (though some had suggested, Andreas says, both here and in the sealing vision, a retrogressive reference to Titus' destruction of Jerusalem:³) under which Antichrist the earthquake figured a change of things, or revolution, as usual in scripture: and perhaps the rolling up of the sky physical changes, such as Irenæus expected at the consummation:—after which the 144,000 of the *sealing vision* depicted the Christians saved from Antichrist's hand; (not the Christians saved at the siege of Jerusalem:) the winds held signifying the *stagnation of death*⁴ that is then to occur; and the palm-bearing vision the happiness *after death* of the innumerable company of both earlier martyrs and the martyrs under Antichrist: when (the wicked having been cast into hell) the angels and saved ones of men will openly constitute but one family.

At the opening of the *seventh Seal* a regression is supposed from this palm-bearing scene; the half-hour's silence indicating the short

¹ Lest otherwise, says he, "the righteous put their hand to iniquity." Ps. cxxv.

² For though many wicked have already experienced God's anger, yet survivors still need the scourge.

³ Not however on any presumption of the Apocalypse having been revealed before the destruction of Jerusalem; because other of its visions were explained by the parties alluded to as figuring the events of Christ's life. So Andreas on the first Seal. "Sunt qui et præsentis sigilli et reliquorum patefactionem ad incarnati Verbi œconomiam referunt:" viz. the first Seal to Christ's *birth*; the second to his *baptism*, &c; and the sixth to his *burial*.

⁴ Somewhat like Pollok's description of the winds' stagnation just before the consummation, in his Poem,—*The Course of Time*.

space between the plagues before-mentioned and the end : and the Trumpet-figurations, events in the interval. Of these Trumpet-woes he explains the first on the *land* literally, (and I think rightly,) of the burnings and slaughters through invading barbarians, by which the third part of things *inland* would be consumed : ¹—the second, on the *sea*, figuratively, as meaning the Devil and his burning wrath : ²—the third again, similarly, of sufferings through the Devil fallen star-like from heaven :—and the eclipses in the fourth of much the same ; somewhat as in Joel ii. 31 : mercy restricting their duration, however, to the third part of the day and the night.—Then the Angel's warning-cry, next heard, he speaks of as marking Angels' pity for men's woes ; ³ and interprets the fifth Trumpet's *scorpion-locusts* of demons whose sting, being that of sin, is death : ⁴—also the sixth Trumpet's *four Angels from the Euphrates* of demons, ⁵ bound at Christ's coming, but now let loose, leading on either *spiritually*-destroying heretics, or *literally*-destroying barbarian armies ; perhaps *locally* from the Euphrates, as Antichrist would come from the East.⁶

In the vision of the *rainbow-crowned Angel*, Apoc. x, the planting of his fiery feet on land and sea is curiously explained of indignation to be manifested against robbers by land, and pirates by sea : the opened book, as the record of names and deeds of such wicked ones : the seven thunders, as seven voices prophetic of the future, either by this Angel, or some other taking up the subject in response : the sealing them up, as of the same intent with Daniel's sealing *till the time of the end* : the oath, as to the effect, that in no long time after, at the conclusion of the sixth age,⁷ and in the days of the seventh, all would end, and the saints' rest begin.—In what ensues,

¹ "Incendia et cædes per barbarorum manus illatas." His personal experience would make him well enter into this. See p. 348, just before.

² Some explained it, he says, of the sea and those living in it, as destined to burn with expiatory fire after the general resurrection.

³ Thus Andreas reads *αγγελοι*, not *αετς*, though he notes the latter as another reading.

⁴ Some, he says, explained the locust-stings as the never-dying worm of the punishments of the wicked.—The five months meant, according to Andreas, the short term of life ; so numbered because in it there are enjoyed five senses !!

⁵ Some, Andreas writes, explained these four Angels of the Archangels Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and Uriel : a fancy repeated afterwards by Arethas.

⁶ On Apoc. ix. 21, "The rest repented not of the idolatries," &c, he notices *religious hypocrisy* and *avarice*, as included in that charge.

⁷ "Post sex sæculorum periodum." I suppose six millennaries, as Hippolytus.

Andreas very much follows his predecessors. John's eating the Book, and charge to prophesy again, was significant of his *personally* prophesying again to the end of the world, by the publication of his Apocalypse and Gospel. In the Witnesses' vision, the temple meant the Church; the outer court Infidels and Jews; the Holy City, or New Jerusalem, also the Church; the three and a half years those of Antichrist; the two Witnesses, Enoch and Elias; (of whose modes of killing enemies one perhaps might be the pestilence;) the scene of their lying dead, the streets of Jerusalem; the rising of the Witnesses, a literal resurrection; the tenth part of the city falling, the judicial fall of the impious, not even the Witnesses' resurrection having induced repentance; the rest that glorified God, those that, when the martyrs were visited with glory, might be deemed not unworthy of salvation.—Then the seventh Trumpet figured the general resurrección; the temple's concomitant opening the heavenly blessing of the saints; and the lightnings and thunderings the torments of the damned.

In the vision of the *Dragon and Woman*, Apoc. xii, Andreas (like Primasius, &c,) makes the Woman the Church, bringing forth (just as in Isa. lxvi, which he refers to) a Christian people: the moon under foot meaning (so as *Methodius* had explained it) the Jewish synagogue; and the male Child and his iron rod having fulfilment in the Roman Christian Emperors ruling the heathen.¹ Further, the Dragon was the Devil; his seven heads symbolizing seven devilish powers, his ten horns the ten anti-decalogic sins!—During Antichrist's three and a half years' reign, the Church's *abstraction from the world* is to fulfil the figure of the Woman's flight into the wilderness, with perhaps a literal flight into deserts: God's providence, and the two Testaments, being the wings supporting and preserving her from the waters, or multitude of the impious, cast by the Dragon against her.—Then on the *Beast* of Apoc. xiii, Andreas, very much following Hippolytus, interprets that this Antichrist, or *Pseudo-Christ*,² is to rise after the ten kings rising; and, "adorned with the title of Roman king," to overthrow *their* princedoms, like Augustus healing and restoring the

"Ecclesiæ populus filius masculus rectè appellatur; per quem nunc Christus Deus *Romanorum manibus*, quasi ferrum robustis, gentes regit." Andreas adds that this people of God is to rule the nations after the resurrection also.

² So Andreas three different times, on Apoc. xvi and xix.

Roman kingdom, when dissolved into ten.—The *second Beast's two horns like a lamb* he explains as indicating a show of piety, and pretence of being a lamb, when in fact a wolf.—The *Image of the Beast* he supposes to be literally meant of images, through which the Devil would speak, as by the heathen idols.—Antichrist's *miracles* he explains as impostures : his *name*, with the *number* 666, as perhaps (besides Hippolytus' λαμπετις and βενεδικτος, or αμνος αδικος) the Persian word Σαρμναιος : a name evidently meant to be written Σαρμνεος,¹ as so only its number is 666 ; but the intent of which is not to myself intelligible.—With regard to the *Harlot* seated on the Beast in Apoc. xvii, he observes that *Rome* had been judged by the earlier fathers to be the city intended, because of its being on seven hills : but objects its having then for some time lost its imperial majesty ; unless indeed, says he very remarkably, this should some way be restored to her. Also he notices the fact of *Jerusalem* being called a harlot ; and the special fitness of the *Persian capital* to be called Babylon. “ Drunk with the blood of saints ” applied alike, he says, to *Old Rome*, from Nero to Diocletian ; to *New Rome*, or *Constantinople*, under Julian and the Arian Emperors ; and to the *Persian capital* ; for who can tell the sufferings of the saints in *Persia* ?—The “ Beast that was, and is not, yet shall be,” he explains to signify the Devil, broken by Christ's death, and sent into the abyss, yet fated at length to revive in Antichrist. The Beast's *seven heads* he interprets, as meaning the seven successive seats of the world's supremacy, Nineveh, Ecbatana, Babylon, Susa, Pella, Rome, Constantinople : or perhaps, as Hippolytus, seven ages : the seventh, in either case, not having come in St. John's time. The Beast, or Beast's eighth head, is Antichrist ; called “ one of the seven,” because “ ab uno ex illis prognatus.” For he is to perish not as a foreigner, but as *king of the Romans*. The ten horns that were to reign *one hour* with the Beast, he identifies with Daniel's ten horns : and construes the one hour very singularly as perhaps a quarter of a year : I presume because ὥρη in Greek means sometimes one of the year's four seasons.

Reverting to Apoc. xiv, I may observe that Andreas views the 144,000 with Christ on the Mount Zion (or *Christian Jerusalem*) as

¹ So they numbered αρουμαι as if written αρουμε ; (see p. 342, Note ² ;) the *pronunciation* of the αι and being then, I presume, the same ; just as now among the modern Greeks.

probably different from those of Apoc. vii, because of their being noted (which the others are not) as virgins. The earth's harvest in the same chapter, he makes to be Christ's gathering of the *good*, while the vintage is of the *bad*. Then, advancing to the Vials in Apoc. xv, xvi, he explains the harpers by the glassy sea to be the saved ones; and the glassy sea itself, mixed with fire, to symbolize their tranquil happy state, yet as those that had been saved as by fire: the song of Moses being that sung by the saved ones of the Old Testament dispensation, that of the Lamb by the saved ones of the New. The statement that none might enter the temple till the plagues of the seven Vial-Angels¹ had been fulfilled, he expounds to mean that the saints might not enter on the inheritance of the New Jerusalem, till after the finishing of God's indignation against the wicked. The plague of the first Vial he makes to be the inward corroding ulcer of heart-grief at the plague suffered; and perhaps also *literally* outward ulcers, the fit symbol of that within. Again, the statement under the sixth Vial respecting the way of the kings from the East being prepared, he expounds as meaning that a way would be opened for Gog and Magog to come across the Euphrates; or perhaps Antichrist, with other kings from the East, bringing death with them, whether to men's souls, or bodies, or both. The pouring out of the seventh Vial into the air, he supposes to indicate lightnings and elemental convulsions, such as once at Mount Sinai; in fulfilment of Heb. xii. 27, "Yet once more I shake not the earth only, but also heaven."—As to the great city tripartited as the result of this seventh Vial's outpouring, he judges it to be Jerusalem, great from its religious celebrity, rather than from its actual extent; and which is then and thereupon to be divided in respect of its population, into Christians, Jews, and Samaritans.

I need only add that as to the *millennium*, he explains it anagogically, as Augustine: notes there being *two deaths*, that of the flesh and of sin temporary, that of hell eternal: also *two resurrections*; that by baptism, and that to incorruption; the first, and its accompanying millennial rule of the saints over sin and Satan, being but an introduction to the other.—*Gog and Magog* meant the Scythian or Hunnish nations; even in Andreas' time a mighty power.

¹ In referring to the dress ascribed to the Vial-angels, he follows the curious reading of *λίθον* instead of *λίνον*; "Clothed in *stone* pure and white."

and only restrained by God till the time of Antichrist : that these will, on Antichrist's coming, gain the empire of the world ; surround the Church, or camp of the saints ; and even assail the New Jerusalem, the city loved by God, whence the Gospel went forth.—The Heavenly Jerusalem he explains as the body of saints of which Christ is the head : the state, one of perfect union, many mansions, and eternal joy ; its full fruition taking place not till after the saints rising again.¹ Such expressions as that the nations of the earth bring their glory into it, he seems to explain of the Church's previous earthly state, during which the draftings are taking place of the elect out of the world, and so the New Jerusalem forming.—Let me observe in fine that there is an air of much piety in this Commentary. I may exemplify in his almost closing remark, on the sin of adding to, or taking from, divine Scripture,² Apoc. xxii. 18, 19. Andreas waxes quite warm in speaking of the superiority of Scriptural to all classical or dialectic knowledge.³

Arethas, a successor of Andreas in the Bishopric of Cæsarea, was his follower also in great measure in the Commentary that he wrote on the Apocalypse. Thus much he tells us himself.⁴ Respecting his date there seems to me to have been a considerable mistake, on the part of most that have expressed an opinion about it. Alike Coccius, the Editor of the B. P. M. (which work gives a Latin translation of Arethas' Commentary in its ixth Volume,⁵) and

¹ Professor M. Stuart is quite mistaken in supposing Andreas to view it simply as a state of the Church's earthly prosperity. Thus e. g. on the call on all to praise God, both small and great, in Apoc. xix. 5, just preparatorily to the introduction of the New Jerusalem, Andreas says, with reference to such as have died young ; " Existimo illos novissimo illo die magnos resurrecturos, Deumque cum cæteris beatis laudaturos."

² So Andreas understands the passage ; and not as referring simply to taking from, or adding to, the Book of the *Apocalypse*.

³ " Quantum autem intervallum inter eos qui apud nos celebres extiterant, (viz. the Evangelists and Apostles,) et eos qui apud illos, intercedat, id mente complecti vix valemus." B. P. M. 634.

⁴ On Apoc. viii, speaking of the incense-Angel, he says ; " Huic Angelo Andreas, qui antè me dignè Cæsareæ Cappadociæ Episcopatum sortitus est, quemque Pontificem assimilat." And the heading of his Commentary in the Latin translation, and I presume in the original Greek also, is as follows :—" Aretæ, Cæsareæ Cappadociæ Episcopi, in D. Joannis Apocalypaim compendiaris explanatio, ex beatissimi Andreæ Archiepiscopi Cæsareæ Cappadociæ, Deo gratis, commentariis concinnata." Dupin is evidently mistaken in saying that there is no ground for regarding this Arethas as a Bishop of Cæsarea.

⁵ Pp. 741—791.

Cave too, and Lardner, and just recently Professor M. Stuart¹ assign to him the date of A.D. 540 or 550. On the other hand Casimir Oudin and Fabricius incline to identify him with a Presbyter of the same Cappadocian Cæsarea, of the name Arethas, who, about A.D. 920, translated a work of the Constantinopolitan Patriarch Euthymius. But, says Cave,² Oudin had no argument or evidence to adduce in favour of his conjecture. Nor indeed Fabricius either; if (not having access to his work) I may judge from the reference to him in Lardner.³ I have observed, however, very decisive evidence in the Commentary itself, of Arethas having lived as late at least as near the end of the eighth century. For he speaks of the capital and palace of the *Saracens* as being then still at Babylon, evidently meaning Bagdad:⁴—a capital not built till A.D. 762;⁵ and where the Saracen Caliphs continued to hold a waning empire through the ninth century, till its extinction, A.D. 934 by the Bowides.⁶ A curious reference to Constantinople, which will be found in my page 360 following,⁷ may possibly appear to furnish a further indication. The identity of our Cæsarean *Bishop* with the Cæsarean *Presbyter* that translated Euthymius, seems to me doubtful. But I think we can scarcely err in reckoning his date as somewhere within the limits of from about A.D. 780 to A.D. 920.

In the heading of his Apocalyptic Commentary there is, as hinted by me just before, an intimation of its having been very much taken from that of Andreas. He almost always indeed gives the opinions of the latter: sometimes in the form of direct quotation, and by name; more often silently. Hence it is only the chief variations from Andreas that need here to be noticed. And these are as follows.

Under the *Sixth Seal* he singularly explains the earthquake, &c., there figured, of the literal earthquake and elemental convulsions *at*

¹ On the Apocalypse Vol. i. p. 268.

² Hist. Litt. i. 408, ad ann. 540. "Verum id gratis affirmat Oudinus; nec enim præsto ei est argumentum quâ sententiam suam confirmet."

³ Hug too, i. 230, assigns him to the xth Century, but without reason given.

⁴ On Apoc. xiii. 2: "Per os leonis regnum designatur Babyloniorum: cui *Saracenorum* regnum manifestè successit; quòd in hoc usque tempus regia eorum Babylonie sit." B. P. M. 771.—I have noted this already in my Vol. i. p. 43.

⁵ See my Vol. i. p. 437, and Vol. iii. pp. 391.

⁶ See my Vol. i. 440.

⁷ Note 2.

Christ's death and resurrection : ¹ particularly dwelling on the adjective *ὅλη* attached to *σεληνῇ* in his copy : ² the moon having been (just agreeably with it) *whole*, and *at the full*, on occasion of its eclipse at the time of Christ's death, and so the eclipse miraculous.—He adds, however, a notice of the interpretation by certain other expositors, explaining it of the destruction of Jerusalem ; and that of Andreas referring it to the convulsions under Antichrist.

Under the *Sealing Vision* he suggests the possible reference of the four angels of the winds to the desolations of Judæa by the Romans, as well as to the desolations by Antichrist : then, in speaking of the sealing itself, more distinctly and decidedly explains the sealed 144,000 of Jews converted to Christianity before the destruction of Jerusalem³: asserting that Jerusalem was not destroyed when John received these revelations ; the Virgin Mary having only lived fourteen years after Christ's ascension, and John immediately after her death removed to Ephesus.³ Which passage has been naturally adduced by the advocates of an early date to the Apocalypse, in support of that opinion ; but of which the value as an authority, small in itself as being of so late a writer, is rendered yet smaller by the fact of Arethas having not once only, but twice, stated from Eusebius, that it was under *Domitian's* reign that John was banished to Patmos.⁴—On the Angel's charge, "Thou must prophesy again," Arethas observes

¹ Like those alluded to by Andreas on the first Seal, as observed by me p. 352, Note ², and who explained the sixth Seal of Christ's *sepulture*.

² So Tregelles, as the true reading, *καὶ ἡ σεληνὴ ὅλη ἐγένετο ὡς αἷμα* it being alike in the three most authoritative MSS. A B C ; i. e. the Codex Alexandrinus, Codex Vaticanus, and Codex Ephraemi.

³ "Nondum enim vastatio à Romanis illata Judæos involverat, ubi hæc Evangelista oracula suscipiebat; neque Hierosolymis, sed Ioniâ quæ apud Ephesum. Equidem post passionem Domini quatuordecim tantum annis permansit in Hierusalem theotocum Domini tabernaculum in hac temporariâ vitâ, post passionem ac resurrectionem incorruptæ suæ prolis; cui etiam (Joannes), tanquam matri sibi à Domino commendatæ, semper aderat. Post hujus enim mortem nequaquam jam in Judæâ mansisse fertur; sed Ephesum migrasse;" &c.—The statement is palpably incorrect.

⁴ First on Apoc. i. 9; B. P. M. 743: "Relegatum autem ipsum in Patmos insulam sub Domitiano fuisse, Eusebius Pamphili in Chronicâ suâ citat." Next on Apoc. iii. 10, B. P. M. 751; "Horam tentationis persecutionem illam dicit quæ secunda post Neronem sub Domitiano excitata fuit, quemadmodum in Historiâ suâ Eusebius Pamphili testatur: quando etiam idem Evangelista in Patmum ab eodem Domitiano exilio relegatus fuit." In which last passage he does not say that Eusebius asserts that St. John was then banished; but rather gives it as his own assertion. See my Vol. i. p. 51.

that it was hence that the vulgar opinion arose that John was to live to the end of the world, and then to prophesy with Enoch and Elias in the time of Antichrist.¹—In the first part of Apoc. xii he interprets the travailing woman to mean the Virgin Mary; and the woman's flight of three and a half years into the wilderness to have been fulfilled in the Virgin's flight into Egypt, and stay there near three and a half years till Herod's death: adding however the alternative solution also of the Woman signifying the Church; and the wilderness flight her retirement from the world during the three and a half years of Antichrist's reign; some of the chief bishops and ministers acting like sustaining wings to her.—With regard to the Beast of Apoc. xiii, or Antichrist, he suggests the following as possible solutions of his name with the number 666; λαμπετις, τειταν, λατεινος, ὁ νικητης, κακος οδηγος, αληθης βλαβερος, παλαι βασκανος, αμνος αδικος: and suggests that the second Beast would act the same part to Antichrist that John the Baptist did to Christ.—On the declaration that the great city was to be divided into three parts, he notices Andreas' idea, that it was the literal Jerusalem that was to be so tripartited; and that of others, that it meant the world and its empire, as subjected successively after Christ to Pagan kings, Christian kings, and Antichrist: but he prefers to understand it of *Constantinople*; with reference to some apparently recent domineering of the civil power over the ecclesiastical, which made that city in his eye preeminently Babylon.²—On the summons to the birds in Apoc. xix, to gather to God's great supper, he strangely explains them to mean the souls of saints, called from a state of depression to meet Christ in the air.³—And, finally, he makes the New Jerusalem to represent the habitation of the saints after the resurrection, conjunctively with

¹ I think Ephrem Syrus broached this opinion in an earlier age, of John being one of the witnesses. That of his living to the end of the world arose, we know, from Christ's saying, (John xxi. 22,) "If I will that he tarry till I come, &c."

² "Et quænam hæc Babylon? Nulla sane alia quàm Constantinopolis: in quâ olim colebatur justitia, nunc autem in eâ homicidæ habitant, ex mutuâ contentione, dum cives laici Ecclesiasticis æquari contendunt; imo ne æquales quidem fieri contenti sunt, nisi aliquis etiam ex eis præmium referat, ad majorem divinæ indignationis accensionem." B. P. M. 778.

³ "Aves quæ per medium cœli volant animas dicit sanctorum; quæ, à depressis humi rebus emergentes, juxta magnum Paulum procedunt ad occurrendum obvise Domino in aëra." B. P. M. 783.

Angels : “ Civitas quod omnium tum Angelorum tum hominum futura sit domicilium.”

I now return back to the West from Greek Christendom, to note a somewhat later Latin Expositor of the Apocalypse, attaching to the period included in this Section ;—I mean *Berengaud*.

In my third Volume, at p. 236, I noticed this Commentary ; and that the writer (probably, from his reference to the Rules of that order, a Benedictine monk) had in a singular manner intimated his name under the enigmatic form of Greek numerals : ¹ also that by his mentioning the fact of the Saracens that had overrun Asia, as well as the Lombards that had conquered Italy, having had their kingdom overthrown when he wrote, ² his æra seemed fixed as not earlier than the end of the ninth century. This agrees with the approximation to his real age that has been drawn by the Benedictine editors of Ambrose, from his specification of archdeacons receiving hush-money for over-looking the fornication of the priesthood, as a sin of the times : ³ this crime being prominently noticed in Synods held at Paris, Chalons, and Aquis-Granum, in the same ninth century. ⁴

The Commentary is one too original to omit noticing ; and goes on a regular connected chronological plan, which (however unsatisfactory it may be as an exposition) makes it easy to read, in comparison with the other Latin Commentaries of the æra under review. This chronological plan is sketched at the outset, and adduced repeatedly, even to the end. It is founded on the frequent septenary division of the apocalyptic figurations : to all which sevens (except the seven epistles to the churches) Berengaud supposes that substantially the same chronological reference and order attaches ; a chronology commencing from the Creation, and reaching to the consummation.

¹ “ Quisquis nomen auctoris scire desideras, literas expositionum in capitibus septem visionum primas attende. Numerus quatuor vocalium quæ desunt, si Græcas posueris, est 81.” Now the first letters of these seven parts, or visions, are B R N G V D S : and if *ε ε α ο* be inserted, which together make up (5 + 5 + 1 + 70 =) 81, the name will result,—Berengaudus.

² “ *Saraceni totam Asiam subegerunt, Gothi Hispaniam, Longobardi Italiam, &c. Hæc regna eo tempore quo visio ista Johanni demonstrata est potestatem nondum acceperant : sed una hora tanquam reges potestatem acceperant, quia singularum istarum gentium potestas paucis tempore permansit.*” So on Apoc. xvii.

³ See my Vol. i. p. 447.

⁴ Compare Haymo’s notice of the purchase of bishopricks, as a characteristic sin of his time ; noted p. 347 *suprà*.

Thus in the opening figuration of Christ, he remarks on eight particulars as given in the description ; his *priestly garment*, his *zone*, his *head*, his *eyes*, his *feet*, his *voice*, his *sword*, and his *face as the sun* : and of these the first *seven* are expounded as typical of that “*Civitas Dei quæ ex omnibus electis constat ;¹ et quæ ab initio usque ad finem tendit, in septem partes divisa.*” Which seven parts are, 1. the elect from the Creation till the Flood ; 2. the patriarchs and saints from the Flood to the giving of the Law ; 3. the multitudes saved under the ministry of the Mosaic Law ; 4. the prophets ; 5. the apostles ; 6. the multitude of the Gentiles that believed in Christ ; 7. the saints that are to conflict with Antichrist at the end of the world. The 8th particular noted in the symbol, viz. Christ’s face as the sun, he makes to prefigure the Church of the elect *after the resurrection* ; when they too shall all shine as the sun in the firmament.—The testifyings of the saints in these seven ages of the world would be, he suggests after Ansbert, like Israel’s seven days’ compassings of Jericho ; and that during their preachings in the seventh age its end would come suddenly.

After this, the seven Epistles to the Churches having been expounded as lessons of warning and instruction to the Church in general,² Berengaud explains the heaven that was afterwards opened to St. John as the Church, Christ being the door to it ; the twenty-four elders as the twenty-four fathers of the Old Testament dispensation ; the four living creatures as all the doctors of the Church ; (Victorinus’ explanation of their twenty-four wings being here, though without mention of him, adopted :³) the seven-sealed Book as the Old and New Testament ; (the New that written within ;) and the seven horns of the Lamb that opened it, as the elect of the same seven ages of the world that were before enumerated. The

¹ Observe how Augustine’s view of the *Civitas Dei*, as made up only of the *elect*, had travelled influentially downward.

² On the promise, “I will write on him the name of the New Jerusalem,” &c, Berengaud observes, that it may seem marvellous that this New Jerusalem should be described as descending from heaven, when it is known that the elect continually ascend from earth to heaven, instead of descending. But he solves the enigma by explaining it of *Christ’s* descent ; in whom all the saints (the constituency of the New Jerusalem) were even then federally existent.

³ See p. 316.—Here Berengaud contrasts the incessant occupation in divine worship of the twenty-four elders and four living creatures, with the earthly-mindedness and earthly occupation of many in monasteries.

Lamb's opening the seals of the book signified his opening, or explaining to the faithful, the spiritual meaning of the same successive æras and histories. A very characteristic feature this in Berengaud's Commentary; and which what follows will sufficiently explain to the Reader.

1st Seal. The *White Horse* meant the righteous *before the Flood*, white in token of innocence; the rider God; the bow in hand his token of vengeance and conquering, as against Adam, Cain, and the world destroyed by the flood.—The Lamb having opened the Seal, it became understood how Adam typified Christ, Eve the Church, Cain the Jews, Abel the Christians; and so on.

2nd Seal. The *Red Horse* meant the righteous *from the Flood to the Law*: red, as the *golden* colour, with reference to their wisdom; red as *blood*, because of their persecutions: the peace broken being that evil peace with the heathen which God put aside; the killed alike the just and unjust in their mutual contentions.—By Christ's opening this Seal the spiritual mysteries of the ark were unfolded; and those also of the patriarchal histories, as of Abraham offering Isaac, Jacob's vision at Bethel, &c: on each of which mysteries Berengaud dilates.

3rd Seal. The *Black Horse* was the *Doctors of the Law* till the rise of the Prophets: the black marking the severity of the Mosaic law; the balance its rigid requirements of justice, as of eye for eye, &c. The intent of the wheat and barley was very obscure. Perhaps the chœnix (or bilibres) of wheat meant the two Testaments, the food for souls; the denarius marking its connexion with Christ;¹ while the barley might signify the good works of saints. Or the wheaten bilibres might be the two precepts of love to God and man; the denarius the eternal life that is their reward, as in Christ's parable of the workmen in the vineyard, Matt. xx; the Church (in the voice from the four living Creatures) praying Christ to give the denarius of eternal life to them that observe those precepts. By the *wine* guaranteed from hurt might be meant Christians of active life; by the *oil* those given to contemplation.

4th Seal. The *Pale Horse* symbolized the *Prophets*; pale through

¹ "Denarius Dominum designat. Binæ ergo libræ tritici denario copulantur; quia quod sancta Scriptura loquitur ad unius Dei omnipotentiam, magnitudinem, bonitatem, atque severitatem pertinet." I do not understand how Berengaud means the denarius to figure Christ.

fear of the evils they denounced on sinners : the rider still Jehovah Jesus ; He being *Death* to the reprobate. (A rather harsh appellative for Christ, Berengaud allows ; and that, but for the requirements of the Seal's chronological place and order, its symbol might naturally have been expounded rather of *Antichrist*.)—By Christ's apostles the prophets' *writings* had been spiritually explained. Therefore, it being needless to enter on that, Berengaud confined his spiritualizing illustrations to the *history and doings* of the prophets ; as of David, Elijah, and Elisha ; &c.

5th Seal. *Souls under the Altar*. This vision referring to the martyrs under the New Testament dispensation, Christ opened its seal, when he explained to the doctors of the Church his parables and dark sayings about the sufferings of such his disciples, and their after glory.

6th Seal. The *elemental convulsions*, &c, here enacted, figured the destruction of Jerusalem, falling of its priests and governors, darkening of its nation, once bright by the revelation granted it, even as the sun in the world's system, and passing away of God's covenant and the Old Testament dispensation from the Jews to the Gentiles. The cry to the hills and rocks for covering was illustrated by the actual hiding of many of the Jews in the cloacæ from the Romans' fury : as Christ had said, " Then shall ye begin to call upon the hills," &c.

In the *Sealing Vision* the four angels are explained to mean the four great empires, combined at length into the Roman, which desolated other lands, restraining the winds of life and happiness : Christ being the sealing angel ; and the 144,000 the number of elect alive at one and the same time.¹ Berengaud expounds the Christianized meaning of each of the names of the twelve Jewish tribes ; last of all that of *Benjamin*, meaning the *son of my right hand*. Whence, says he, a natural transition to the palm-bearing vision. " Having brought down the saints' history in their mystical names to this point of their collocation at God's right hand in heaven, it is fit that this vision should next, or 7thly, represent their heavenly blessedness."

His first chronological septenary thus ended, Berengaud makes a singular break between it and the next, by interpreting the 7th Seal as a kind of parenthetical notice of Christ's first advent : the half-

¹ This explanation of Berengaud's is cited by me in support of my own, Vol. i. p. 274.

hour's silence figuring the general peace under Augustus, and Roman toleration of the Church, continued till Nero's persecution.¹ Then, coming to the septenary of the *Trumpet-Angels*, he explains them of divinely-taught preachers, sounding forth the brazen trumpet, under nearly the same septenary of æras as was noted before ; the six first being the *patriarchal*,² the *lawgiving*,³ the *prophetic*,⁴ *Christ's own æra*,⁵ that of the *Gnostic-confuting primitive doctors*,⁶ and of the *Rome-subduing martyrs*.⁷—And after a parenthetical exposition of Apoc. x, as depicting the source of the Church's support and light, like as of Israel in Egypt, under all the trials above noted,—the *Angel's descent* in which is construed of Christ's incarnation, veiled in the cloud of humanity, with the iris of mercy, and light of divine glory attendant, his feet the two Testaments, the Book opened in hand that of the Scriptures, the seven thunders figures of the seven virtues, unknown in their full spirituality but through Christ, and sealed up partially from weaker Christians, unable to bear them, the charge to eat the book, and prophesy again, true both of John personally, returning from Patmos, and of all the apostles and Christian teachers,—after this Berengaud supposes a sudden transition to the times of Antichrist and the two Witnesses against him : the transition, he says, being not unnatural ; as from Christ's ministry when the Jews were cast out, to that of Enoch and Elias, which latter is to restore them.

¹ “ But why Christ's advent under the seventh and not the fifth Seal ? ” A question which Berengaud thus answers : Because on the seventh day was God's rest from creation ; and Christ is our rest.

² The fire of the symbol being the fire of the Holy Spirit, burning up what was evil in the heart.

³ The fiery mountain cast into the sea being explicable of Mount Sinai cast among the Jews ; the faithful amongst whom, dead to the law, lived to God.

⁴ The prophets themselves being like burning stars to light the people ; and with threats that had bitterness in them, acting so as to produce repentance.

⁵ By whose doctrine the elect Jews were struck, and Judaism eclipsed in them.

⁶ Doctors preaching against the first of the three woes ; viz. *heretics*, lapsed like a falling star from heaven : during five months of which æra, a period meant to signify the present life, men that sought death by mixing in the world would be sickened at it ; and so return, and live.

⁷ Martyrs opposed to the four angels ; i. e. (these being the same as the four angels in Apoc. vii,) to persecutors out of the Roman empire ; an empire signified also by Babylon's river, the Euphrates. These martyrs he supposes by their invincible resolution and gospel-preaching to have stirred up the Roman Pagans to persecute them ;—the horses' heads being the Roman emperors ; the sulphur from the horses' mouths their blasphemy ; and the fire their persecuting proclamations.

And, in the account of the *Witnesses*, Berengaud expounds the measuring the court and its worshippers to signify Christian ministers, ministering to their edification : the reed being the gospel ; the rod church discipline ; and those cast out as Pagans, the Jews : the fire from the Witnesses' mouth signifying their doctrine kindled by God's Spirit ; their heaven-shutting a judgment literally to be understood, it might be, but rather spiritually : their place of death, the street of the great city Babylon, consisting of all the reprobate ; and its duration three and a half *days*, meant in the sense of three and a half *years*.¹

Then, their revival and resurrection described, the prophecy passes, says Berengaud, to describe the history and evils of the great Witness-slayer, *Antichrist* : a commencement being however made from the Devil's first injuries to Christ and His Church, at his first advent ; prior and preparatory to the last injuries through Antichrist.—In Apoc. xii the *travailing Woman* might mean both the Virgin Mary and the Church : Christ himself being the male child born of the one, Christians of the other ; the one snatched up to God at his ascension, the others at death : the opposing *Dragon's*, or Devil's, *seven heads* figuring the reprobate of the same seven ages as before specified ; and his dejection effected by Michael, through Christ's ministry, casting him out of the hearts of the elect, into the reprobate. Further the Woman's $3\frac{1}{2}$ *times* in the wilderness, after the Dragon's dejection, mean first, and on the scale of literal time, the early disciples feeding on Christ's doctrine, separate from the world ;² as also the feeding of the *souls* of the faithful “ *dapibus gloriæ cœlestis patriæ*,” on the glories of a heavenly abode, during the whole time from Christ's passion to the world's end : while the wilderness of her refuge symbolized heaven, (such is Berengaud's singular explanation ;) somewhat like the wilderness of the ninety sheep in Luke xv. 4.—Then at length the Devil goes against the *remnant* of the Woman's seed, *left at the end of the world* ; and attacks them through the *Beast*, i. e. *Antichrist*.

Of which Beast Berengaud explains the *seven heads* as the seven principal vices, affixed like the seven wicked spirits in the parable ; and the *ten horns* wearing diadems, as the nations subjugated by him :

¹ Noted by me Vol. iii. 237.

² This fact being the ground-work of the larger interpretation of the $3\frac{1}{2}$ years, so as with Ambrose Ansbert.

his mouth speaking great things, as of one boasting himself to be the Son of God ; his blasphemies, as denying Jesus Christ's godhead, asserting the worthlessness of the Christian religion, and inability of martyrs and saints to profit men : also as arguing from the fact of men's passions being implanted by God, in proof that they might abandon themselves to licentiousness. (This is, I think, the earliest suggestion I have noticed of Antichrist being in any way an *avowed infidel*, and *open advocate of licentiousness*.)—The *second Beast* he interprets as the Preachers of Antichrist : its two lamb-like horns signifying his constituency of Jews and Gentile reprobates ; as the Lamb's seven horns figured all the elect : and the *Beast's Image*, images of Antichrist, which Antichrist's priests will make men worship.—As to his *name* and *number*, says Berengaud, I know it not : for any one might at baptism have a name of that number given him.—Then passing to the vision of Apoc. xvii, the *Beast-riding-Harlot* is explained (besides her general signification as the world) to be specially *Rome* ; and her predicated burning and spoiling by the ten kings, as the destruction of ancient Rome by the Gothic barbarians : (with reference however, as Rome was professedly Christian at that time, to the reprobate in her :) also *the Beast*, (here *the Devil*,) ridden by her, as that which “*was*” during his unquestioned sovereignty of the world before Christ's coming ; which “*is not*,” i. e. in the same power as before, since Christ's overthrow of Satan ; and which “*is to be*” again, on Antichrist's revelation. As to the *Beast's heads*, they meant the same as the Dragon's in Apoc. xii. Of these the *first five* had passed away when John had the Apocalypse revealed to him ; the *fifth* being the Jews just then destroyed by the Romans : the *sixth* signifying the then existing Roman Pagan persecutors ; and the *seventh*, Antichrist. The *eighth*, or *Beast itself* of Apoc. xvii¹ was, as just before observed, the Devil.

On other lesser points I have only to add, that Berengaud makes the 144,000 of Apoc. xiv to be the elect in heaven,² while the 144,000 of Apoc. vii were the elect alive on earth ; explains the earth's

¹ He seems to make the Beast of Apoc. xiii *Antichrist* ; of Apoc. xvii the *Devil*.

² Without spot, says Berengaud, because of the pollution contracted from the world having been washed away by penitence and tears, or by works of charity, or *per flagella*, by scourging, or at any rate “*post mortem igni purgatorio*.”—Purgatory was now established.

harvest of the good, as its *vintage* of the bad ; in Apoc. xv reads $\lambda\iota\theta\omicron\nu$ for $\lambda\iota\nu\omicron\nu$, like Andreas, of the dress of the seven Vial-Angels ; and explains the Angels themselves as preachers of the same seven æras as before. In Apoc. xvi he makes the *Euphrates drying up* to mean the drying up of persecution, that so the way may be opened to the Gentiles to believe ; explains the *millennium* as Augustine ; and, on the Angel's showing St. John the New Jerusalem, notes very distinctly John's representative character ; "Johannes typum gerit cæterorum fidelium."

On the whole, we see in this Commentary by Berengaud, and its seven successive æras, (however unskilfully and unsuccessfully applied to the solution of the prophecy,) an illustration of the natural tendency of expositors' minds, then already acting, towards the adoption of some *chronologically consecutive scheme of Apocalyptic interpretation*, in place of that so long prevalent in Christendom, which explained it as mainly significant of *general and constant Christian truths or doctrines* :—some one more consonant in this respect alike with common sense, and also with the precedent of Daniel's prophecies, as expounded in great part by inspiration itself.¹

¹ Before passing to the next Section, let me briefly notice a curious sentiment in a Treatise on Antichrist by Adso, a monk of the Monastery of *Dervé in Champagne* ; dedicated to Gerberga, Queen of Louis D'Outremer, and consequently of about the date of 950 A. D. Having spoken of Babylon as Antichrist's birth-place, of his being educated by sorcerers at Bethsaida and Chorazin, then coming to Jerusalem, proclaiming himself the Son of God, by gifts miracles or terror converting kings and people to acknowledge him, and then at length persecuting the saints, and commencing the great tribulation of $3\frac{1}{2}$ years,—Adso proceeds to state that the precise time for his manifestation would be marked by the 'discessio' of its constituent kingdoms from the Roman Empire ; (so, like some of the early fathers, he explained the *ærorasia* of St. Paul :) which time had not then as yet come : because, says Adso, though the Roman Empire has been in chief part destroyed, yet, *so long as the Frank Kings last*, to whom belongs the Empire, so long the Roman dignity will not altogether perish. And then he adds ; Some of our doctors affirm that there shall arise in the last times a king of the Franks, who shall again re-unite under his rule all the Roman Empire ; and after a prosperous reign shall go to Jerusalem, and lay down his sceptre and crown at Mount Olivet :—that this will be the end of the Roman Empire, and then immediately will follow Antichrist." (This tradition is noted in the *Encyclopédie Methodique* : and it may perhaps remind some of the French Chief Bonaparte's mighty empire, and Syrian expedition, in these latter days ; as also of certain prophetic speculations propounded thereon, by expositors that deemed him to be Daniel's Wilful King).—Adso further observes, that the Antichrist would sit either in the Jewish temple, rebuilt by him, and there receive worship ; or perhaps in the *Christian Church* :

§ 4. FROM A. D. 1000 TO THE REFORMATION.

In this fourth Period it is my purpose to sketch most prominently the partially contrasted, and partially accordant views of the Apocalyptic prophecy, propounded very influentially by *Joachim Abbas and his followers*, on the one hand, and the *early pioneers of the Reformation* on the other. A briefer notice will suffice of *Anselm of Havilburg*, *Albertus Magnus*, and *Thomas Aquinas*. At the commencement of this period, the tenth century having ended without the appearance of that Antichrist, whom the Latins at least had expected at that time for $3\frac{1}{2}$ years to oppress Christendom, in realization of the Gog and Magog predicted as to arise at the close of the Apocalyptic millennium, (a point already illustrated in my first Volume,¹) it could hardly be but that fact should exercise a certain influence on subsequent Apocalyptic interpretation. As the period progressed, and the twelfth century opened, the human mind in Western Europe began to make decided advances to independent thought and vigour. Hence an increased interest in some of the Apocalyptic Commentaries that now appeared: the rather, as in the progress of time, new and important facts had occurred in the history of Christendom, with which to compare the prophecy. Germs of thought now arose that were to receive afterwards a fuller development; and prophetic views destined, in the course of time, to help towards producing great and unexpected results.

Let me premise that I would fain have begun my list of the Apocalyptic expositors of this period with some notice of a Comment on the Book by the celebrated *Berenger*, soon after the middle of the eleventh century; for it is stated, says Bishop Hurd, that he wrote such a Commentary. But no such writing of his is, I believe, at present extant. It must suffice us, therefore, to repeat what I have remarked elsewhere in my sketch of the Middle-Age Witnesses for

also that after killing the two witnesses, Enoch and Elias, he would be slain on Mount Olivet by Michael, or Christ, with the breath of his mouth. Soon after which (not immediately) would follow the last judgment.

This Treatise is given in the 9th Volume of the late Paris Benedictine Edition of Augustine, col. 1647—1652. It is the same that has been incorrectly ascribed by some to Alcuin, by others to Rabanus Maurus.

¹ p. 446.

Christ,¹ that he declared the *Roman See* to be not the apostolic seat, but the *seat of Satan*;—a remarkable assertion certainly at that early period: and which so exactly corresponds with the language used in Apoc. xiii. 2, of the *Beast* which was afterwards (Apoc. xvii. 3, 9) exhibited as in connexion with the *City on the seven hills*, viz. that the Dragon “gave him his power and *seat* and great authority,” that it may well seem to us not without reason that Bishop Hurd refers these anti-Romish sentiments of Berenger to this origin.²

1. And now, before proceeding to Joachim Abbas, I must first briefly notice a short Treatise on the Apocalyptic Seals by *Anselm*, Bishop of Havilburg, in the Magdeburgensian Diocese:³ a Treatise composed A.D. 1145, as appears on the face of the document; and on the following occasion. It seems that Anselm (who had been previously Secretary to the Emperor Lotharius the Second) having been sent on an embassy to the Greek Emperor Manuel at Constantinople, was challenged by some Greek bishops there, publicly to discuss the points of difference between the Latin and the Greek Churches; with which request he complied: and that having successfully defended, as was thought, the Latin cause, he was desired by Pope Eugenius to write an abstract of the discussion; which he did, in the form of dialogue. By way of introduction to this discussion, and with a view to answer difficulties on religion, which must arise in some minds, from the circumstance of *so many different forms of religion existing* in different countries and different ages, he prefixed to the Dialogues a preliminary book, showing that there had been from the first one body of the Church, governed by one Spirit: that in the Old Testament times, from Abel even to Christ, the Church had ever held the rite of sacrifice, though with ceremonies often varied; and been under the influence of faith, though with imperfect knowledge of the articles of Christian faith: also, with reference to New Testament times, that various different successive states of the Church had been expressly foreshown, indeed *seven* different states from Christ to the consummation; the prefiguration of them having been given in the *Apocalyptic Seals*. In this curious manner it is that Anselm's views on this prophecy are given us. It may perhaps be called the earliest

¹ Vol. ii. p. 259, Note ².

² Ib. p. 260, Note.

³ It is given in D'Achery's Spicilegium, Vol. i. 161.

Church-Scheme, properly speaking, of the *Apocalyptic Seals*; and is, in brief, as follows:—

1. The *White Horse* typifies the *earliest* state of the Church, while in the beauty of miraculous gifts: ¹ the rider Christ, with the bow of evangelic doctrine, humbling the proud, and conquering opposers; so that the Church (Acts v. 14) was then daily increased.

2. The *Red Horse* is the *next* state of the Church, red with the blood of martyrdom; from Stephen the proto-martyr to the martyrs under Diocletian.

3. The *Black Horse* depicts the Church's *third* state, blackened after Constantine's time with heresies, such as of Arius, Sabellius, Nestorius, Eutyches, Donatus, Photinus, Manes; men pretending to hold the balance of justice in their discussions, but falsely weighing words and arguments: ² while, on the other hand, Church Councils laid down what are rightly called Canons, (so Anselm seems some way to have understood the voice from among the Cherubim in the Apocalyptic vision,) by which the faith was defined.

4. The *Pale Horse* signified the Church's *fourth* state, coloured with the hue of hypocrisy too generally prevalent afterwards; "as *pale* is neither white nor black, but either falsely." And so, adds Anselm, has the Church laboured with these, that the Rider may well be called Death, Death the slayer of souls.—This state he makes to have commenced from the beginning of the fifth century, and to have continued even to his own time: nor will it terminate, he asserts, till the time when the tares shall be separated from the wheat in judgment; and the saints follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth.

5. *Souls under the altar*. Here is the Church's *fifth* state. Then the souls of the saints which will have shed their blood for Christ, considering the infinite miseries of the Church in its three previous states, moved with compassion will cry out, "How long, O Lord, dost thou not avenge our blood?"

6. The *sixth* state of the Church is when there shall arise the most vehement persecution in the times of Antichrist, answering to

¹ "Equus albus primus status est ecclesiæ, candore miraculorum nitidus et pulcherrimus."

² "Hæretici, qui dum in manu suâ dolosam stateram trutinantes habent, sequitatem de fide disputando proponunt; sed minus cautos levissimo unius vel minimi verbi pondere fallunt, et in partem erroris sui pertrahunt."

the great earthquake of the sixth seal.¹ Then Christ the Sun of Righteousness shall be hidden ; Christian professors fall from the Church into earthly-mindedness : and the heaven, or Christ itself, pass with its sacraments altogether from the public view.

7. The *seventh* state is that of the saints' rest ; a rest in the beatific vision : as it is said, " When he had opened the seventh seal there was *silence in heaven* for about the space of half an hour."

So Anselm of the seven Apocalyptic Seals : a scheme chiefly exhibiting views of the Church's progressive trials and evils.—I may observe, further, that in one or two passing notices of the vision of the Dragon and travailing Woman, Apoc. xii, he makes what is said of the Dragon's persecution of the Woman, or Church, after she had brought forth Christ her male child, to be chronologically parallel with the times of the Red Horse of the second Seal ; also the Dragon's going forth to persecute the rest of the Woman's seed, Apoc. xii. 17, to have been fulfilled in the heresies introduced after Constantine's overthrow of Paganism,² by heretics that bore on their hearts the *mark of the Beast*.

2. I now pass on to *Joachim Abbas* ; a person of greater repute and greater influence as an expounder of prophecy, than any other whatever in the middle age. He was a Calabrian by birth, and in early life had made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem : a city at that time still held by the successors of the Crusaders ; though threatened by Mussulman enemies surrounding it. The lively recollection of what he then saw, had probably not a little influence on Joachim's interest in, and views of prophecy. Indeed it was there and then, in the Holy Church and Sepulchre, that the idea was first impressed on his mind, of having a call to the illustration of prophetic Scripture.³ About the year 1180 he had been elected Abbot of the monastery of Curacio in Calabria, near Cosenza : but, having already at that time become famous for his gift in Scriptural research and explication, he received express permission from Pope Lucius III, in the year 1182,

¹ Norbert, a cotemporary of Anselm, and friend of the celebrated Bernard, is an example of the expectation entertained at this time by some persons of reputation, of the speedy appearance of Antichrist. See my Vol. ii. p. 331, note ¹

² Compare pp. 316, 325 *suprà*.

³ So Moreri in his Dictionary, on the article *Joachim*.

to retire a while from the Abbacy and its active occupations, in order to give himself more entirely to these studies. In 1183, at the convent of Casemaire, Luke, then a monk of the monastery, and afterwards Archbishop of Cosenza, tells us that he was assigned as secretary to Joachim :¹ and that night and day both himself and two other monks were employed by Joachim, as his assistants and scribes in two works on which he was then busy ; one on the *Concord of the Old and New Testament*, the other on the *Apocalypse*.² It was for a year and a half, according to this informant, that Joachim thus occupied himself at the convent, "dictating and correcting." At what time he finally finished his Apocalyptic comment seems uncertain. In A.D. 1190, when our king Richard was at Messina, on his way to the Holy Land, he was full of the subject. We have in Roger de Hoveden an interesting account of the king's sending for him, and hearing him lecture on it, induced by his high reputation for prophetic lore ;³ together with a sketch of certain views as to the future which he then propounded from the Apocalypse : views partially contradicted however by the event soon after ; and which in the commentary, as finally corrected by him, appear as we shall see afterwards, considerably modified. In the copy of the commentary handed down to us,⁴ I observe a notice of something that he states himself to have heard in the year 1195.⁵ Hence I conceive that he corrected and improved the Work till near the time of his death ;

¹ I take my account from Fleury's *Histoire Ecclesiastique*, Liv. lxiv.—Luke makes this year, 1183, the date of the commencement of Joachim's writing :—" Il en obtent la permission d'écrire, et commença à le faire." Ibid.

² " L'Abbé me donna à lui pour lui servir de secrétaire ; et j'écrivois jour et nuit dans des cahiers ce qu'il dictoit et corrigeoit sur des brouillons, avec deux autres moines ses écrivains."—The intimate connexion of the two Works will appear at my p. 375.

³ " The same year (1190) Richard hearing by common report, and by the relation of many persons, that there was a certain ecclesiastic of the Cistercian order in Calabria, named Joachim, abbot of Curacio, who had the spirit of prophecy, and predicted future events to the people, sent for him ; and took pleasure in hearing the words of his prophecy, and wisdom and learning. For he was a man learned in the Holy Scriptures ; and interpreted the visions of St. John the Evangelist, which the same John relates in the Apocalypse, which he wrote with his own hand ; in hearing which the king of England and his followers took great delight."

What follows in Roger of Joachim's explanation of Apoc. xii, xiii, xvii, about the Woman, Dragon, and Beast Antichrist, is given at p. 400 *infra*.

⁴ My edition is that of Venice, 1527 : of 224 leaves.

⁵ See p. 383 *infra*. Again, he in one place seems to allude to A. D. 1200, as the date of his final recension. See my Note ³ p. 375.

which happened according to Fleury, in the year 1202.—I now proceed to give a sketch of his exposition.

A brief *Prologue*, and then an *Introductory Book*, are prefixed to the Exposition ; which Exposition is itself divided into six PARTS. —In the *Prologue* he takes care prominently to state, that he had not entered on the work presumptuously, and merely from his own judgment ; but by the authority, and at the command of the Roman See ; a brief Monitory of Pope Clement on which point, and one which alludes to the previous mandates of the two Popes preceding, is inserted.¹ And, in the same spirit of deference to the Roman See, he leaves also prefixed a solemn charge to the Priors and Brethren of his Abbey, to have his writings immediately and formally submitted to its judgment ; in case of his death occurring before this was done.²

From the *Introductory Book*, one of several chapters, preceding the main Commentary, it may suffice to note what he says of the Three Ages, the Apocalyptic seven-sealed Book, and the Concord of the Two Testaments.

1. Noticing the old Jewish threefold division of time, *before the Law, under the Law, and under the Messiah or Gospel*, he observes that the last period of these three may be itself divided into three ; viz. that of the *Gospel Letter, Gospel Spirit, and Vision of God* ; so making up five in all ; and that, omitting the first and last of the five, he would mean by *the Three States of the World*, when spoken of in his Treatise, the three intermediate æras ; viz, 1. from Abraham

¹ Breve Monitorium seu Preceptorium Summi Pontificis.

“ Clemens Episcopus, Servus Servorum Dei, dilecto filio Joachim Abbati de Curatio, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Canonis suadet, et debitum evangelicæ charitatis, ut in cunctis actibus nostris ad id plurimum attendamus, qualiter secundum veritatis evangelicæ testimonium opera nostra bona luceant coram hominibus ; ut ex eis proficiendi materiam capiant, et exemplum. Quum igitur, jubente et exhortante bonæ memoriæ Lucio Papæ prædecessore nostro, expositionem Apocalypsis et Opus Concordiæ inchoasse, et postmodum auctoritate Domini Papæ Urbani successoris ipsius composuisse dicaris, caritatem tuam monemus et exhortamur in Domino, per Apostolica Scripta mandantes, quatenus laboribus tuis in hac parte peroptatum et debitum finem imponens, (gratiâ Domini prosequente,) ad utilitatem proximorum opus illud complere, et diligenter studeas emendare ; veniensque ad nos quàm citius opportunitas aderit, discussioni apostolicæ sedis, et judicio, ut præsentas.”

Datum sexto Idus Junii, Pontificatûs nostri anno primo. (i. e. A. D. 1188.)

² The date given is MC ; which is evidently incorrect. I presume it should be MCC.

to John the Baptist and Christ; 2. from Christ to the time of the fullness of the Gentiles; 3. from that to the consummation.

2. He states that certain *mysteries of the Old Testament history* were depicted by the *seven Seals* of the Apocalyptic seven-sealed Book: and that these mysteries were *opened* by Christ after his resurrection.

3. He illustrates the *concord of the two Testaments*; and correspondence of certain events affecting the Old Testament Church, with certain that affected the New Testament Church, the latter being a kind of fuller expansion and accomplishment of the types of the former: and this in the seven æras following, signified under the seven Seals.¹ We have here the key to Joachim's Apocalyptic views.

SEAL	OLD TESTAMENT.	SEAL	NEW TESTAMENT.
1.	From <i>Abram or Jacob</i> , to <i>Moses and Joshua</i> ; in which æra occurred Israel's war with the Egyptians.	1.	From <i>Christ to death of John the Evangelist</i> .—Conflict of the Church with the Jews.
2.	<i>Joshua to David</i> .—Wars with the Canaanites.	2.	<i>Death of St. John to Constantine</i> .—Persecutions of Pagan Rome.
3.	<i>David to Elias and Elisha</i> .—Schism of Israel and Judah, and civil wars. Also wars with Syria.	3.	<i>Constantine to Justinian</i> .—Persian oppression of the Church. Schism of the Greek Church from the Latin.
4.	<i>Elisha to Isaiah and Hezekiah</i> .—Wars with Assyrians, resulting in Israel's ten tribes' destruction.	4.	<i>Justinian to Charlemagne</i> .—Saracens overrun and mutilate the Greek Church and nation.
5.	<i>Hezekiah to Judah's captivity</i> by the Babylonians: the Egyptians under Pharaoh Necho partially preparing or co-operating.	5.	<i>Charlemagne to the time now present</i> .—German Emperors from Henry the 1st (men worse than heathens) endeavour to destroy the liberties of the Church.
6.	<i>Jews' return to Malachi's death</i> .— <i>Babylon conquered by the Persians</i> . Jews suffer from Assyrians under Holofernes, and Syro-Macedonians. ²	6.	<i>Times, just about beginning</i> , in which the <i>Roman Babylon</i> will be struck to death.
7.	<i>Malachi to John the Baptist and Christ</i> .—World's <i>First State</i> ends.	7.	<i>End of the Second State in the world's Conversion and Sabbath</i> . ³

“Apertio sexti sigilli,” he concludes, “nuper initiata in paucis annis vel diebus consummationem accipiet. Ut autem in tempore

¹ See his Leaf 6 to 10.

² An evident anachronism; as it was not till long after Malachi that the Syro-Macedonians oppress the Jews. But he calls *Hamas* a Macedonian.

³ At Leaf 9, he allows *two generations*, or some 60 years from A.D. 1200, as the *interval of transition* from the *second* to the *third state*.—I shall have to remark afterwards on certain inconsistencies and obscurities in his statements about the 6th and 7th Times.

sexti signaculi percussa est Vetus Babylon, ita et nunc percutietur Nova. Et sicut tunc Assyria et Macedones deterruerunt Judæos, ita et nunc Saraceni, et qui post eos venturi sunt pseudo-prophetæ, facient mala multa in terrâ, et talem tribulationem qualis non fuit ab initio. Consummatis autem pressuris istis adveniet tempus beatum."

Other chapters are on the Dragon and Antichrist? "De duplici intelligentiâ distinctionis:" "Pulchrum mysterium;" "On the difference of sabbaths;" "On the perfection of the numbers five and seven:" &c. now not needful to enter on. Let me only in passing call attention to the heading of one, "De vitâ activâ designatâ in Petro; et de contemplativâ in Joanne."—On various occasions this view of Peter as type of the priestly order, John of the monastic, is put forward by Joachim.

I now pass on to Joachim's PART ii. of the Commentary, and beginning of the opening of the Seals: observing in transition that he explains the four Cherubim around the throne to signify, in chronological succession, the first, the apostles; the second, the martyrs and confessors; the third, doctors of the 4th and 5th Centuries; the fourth, virgins or monks.

The 1st Seal then having been opened by Christ, the first Cherub, or *Apostolic Order*, as with a voice of thunder invited the world to contemplate.—The *White Horse* was the Primitive Church: the *rider* Christ, with his crown of righteousness, in person conquering alike the world, death, and Satan; and to the disciples triumphantly assigning the kingdom, the Jewish perfidy being overcome. (Just as Israel emerged from and conquered the Egyptians.)

In the 2nd Seal, the *Red Horse* is the Roman army: the *rider* the Devil, that great Homicide, or the Roman Emperors actuated by him. So were wars kindled, and peace disturbed. And especially what bloodshed of the saints in the Roman persecutions; till the Church's victory over Paganism under Constantine and Pope Sylvester! (So in Jewish history the conquest of the Canaanites.) The *Order of Martyrs* by their sufferings invited attention to this Seal.

3rd Seal. The *Black Horse* was the Arian Clergy, masters of error and darkness: the *balance* symbolizing the *disputatio literæ*, and cunning dialectics of the Arians. "Sed tu tene tuum pondus: tu serva numerum quem audisti!" viz. "a choenix of wheat for a

penny." Which choenix (or *bilibres*) Joachim explains as having reference to the two Testaments ;" or perhaps to the cry of the two Seraphim, Holy, Holy, Holy! " Which cry had the wretched Arians heard, they would never have impeached the Deity of the Son or Holy Ghost." (The order of the *Catholic Doctors* here proclaimed the truth.)

4th Seal.—The *Pale Horse* signified the *Saracens*, those destroyers of much of the Greek Church and Empire; the *rider* Mahomet. For, " Quis tam rectè *Mors* appellari potuit quàm ille perditus Maometh, qui tot millium hominum facta est causa mortis!" (Joachim identifies this with the Little Horn of Daniel's fourth Beast.) By " Hades following" was perhaps meant *Meses Mutus*; a persecutor of Christians then ruling in Mauritania.—It was the order of *Monks and Virgins* that here answered to the fourth Cherub; crying, Come and see!—(Israel's fourth tribulation, from the Syrians and Assyrians, is the Jewish parallel referred to by Joachim.)

5th Seal.—By the *altar of God*, which is associated with this Seal, as the four Cherubs were with the Seals preceding, is meant the *Romish Church*, including both clergy and monks. As the four primary persecutions originated in Judæa, Rome, Greece, and Arabia, so this fifth in Mauritania and Spain; where many Christians of the Romish communion have been killed, even until now. (The Saracens, who seemed to have fallen, having been revived *like the Beast's head* in Apoc. xiii, caused this result; just like the revived Assyrian power under Holofernes.)¹—" And they cried, How long, O Lord, dost not thou avenge, &c." A different cry this from that of the proto-martyr Stephen! For of the just some, like him, are more patient.—The *white robes given* signify how the martyrs pass from mourning to joy.—The words, " till their brethren be judged, that are to be slain even as they," show that after the fifth Seal, "*in cujus extremitate nos sumus*," there remains still to be accomplished a martyr-struggle.

6th Seal.—*Earthquake*, &c. Here is the beginning of the New Babylon's *day of judgment*. (" Perpende verba hæc misera Babylon," says Joachim; " ecce enim appropinquat desolatio tua! Necesse est enim ut in sexto recipias quod in quinto tempore contulisti." He includes here the false members of the Roman Church in the new

¹ So Joachim. Qu. Nebuchadnezzar?

Roman or Western Empire, especially the German Emperors: adding, as a parallelism from Apoc. xvii, xix, “*Ipsi enim reges qui percussuri sint Fornicariam, ut emundent superficiem terræ, pugnaturi sunt cùm Agno, et Agnus vincet illos.*”) This *day of judgment*, he says, is to be understood in a larger sense, as well as stricter: the *large* for a certain indefinite period of judgment; as Paul, “Us on whom the ends of the world are come:” a *stricter*, when the just shall rise to eternal life, the wicked to eternal punishment.—Here the *earthquake* is the soul’s earthquake of terror: the *sun and moon darkened*, the spiritual eclipse of both the monastic and the clerical orders: the *heaven passing away*, the passing away of the Church, so as that there be no more public preaching: (though some will still be in secret:) just as says Apoc. xiii, “that none might buy or sell,” i.e. none offer the gospel, but they that had the Beast’s mark. The *islands and mountains fleeing away*, are the Christian churches and monasteries. The *kings of the earth* noted, are the same that in Apoc. xix are seen to gather against the Lamb: and many thousands will fall in martyrdom, to complete the martyr-number.—Then Babylon having thus been judged, the Mahomedan nations (joined by false prophets apostatized from Christianity) will prophesy triumph to their law. But the Lamb shall conquer them.

Sealing Vision.—The *four angels* here are the same evil angels as those that (Ps. lxxvii) once afflicted Egypt; judicially permitted to withhold the life-giving influences of the winds; i.e. of the Spirit. (Or, if good angels, they may signify the *four preaching orders* withholding the word, as in Amos viii.) The *sealing angel* is either Christ, risen from the dead, and having the name of the living God as the Divine Author of life: or perhaps the *Roman Pontiff*, charged like Zerubbabel of old to rebuild Jerusalem and the temple; Christ acting and triumphing in him, “*maximè cùm ipse solus principaliter teneat locum ejus.*”—Whichever it be, he will arise as with the influence of the morning sun, at which the wild beasts, or adverse powers of darkness, will get them away to their dens (Ps. civ); while he preaches with certain evidence the near resurrection of the dead:—that so, in this breathing-time between the two last tribulations, the faithful ones may be active to complete the mystic number of the elect 144,000; (the same that are re-mentioned in Apoc. xiv, and figured

too in the 144 cubits of the Holy City :) and to fight the remainder of the battle, under the Lamb and his followers, with the Beast and kings of the earth.—The interval will be like the six years after the return from Babylon, in which the temple rebuilding was completed.—Besides which 144,000, an innumerable number will be killed for Christ's name, whose blessedness is declared in the palm-bearing vision: a blessedness partly in this world, where they begin the ascription of praise to God the Saviour; and lasting afterwards through eternity: the angels (here meaning *all the elect ones*¹) crying, Amen! and serving him alike day and night, or in times of joy and sorrow, in his Church: as also in heaven afterwards; when they drink of the fountain of life in his presence, where there are no tears.

7th Seal. As in Luke xxiii it is said that "the women rested (*siluerunt*) on the Sabbath, according to commandment," so the *half-hour's silence* of this Seal may mean the *sabbath-keeping*, especially in a contemplative life. So in Psa. lxxxiv, "I will be *silent* to hear what the Lord God may say concerning me."—In the corresponding æra under the Old Testament, viz. after Ezra and Malachi, there was a cessation too from writing Scripture. So under the coming 7th Seal the time of expounding Scripture will have ended. (Did Joachim believe the prophetic Expositor's office closed in *himself*?)—He adds; "The *half-hour* specified I deem to be the seventh and last *half time* of the three and a half prophetic times, whether literally or mystically understood."

PART iii.—With the *Trumpets* Joachim makes the chronology of the Visions to regress to the commencement of the Gospel-dispensation: the seven Trumpet-Angels being New Testament preachers, appointed to raise their voice like a trumpet; just as Israel's trumpet-priests round Jericho. With what those priests did in one week we may compare what has been done, or is to be done, in the sixth age of the world: the world being fated to fall, together with Antichrist, on the completion of seven times from Christ's birth; which seven times are all included under the world's sixth age.

The incense-Angel being explained as Christ, after his ascension,

¹ "Omnes angeli in hoc loco omnes illi electi homines intelligendi sunt; qui, etsi non sint enumerati inter quinque ordines qui specialius pertinent ad civitatem, pertinent tamen ad suburbana et vicos."

offering (together with the saints) the prayers of his people, then sending down the fire of the Holy Spirit on the apostles and all others of spiritual understanding, and the thunderings and voices as the voice of the Gospel sounding forth thereupon to all the world,—Joachim thus next proceeds to expound the Trumpets.

Trumpet 1.—The Trumpet-Angel here is the Apostolic band, and chiefly St. Paul, preaching against Judaism the spirituality of the law; while the hail, mixed with fire and blood, cast on the earth, signifies the spirit of hardness of heart, mixed with fiery and bloody zeal, infused into the Jews: the result being that a third of professedly believing Jews (the vain and self-satisfied of them) returned to Judaism.

Trumpet 2.—This Trumpet-Angel signifies the Martyrs and Doctors of the post-apostolic age, preaching against the Nicolaitan heresy: *Nicolaus* with his hot malice being like a burning mountain cast into the sea of Gentilism; through which a third, as before, were caused to die from the faith.

Trumpet 3.—The third Trumpet-Angel is the Christian Doctors from the time of Constantine: the falling meteor *Arius*: whose pestiferous error fell on bishops and priests, from whom should flow forth streams of wisdom; and embittered the waters, Scripture being now perverted by them.—Which Arian error, and Arian persecution too, continued till the time of the Saracens.

Trumpet 4.—The Trumpet-Angel in this case typifies the Holy Monks and Virgins: who, as celestial luminaries, gave light to the world; but were in a large measure quenched by the outburst of the licentious Mahometan heresy, and of the Saracens.

The *Woe-denouncing Angel* that next followed, I think, says Joachim, to have signified Pope Gregory I: who wrote so much, and so earnestly, on the world's end as near at hand, and the coming trials of the consummation.¹ If his predictions were not fulfilled, the failure arose, not from Gregory's having been deceived, but from God's mercy in withholding judgment, and prolonging the time of probation.

Trumpet 5.—“And who the *scorpion-locusts* of this Trumpet but the *Pathareni*,² the modern Manichees?” So Joachim expounds the

¹ Such the reader may remember is my own explanation of the vision. It is interesting to find so early a propounding of it. But if so, how place the *Saracens*, as Joachim does, before, not after, the woe-denouncing angel?

² So A.D. 1179 in the third year of the Lateran Council; “*Hæreticorum quos alii*

symbol. It is notable as about the earliest application of such Apocalyptic emblems by Romish writers to anti-Romish schismatics.

And here, let me observe, Joachim gives the current account of these heretics (the commingled Waldenses and Cathari apparently) just, no doubt, as it had reached him : nor can I pass on without briefly sketching it, as being a testimony hitherto unnoticed. He tells then that they believed all *bodies* to have been created by the Devil, and Christ not to have come in the flesh ; though plausibly¹ professing all the while to be the holders and teachers of the apostolic faith : that they lived a simple life, supported by their own labour, and made great pretence to purity and righteousness ;² yet, when meeting at night in their synagogues, did there the deeds of darkness : that their origin was of ancient date, beyond known record :³ that they were divided into *believers* and *perfect men* ; the latter alone bound to observe their stricter rules of life :⁴ that they were bent on proselyting, using, or rather abusing Scripture for the purpose ;⁵ and also arguing from their own simpler and more primitively Christian life, in contrast with that of the Catholic clergy : that in doing this they made light of the risk incurred ; even as if they despised the present life, and counted on eternal life, if punished with death in consequence ;⁶ in which case, and when burnt as heretics by the Catholic authorities, they were esteemed by their brethren as men crowned with martyrdom.⁷—Is not all this very corroborative of the view given by me of these so-called heretics in my second Volume ?⁸

Catharos, alii *Patarinos*, alii Publicanos vocant." Also, in A.D. 1183, Pope Lucius III ; " Imprimis Catharos, et *Patarinos*, et eos qui se Humiliatos, vel Pauperes de Lugduno, falso nomine mentiuntur : " Hard. vi. ii. 1683, 1878 : and in 1199 the Letter of Innocent III, A.D. 1199, which has been cited by me Vol. ii. pp. 341, 359 : " Quosdam qui Valdenses, Cathari, et *Paterini* dicuntur." ¹ " Verbis verisimilibus."

² " Justitiâ præditi." Compare what I have said of the heretics examined at the Council of Arras early in the 11th century, in my Vol. ii. p. 254.

³ " Diu est quòd confecta fuit Secta illa : nescimus à quo fuerit inchoata vel aucta.

⁴ Compare what is said in my Vol. ii. p. 340, of the twofold division of the Waldenses into the *Perfecti*, and the general body of the disciples : also, ib. p. 266, of the division of the heretics examined at Cologne in 1147, into the general body, called *believers* ; and those especially set apart, called the *elect*.

⁵ " Utuntur auctoritatibus Scripturarum ; immo non utuntur, sed abutuntur."

⁶ " Despicientes penitèns vitam temporalem, ac si per supplicia adepturi eternam."

⁷ " Nam et martyres Dei nominant suos, qui forte a Catholicis concremati sunt igne ; estimantes illos principes sectæ suæ. Sicut asserunt, coronantur martyrio."

⁸ Considering too what is said of their antiquity, p. 382.

As to the Apocalyptic details, they are thus applied to the Pathareni. The original *opener of the abyss* God only knew: it was probably some one of the clergy,¹ taught by the father of lies to probe the depths of worldly science; *the scorpion-locusts* being the Pathareni heretics, emerged out of the smoke of the heresy:—again the *trees* and *grass*, which the locusts are bid not to hurt, are the perfect and the simpler Catholics; the latter of whom, when interrogated by the heretics, turn a deaf ear, saying that it is not for them, but the clergy, to dispute on questions of faith. On the other hand the men converted by the Patrina into “believers” soon feel the venom of the sting of their perverters; the very paleness of their face” showing them to be so wretched that they would rather die than live:—conscience meanwhile accusing them of having joined the heretics only from regard to temporal benefit: it being a custom of these Pathareni to make collections at their meetings,² and to hold out to poor Catholics, with whom they express sympathy, that by joining them they may both temporally profit, and also, keeping the apostolic faith, gain eternal life.—The *breastplates* indicate the hard-heartedness of the *Perfecti*: the rushing *locust-wings* their *noisy* arguings from Scripture: the *five months* of their commission, a period probably of so many *generations*: five months being equivalent to five times thirty days, and sometimes a *day* used for a *year*.³ For it is long since the sect first began; indeed no one knew when.⁴—Finally, the locust-king Abaddon might be the Apostolic man whom these heretics all profess to obey.⁵

On the whole, adds Joachim, considering what St. John says, that “whosoever denies Jesus to have come in the flesh is an *Antichrist*,” and also what St. Paul prophesies of apostates in the last days, “forbidding to marry, and that there should be abstinence from meats,” we may I think conclude that *Antichrist* is *even now in the world*, though the hour of his revelation has not yet come: the time for *this* being under the sixth Trumpet, after the desolation of the Roman empire, which still offers him resistance. But the fifth

¹ “Clericus quidam.”

² “Collectas bonorum suorum.”

³ The reader will mark this application of the *year-day* principle by Joachim Abbas. Another similar will be found at p. 386 *infra*. See my Vol. iii. p. 241.

⁴ Mark this.

⁵ Compare what I have said of the Pope of the Paulikiana, Vol. ii. p. 268.

Trumpet-woe is indeed but a preparation for the sixth : so that Antichrist may anticipate so far in his rise, as under the fifth to have begun existence.

Trumpet 6.—The *Voice from the four horns of the altar* means the concurrent voice of the four evangelists ;—the *four angels bound* the same four evil angels as in Apoc. vii, waiting only the summons to do evil *at any time*, and *for any time* ; whether “ the hour, day, month, or year :” the *Trumpet-Angel*, Christian preachers ; whose it is to loose the evil angels, either by *ceasing to pray* for Christendom, or simply, so as Jeremiah, in the sense of announcing their being loosed : whereupon the four angels are to lead on deceived myriads, as believers in Antichrist. Of these the *Saracens* will be the chief ; the same that constituted the fourth Trumpet-plague ; now revived, after a temporary decline, like the Beast from the abyss : the Jews too joining, and also the *Pathareni*. “ Indeed a captive escaped from Alexandria told me in 1195 at Messina, (a fact heard by him from a certain eminent Saracen,) that the Pathareni had sent envoys thither to conclude an alliance with the Saracens, which had in effect been concluded.” Hence a foundation for the *mystery of iniquity*. By these other savage nations are to be led on ; as the Turks from the East, the Moors and Berbers from the South, and from the North savage nations north of Germany : all which until the sixth Trumpet-blast continue bound in, or by, the Euphrates, or Roman empire ; an empire intended to be a bulwark to the Church. But when the sixth Vial has been poured out, and the Euphratean waters dried up, then these powers are to fall on *Rome*, the proud city. (Would that it may take warning !) A prelude to which has been seen recently in the case of the Emperor Frederic : who in 1189 crossed the sea with multitudes ; but returned in 1191 with fear, nothing done.—The lion-like heads of the symbol, adds Joachim, indicate open force, the serpent-tails secret poison ; whereby (the numbers being irresistible) the enemy will both dominate over the body, and by torments seek to quench faith in the soul. (He further intimates the identity of these powers with the ten toes of Daniel’s image ; as also with the ten horns of the Beast ; or ten kings, in Apoc. xvii, that are to tear and desolate the harlot city Rome.)

In Apoc. ix. 20, a notice having been added of the general non-

repentance after the plagues above-mentioned, there is given in Apoc. x. a vision of an angel of light, sent to improve the respite before the last and greatest tribulation : the elect being thus helped to salvation, and the condemnation of the impenitent increased.

But who meant by *this Angel* ? Probably some eminent preacher, in the spirit and power of Enoch, if not Enoch himself ; ¹ his *face as the sun* indicating the communication of the light of spiritual intelligence ; his *feet as pillars of fire* the firmness of his tread (recognizing their concord ²) in either Testament, Old or New, the land or deeper sea ; and his outshedding lustre on either : his *lion-like voice* being a cry directed against the infidels remaining ; and the *seven thunders* the concordant answering voices of doctors inspired by the seven spirits of God : voices sealed however from the carnal ; as says the apostle, "The natural man understandeth not the things of the Spirit of God ;" though the book of Scripture will be still opened to all. The Angel's oath indicates that it will be one part of the answering preacher's mission to proclaim the last time, and day of judgment, as near at hand : though till the event it must remain uncertain, as Augustine says,³ how long may be the last day spoken of in Scripture, or in what order the details of judgment ; save only that the judgment must begin, and that speedily, at the house of God ; and that the subsequent "*time being no more*," means the final sabbath : which warning-cry, however, the children of this world will not hear ; but say, "Where is the promise of his coming ?"

In the charge "*Go take the Book and eat it*," John is the representative of the *monastic order* ;⁴ (as Peter elsewhere of the *clerical* :) whose special office it will be, when enlightened by the spiritual expositions of the messengers of truth, to preach the Gospel of the coming kingdom.—This will be the *third* preaching course opposed by the

¹ Joachim says, Enoch or Elias, but prefers Enoch : Elias being one of the witnesses according to him ; Enoch not so.

² "*Sensus Concordiæ duorum Testamentorum*." This makes me think that Joachim regarded himself as mainly the Angel intended : one grand point of his views being the *Concord of the Old and New Testament* : as stated p. 375 *suprà*.

³ "In fine mundi, vel circa finem, hæc res didicimus futuras :—Elyam Tesbytem venturum, fidem Judæorum, Antichristum persecuturum, Christum judicaturum, mortuorum resurrectionem, bonorum malorumque discretionem, mundi conflagrationem, ejusque renovationem. Quæ omnia quidem ventura esse credendum est ; sed quibus modis, et quo ordine, magis tunc docebit experientia, quàm nunc ad perfectam hominum intelligentiam valet." Quoted by Joachim. ⁴ So in Joachim's Introductory Book.

enemy: the other two being that by Moses, and that by Christ and his apostles.

Apoc. xi. "And there was given me a reed like a rod; and the Angel said, Rise and measure the temple, &c." The *Holy City* here mentioned means (not Jerusalem, nor the Greek Church and empire, which are rather Samaria, but) the Holy Roman Church and empire, "tota Latinitas;"¹ the *Temple* symbolizing the ecclesiastical order, the *altar* the cardinals: to which Church was the promise given, "Thou art Peter, and on this rock, &c." The Greek Church, because of its schism from the Universal Shepherd, and not being under the apostolic *reed* or discipline, is the *outer court* cast out, and given to the Gentiles. Already we see this in great part fulfilled; the Saracens having widely laid waste the Greek Churches: and it must be desolated yet more;² just as the ten schismatic tribes of Israel were in Old Testament times wasted and carried captive by the Assyrians.³—And, adds Joachim, (here more fully stating his view of the judgments coming on *Rome* and *the Popedom*, which views, already hinted under the sixth Trumpet, will recur again at Apoc. xiii and xvii, and call for the reader's special notice,) because of the Latin Church not repenting, but adding sin to sin, therefore, after desolating the Greek or outer court, the Gentiles are also to tread for forty-two months the *Holy City*, or *Latin Church and empire*:—the time this of the reign of Daniel's *Little Horn*, or *eleventh king*.⁴

On the *Apocalyptic Witnesses* there arise, says Joachim, the two questions; 1. *Who the two?* 2. Whether to be taken *personally* or *figuratively*? On the primary question he states the general patristic opinion that they were to be Enoch and Elias; but, with deference, expresses his own opinion that they mean rather *Moses*⁵ and *Elias*: the

¹ Compare what I have observed on *Latinos*, as the name and number of the Beast, Vol. iii. p. 214, 215.

² On the capture of Constantinople, and overthrow of the Greek Empire by the Turks, whom Joachim and others regarded as very much identified with the Saracens, this exposition of Joachim's might naturally be recalled to mind as having fulfilment.

³ Compare again the Concord of the Old and New Testament; as noted by me p. 375 from Joachim's Introductory Book.

⁴ Here Joachim draws out a curious analogy between the Jews, Greeks, and Latins on the one hand, and on the other Mary Magdalen, John, and Peter, successively visiting Christ's sepulchre.

⁵ Whose death is not recorded, adds Joachim, like other deaths; it being said that none knows his sepulchre.

same that appeared together at Christ's transfiguration; and whom what is said in the Apocalyptic sketch of the Witnesses better suits: viz. turning the waters into blood, which Moses did, conjunctively with other plagues in Egypt; and inducing a drought of three and a half years, which did Elias.—As to the second question, he quotes Jerome saying, when asked about Enoch and Elias, the then supposed Witnesses to come, “that all the Apocalypse was to be *spiritually* understood: because otherwise Judaic fables would have to be acquiesced in; such as the rebuilding of Jerusalem, and renewal in its temple of carnal ceremonies.”¹ Whence, argues Joachim, we must suppose that Jerome only expected two individuals, or perhaps two spiritual orders, to come in the spirit and power of Enoch and Elias, as did John the Baptist previously; to preach, and have the fight with Antichrist.—On the whole² the leaning of Joachim's mind seems to be to Jerome's view; and that the *spiritual* or *figurative* signification was to be attached to the indicated Witnesses *Moses* and *Elias*; the two orders of *clerics* and *monks* being perhaps intended: some individual preacher having also previously appeared, as in Apoc. x, or some spiritual order, answering to *Enoch*: which three he further identifies with the three Angels flying in mid-heaven, with gospel-voice and warning cry, before the fall of Babylon, described Apoc. xiv.—At the same time, when come to the notice of the forty-two months of the prophesying, he enunciates both as regards the Apocalyptic Witnesses, and the Beast also that they are to conflict with, a larger and more general explication, as well as the more special: “the *forty-two months* in which they are to preach, clothed in sack-cloth, signifying *so many generations* of the *cleric* and *monastic witnessing orders*,”³ i. e. according to his own explanation else-

¹ So at my p. 327, *suprà*.

² In order to show that implicit belief was not due to the general patristic opinion of Enoch and Elias being the two witnesses, he mentions that it involved a contradiction of another thing also stated by Jerome as a general patristic notion respecting Enoch and Elias; viz. that in their not dying these two were typical of those that at the consummation are not to die, but only to be changed at Christ's coming. How could they be such a type, argues Joachim, if they have yet personally to conflict with Antichrist, and die in the conflict?

³ “Moses fuit vir Levita, et pastor populi Israel; Helyas vir solitarius non habens filios aut uxorem. Ille ergo significat ordinem clericorum, iste ordinem monachorum. Quadraginta duo menses quibus prædicant induti saccis significant *totidem generationes* :

where,¹ on the year-day principle, 1260 years : during which time, says he, the “ gentiles ” and anti-christian unbelievers, even till Antichrist, are to tread the Holy City ; though but partially, and not so as under Antichrist proper : just as we have already seen the outer court many years trodden by them. The Witnesses’ *shutting heaven* during the time of their prophesying, is to be understood figuratively ; so as in Isaiah, “ Make the heart of this people fat, &c., ” and “ I will command the clouds that they rain no rain on my vineyard : ” also the *fire evoked by them from heaven*, of the power of the Spirit in their words to confound their adversaries. Their being said to stand before *the Lord of the whole earth*, may mean before Daniel’s Little Horn, or xith King ; (as Moses and Aaron stood before Pharaoh ;) seeing that the Prince of this world is to reign for a time times and half a time, in judgment on the sins of men : or, if Christ be meant as the Lord of the whole earth, their standing before him may indicate that in the time of their witnessing (at least before its conclusion) Christ is to appear in that character, and to take to himself this earth’s dominion : as it is said in Psalm ii, “ I will give thee the heathen for thy inheritance, and uttermost parts of the earth for a possession.” “ *And when they shall have completed their testimony, the Beast, &c.* ” —By this Beast (as will be shown on Apoc. xiii and xvii) seems to be meant the unbelieving multitude that were to persecute the Church, from Christ’s birth or death down to Antichrist : the same as the fourth Beast of Daniel.² Which Beast, towards the end of his reign,³ (false prophets assisting,) will both by fraud and force make war upon the two Witnesses first, and the saints more generally afterwards ;⁴ first however inflicting a death-blow on the Babylon (or Roman power) resisting him.⁵—The place of their slaughter may be

quibus (et verbis et exemplis) clamant dicentes, Penitentiam agite ; appropinquat enim regnum cœlorum.”

¹ Viz. on the *five months* of the scorpion locusts. See p. 382 *suprà*.—I presume it is on this and Joachim’s notice about the two generations from A. D. 1200 given p. 375, that the Benedictine Editor of Bernard grounds his statement ; “ Abbas Joachim existimabat Antichristum *intra sexaginta annos* à suo tempore adfuturum. Vixit autem *circa annum 1200.* ” (Vol. i. p. 846. Paris 1839.) For I have not observed any more direct expression of opinion to that effect elsewhere in Joachim’s Commentary.

² See on Apoc. ix. ³ “ *Circa finem regni sui factura est prælium contra sanctos.* ”

⁴ “ *Præeuntibus eos duobus viris qui sint duces eorum.* ”

⁵ “ *Prius dabit operam resistentem sibi diutius percutere Babylonem ; et postea eriget contra Deum cornu contumaciæ.* ”

the literal *Jerusalem*, if the Witnesses slain be two men literally. Against this, however, stands the fact that Jerusalem is never called *the great city*, so as Nineveh or Babylon. Therefore we must rather understand by the phrase *the kingdom of this world*: the body of the citizens of which have in spirit participated in Christ's crucifixion.¹—As to the three and a half *days* of the Witnesses lying dead, Joachim only says that if the three and a half *years* of the witnesses be taken *typically* of the whole time from Christ to the consummation, then the three and a half *days* must mean some lesser time, after which the kingdom is to be given to the saints. If the specifying of time be taken *literally*, then there must be meant their literal resurrection at that interval: though not the general resurrection of the dead, which is to be not till the end of the world. He speaks of a large gathering of people, on the occasion, and to the place; and says that in the earthquake following, the tenth part of the city which fell meant those clerics who, though professedly in Rome, are yet really infidels, belonging to Antichrist, and will then openly apostatize from the faith; also that the seven thousand are men deceived by him.

But if Enoch (or perhaps Moses) and Elias are thus to come in the third state before the consummation, how need we to watch and beware, lest any enemy come saying, "*We are Enoch and Elias*," and deceive many! Because it is as clear as the light that a Beast *with two horns like a lamb* is to come; symbolizing false prophets, such as Christ bid us to beware of.

Trumpet 7.—Now the mystery hidden in the Old Testament *from Moses to John the Baptist* will be consummated.—The *great voices in heaven* are preachers in the Church, announcing and rejoicing over the coming good; the twenty-four typical elders representing the union of all prelates in the song. The *time of the dead being judged* is that of the Beast and False Prophet being cast into the lake of fire; Antichrist and his fellows being specially meant in the corrupters of the earth then to be exterminated:² at which time

¹ Joachim observes on the adverb *where*; ("where also their Lord was crucified;")

"Hoc adverbium *ubi* plerumque in divina pagina non tam loci situm, quam aut populum qui aliquando fuit in loco, aut populi ejusdem similitudinem signat."

² "Ad Antichristum et socios ejus referendum est; quod, sicut præter solitum corrupturi sunt terram, ita præter solitum exterminabuntur de terra." He compares this, and makes it parallel, with Zechariah's prophecy: "I will gather all nations; and

will begin the third or sabbath state ;¹ corresponding, perhaps, with Apoc. xx. 4, " I saw thrones, &c : " ² until the saints in new bodies ascend to inherit the kingdom prepared for them.

I think, adds Joachim, that there will elapse but a brief interval between the sixth trumpet's sounding and the seventh's.

PART IV. Apoc. xii.—The *travailing Woman* here figured he makes to mean *the Church* generally ; but specially that Church of hermits and virgins, the children of which are the 144,000 of Apoc. xiv : this Church answering to the prototype of the Virgin Mary, " Queen of heaven ; " being clothed with Christ the Sun of Righteousness, trampling on all sublunary glory, and bearing the crown of the twelve virtues.

Of the figured *Dragon*, or Devil, the *body* are the multitude of the reprobate ; the Dragon's *seven heads* (like the Beast's ³) the seven chief Church-persecuting kings of the reprobate ; his *ten horns* ten kings that have yet to reign ; his *tail* the last antichristian tyrant at the end of the world.

The Apostolic Church having brought forth Christ, its male child, (as He said, " Who is my *mother* ? Are not these ? ") the Devil tried to kill him ; but he rose, and ascended into heaven.—In the first battle of martyrs ensuing, Michael, the invisible protector of the Church, acted chiefly through Peter ; the invisible Dragon through the Dragon's two first heads, Herod and Nero. This great battle may seem to have ended in the days of Constantine.⁴ If so, the Apocalyptic

I will pour out my spirit on the house of David and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the spirit of grace and supplication ; and I will take away the false prophet from the land."

¹ " Ad tempus illud referendum est in quo Bestia et Pseudo-propheta mittentur in stagnum ignis ; et ad *tertium statum mundi*, qui erit in sabbatum et quietem : quo, exterminatis prius corruptoribus terræ, regnaturus est populus sanctorum Altissimi ; quousque induti novis corporibus, et facto judicio generali, ascendant simul cum Domino ad paratum sibi regnum ab origine mundi."

² " Puto autem quòd mox, ubi completa fuerit passio sanctorum, incipiet septimus Angelus exaltare vocem suam ; ostendens jam omnino consummata esse mysteria regni Dei : apparentibus signis in sole et lunâ et stellis (Luke xxi) ; . . . nempe et quod dictum est in hoc loco, ' *Et tempus mortuorum*, ' in septimâ parte hujus libri scriptum ; ' Vidi sedes, et sèderunt super eas, et regnaverunt cùm Christo. ' "

³ Joachim notes the distinction of the diadem being on the ten horns in the Beast's case.

⁴ The reader will do well to mark Joachim's adoption of Constantine's own historical explanation of this Chapter ; after Tichonius, (see p. 335 *suprà*) Anselm, (see p. 372,) and others before him.

song of exultation is to be referred to the time when the saints then surviving were crowned with glory.—Thereupon the Devil, (cast down to the earth, or into the hearts of the earthly-minded,) persecuted the woman by means of the Arian heretics and heresy; and she fled to a life of retirement and contemplation: the two wings helping her being wisdom and the love of God; the time of her sojourning in the wilderness forty-two months, or the whole time of the Dragon; the water cast out of his mouth against her, Arian persecutors.—The Dragon's first war having thus been against Christ and his apostles, his second against the early martyrs under Pagan Rome, and third against the confessors against Arianism, his fourth was to be against those that were given to contemplation, psalms, and prayer.

Apoc. xiii. The *Beast* here figured is a compound and combination, says Joachim, of Daniel's four Beasts.—In Daniel the *first* Beast was the Jewish antichristian body; the *second* the Roman Pagans; the *third* the Arians; the *fourth* the Saracens:¹ the first resembling a lion; the second a bear; the third a leopard, with four heads; (signifying the Arian Greeks, Goths, Vandals, and Lombards;) the fourth very terrible, and having ten horns. All which bestial resemblances were united in this Apocalyptic Beast; and which had similarly also seven heads in all, and ten horns.—How terrible the fourth is told by its desolation of the churches in Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Africa, Mauritania, and the islands of the sea; where Christ's name is abolished, and Mahomet acknowledged as the prophet of God.² Besides that the other Beasts submitted after a while to the Christian Church; this, though once humbled and apparently dead, has revived and is as terrible as ever. The ten horns with diadems are ten kings *yet to be*, at that closing time of the calamitous period, when the Beast's kingdom shall end.—“I saw *one* of the heads *as it were* wounded to death, and *the deadly wound was healed*.” The Jewish, Pagan, and Arian heads were *actually* wounded

¹ One might be curious to know how Joachim satisfied himself in not applying to Daniel's four Beasts, (signifying as they did the world's four great empires,) the inspired explanation of the parallel four parts of the symbolic image, previously exhibited: as these were also to signify the four great empires, destined to rule successively till the consummation. I need hardly say Joachim's solution is altogether original.

² “Alas!” adds Joachim, “if Antichrist, when he appears, shall do as much evil as this his precursor and preparer!”

to death; and who ever heard of their revival? though the Beast itself indeed, (or antichristian body,) survived under another head. But with the Saracen head many may think the prophecy to have been already fulfilled. In the time of Pope Urban and the early crusaders, A.D. 1095,¹ when Jerusalem had been taken by the Christians, the Saracens in Egypt and Asia made stipendiary, Sicily conquered by the Normans, and the Moors repeatedly vanquished in Spain, the Saracen supremacy seemed wounded to death. But now, says Joachim, it is revived, and as terrible as ever. He prefers, however, to understand the deadly wound as still future when he wrote, and to be effected by spiritual weapons rather than temporal;² also the revival to be in a power answering to Daniel's *eleventh* or *Little Horn*: a horn unspecified by St. John; probably because of his prominent specification of the Dragon, or Devil, that was to inspire and rule in it. Joachim dwells on the fearfulness of the consequent apostasy; "All the world wondered after the Beast:" commiserating those that might then be alive; urging mothers to teach their children to flee for safety to the deserts; and answering the arguments of infidelity, drawn from the enemy's success and dominancy, by reference to God's faithfulness and wisdom. "Here is the faith and patience of the saints."

The *second Beast*, says Joachim, plainly signifies a false prophet, or pseudo-prophetic sect or body; the two horns being not improbably, he adds, Satan's counterfeits of the Enoch and Elias that are expected; just as Antichrist will be his counterfeit for Christ. Hence the double danger of receiving the counterfeit as true, rejecting the true as counterfeit! "What if Enoch and Elias were to knock at thy door to-morrow?"—It would seem that these false prophets will issue out of the bosom of the Church; knowing and speaking the Christians' language, and so more powerful to deceive. These may confederate with the former Beast, Daniel's eleventh Horn, and make the earth worship it: as Simon Magus confederated with the Pagan

¹ In my Edition it is printed 1015, plainly by mistake.

² Compare the report of what Joachim said to King Richard on this point, as given p. 400 *infra*, from Roger de Hoveden, The address to Richard was in the year 1190; the Apocalyptic comment as transmitted to us, with Joachim's last corrections, sent forth not till after the year 1195, (see my p. 383,) or perhaps 1200, (see p. 374,) after the failure in main results of the English and French king's expeditions.

Nero against Christianity, and the Jews with the Romans; or as the *Pathareni*, "the dregs of heretics," now sustain themselves through worldly potentates. And so soon as "the new Babylon" (*i. e.* Rome) shall have been given into the hand of the Beast to be desolated, and Daniel's eleventh king (the last of these kings) have begun to reign in the Saracen kingdom, then the false prophets may seize the occasion of making an alliance with the Gentile king; and preach up his religion as true, the Christian as false.¹—But why *two* Beasts? Because as Christ is both *King* and *Priest*, so Satan may put forth the first Beast to usurp his kingship, the second his priestly dignity: the latter having at its head some *mighty prelate*, some *Universal Pontiff*, as it were, *over the whole world*; who may be the very *Antichrist*, of whom St. Paul speaks as being extolled above all that is called God and worshipped; sitting in the temple of God, and showing himself as God.² This may be while making use of the strength of the first Beast for his purposes.—Other doctors regard the first Beast, or Daniel's eleventh king, and also Gog, as Antichrist: which I, says Joachim, regard as thus far true, because there are, as St. John says, many Antichrists; and what may be wanting of fulfilment in the one, may be supplied in another.

The *Beast's Image* Joachim makes to mean "some tradition composed by the false prophets in memory of the first Beast,"³ saying that his is the kingdom that is to endure for ever; some expression, I suppose he means, of the Beast's mind and doctrine.⁴ Its *receiving breath and speaking* is when the malignant spirit shall do miracles by it. The *character* to be impressed is some edict of his commands: the *sellers and buyers* that must bear it, preachers and hearers.—

¹ Joachim suggests the resemblance of this second Beast to the goat's little horn in Dan. viii; as that of the first Apocalyptic Beast to the little horn of the fourth Beast of Dan. vii.

² I must give the original of this remarkable passage. "Ita Bestia quæ ascendet de terrâ habitura sit *quendam magnum Prelatum*, qui sit similis Symonis Magi, et quasi *Universalis Pontifex* in toto orbe terrarum; et ipse sit *ille Antichristus* de quo dicit Paulus, Quod extollitur, etc."—So Bernard thought the Antichrist might be an *Anti-Pope*; and Theodoret much earlier said that the Antichrist *εν τη εκκλησιᾳ αρπασει την προεδρειαν*.

³ "Aliqua specialis traditio, quam componant pseudo-prophetæ in memoriam ipsius Bestiæ; dicentes hoc esse regnum illud quod mansurum est in eternum."

⁴ At p. 183, on the clause in Apoc. xv, "I saw the conquerors over the Beast's image," Joachim thus varies the explanation; "In imagine doctrina Bestiæ designatur."

“The *name* and *number* 666¹ is mysterious. We must wait and know the name, before speculating as to the numbers; which name however is not revealed.” This premised, Joachim proceeds to a passing speculation on the subject. as fanciful surely as any of the speculations of his predecessors. The number 666 may be fitly typical, he says, of the whole time from Adam to the end of the world. For 600 may represent the six ages of the world, or whole time of the Beast; 60 the six periods of the sixth age from Christ, in which the Beast has more grievously persecuted the Church of God; 6 the time of Daniel’s eleventh king, or little horn, in which the persecution is to be consummated.—This however he admits to be speculation. So soon as he comes, “*tunc rerum exhibitio apertum facient intellectum.*”

Apoc. xiv—xvii. We may hasten over these intervening chapters, to resume and complete the abstract of Joachim’s views on the Apocalyptic Beast, and the Babylon connected with it.—The 144,000 on Mount Zion he expounds as the monks and virgins of the Church, opposed to those that had the Beast’s mark:—the *three Angels flying in mid-heaven* as identical not improbably with the Angel-prophet of Apoc. x. and two Witnesses of Apoc. xi respectively;² (though possibly the first might have an earlier reference to the Woe-denouncing Angel of Apoc. viii. 13, or Gregory I :³) the voice of the last, perhaps of the two last of the three, sounding after the destruction of Babylon by the Beast and ten kings;⁴ and when, the Roman Christian State having thus fallen, they will be hoping to destroy Christ’s name from off the face of the earth.—The voice, “Blessed are the dead, for they rest, &c,” intimates the glorious *sabbath* awaiting both those who, after the completion of the sufferings of Christ’s body in the sixth period, shall then reign with Christ; and those too who, Antichrist having fallen, shall remain on earth in this life until the last day;⁵

¹ Some Latin codices for “*numerus nominis*,” read “*numerus hominis*,” Joachim tells us.

² So p. 386, *suprà*.

³ See p. 380.

⁴ Joachim must have remembered that the Witnesses are to be *slain* in the street of the Great City. How then prophecy against the Beast after its destruction?—But in that verse about the Witnesses he inconsistently explains the great city simply as the empire of this world.

⁵ “Adjunctum est de *requie sabbati*. Nimirum ut sextâ die passus est Dominus, sabbato autem requievit à laboribus suis, ita in sexto tempore (ut sæpe jam dictum est) complebitur passio corporis Christi; et erit post hoc sabbatum gloriosum: seu in illis qui jam regnabunt cùm Christo; seu in his qui, Antichristo ruente, remanebunt

in which day at length will be the harvest of the good, and vintage-treading of the bad.

So Joachim comes to his PART V, and to the *Vials*;¹ which though *specially* called the *last* plagues, yet in a larger and more general sense might be regarded as having had an *anticipatory* fulfilment in the same six or seven periods as were before noted under the Seals' and Trumpets' septenaries;—the 1st on Judaizers, who worshipped the Beast under his first head of Herod and the Jewish synagogue; the 2nd on the Gentilized recreants from the early Church before Constantine; the 3rd on the Arian bishops and teachers after Constantine; the 4th on the hypocritical of the contemplative orders; the 5th on false ones in the Clergy and Conventuals, who, though they should be God's seat, have yielded themselves to be the seat of the Beast; the 6th on the Roman State, as being the New Testament Babylon:² the drying up of its Euphrates symbolizing the weakening of its strength, through God's just judgment; so as to disable it from resisting the kings that are to come and desolate it.—After which its desolation, that "Wicked One" is to be revealed, of whom St. Paul speaks; the three spirits like frogs, next figured, being meant of him and his associates.—And then who can tell how soon Christ may come? "Behold I come as a thief."—Finally, by the *air* on which the 7th Vial is poured out, there is meant that spiritual Church which will remain after the judgment on Babylon; a judgment by which it will be cleansed, and made meet for the bridal. So Joachim comes to the vision of the *Harlot and Beast* in Apoc. xvii.

super terram, mansuri in hac vitâ pro velle Dei, quosque compleatur illud tempus quod vocatum est novissimus dies. In quo novissimo die, consummatis universis mysteriis et laboribus sanctorum, quid jam nisi messis et vindemia restat?"

The above is important as bearing on Joachim's millennial views. Compare Note p. 389; also p. 375 *suprà*.

¹ It is to be observed that Joachim too, like Andreas and others before him, had in his Latin Version the curious reading, "vestiti lapide mundo;" agreeably with their Greek reading λιθον, instead of λινον, Apoc. xv. 6: also that he explained the οἱ νικῶντες, in xv. 2, of those that received no other doctrine than that of the Roman Church, and who were thus triumphant over the Beast.

² Joachim gives also, and indeed primarily, an explanation referring the Vial to those *without Christendom*; the Euphrates being so taken literally. It seems likely that he may have written this about the time 1190, when he expounded to King Richard, and expected a speedy overthrow of the Saracens. The secondary meaning is given again in his Comment on Apoc. xvii. 16, "The ten horns shall hate her," &c.

PART VI. Apoc. xvii. The *Angel-revealer* of this vision is the 6th Vial-Angel; the 6th period, now current, being the time of its right understanding;¹ the *harlot* Rome;—not indeed the *Church of the just* that sojourn in Rome, but rather the multitude of Rome's reprobate or opposing members: her place being also not in one province or kingdom, but over the whole area of the Christian empire. The *kings of the earth* that fornicate with her, Joachim makes bad prelates with the charge of souls: the *Beast* (as before) the infidel kingdoms that have persecuted the Church, from the apostolic age till now: its seven successive *Heads* being,—1. Herod and his Judaic kingdom; 2. the Roman Pagan empire to Diocletian; 3, 4, 5, and 6, the four Arian governments and princes, Greek, Goth, Vandal, and Lombard; 7th the Saracen or Mahommedan, now still existing. Besides which, says Joachim, seven kings are mentioned: not as identical with the heads, but simply thus, “And there are seven kings;” i. e. kings eminent among the persecutors. Which kings chronologically correspond with the seven periods of our æra; though neither chronologically nor politically correspondent with the seven heads: being 1. Herod, 2. Nero, 3. Constantius, 4. Mahomet (Chosroes also perhaps included), 5. the German Emperor who first troubled the Church about investitures, 6. Daniel's Little Horn, or eleventh king; i. e. *Saladin* the reigning Saracen, who has just taken Jerusalem. This is the “one that is;” (the 6th period of the Christian æra being the standard time present, used by the Angel in his statement;) and under whom the Roman Babylon is to be desolated: after which, alike the 6th king and 7th head having perished, (the latter wounded unto death,) a brief respite will be granted for the faithful, then the Beast arise under its 8th head,² to make one more persecution, and after it to perish for ever.—With regard to the *ten horns*, or *ten kings*, that have not yet received power, but receive it one hour after the Beast, there is a difficulty: for according to Daniel, it is while these ten are reigning that the eleventh is to arise. Here however it is said, after the *Beast*, not after the *6th king*.³—That the harlot city reign-

¹ Joachim notes both the importance and plainness of the vision. “Qui nescit quod passura sit Meretrix pro erroribus suis, de facili decipitur nutibus oculorum suorum.”

² One of the seven, says Joachim, as uniting all the errors of the seven.

³ Probably, he says, “sub nomine sexti regis alius surgere intelligatur post alium:

ing over the kings of the earth, and to be spoiled by them, means *Rome*, is undoubted ; being told us not by other fathers only, but Peter himself : ¹ including however the members of its empire, not those within the city walls only.² The comfort is, adds Joachim, that *Jerusalem* tarries in Babylon ; and that to it the promise is given, “Thou art Peter, &c.” So long as the waters she sits on remain, the kings cannot prevail against her. But when her Euphrates is dried up, then they will attack her ; ³ God having put it into the hearts of these “*exteri reges*” to give their kingdoms to the Beast, or ruling chief of the Beast, on seeing his success against the subject of the Roman empire : the result of which alliance will be the tearing and spoliation of Roman Christendom, together with persecutions of Christians and Christianity ; whence a general apostacy, though not without some faithful martyrs.

In Apoc. xviii the *kings of the earth* that wail over Babylon are wicked Prelates : the *fire* spoken of that of the eternal punishment of her reprobate members, of which the temporal is but a pledge ; the *merchandise* that of ecclesiastical functions, bartered by priests for money.⁴—The song of exultation on the fall of Babylon, given in Apoc. xix, Joachim expounds as the song of the *Church on earth* ; escaped out of, and freed from, the New Testament Babylon : a song which he compares with that of the Jews restored with Ezra from the Ancient Babylon ; and such as had been never heard in the Church since the days of Constantine. Its two subjects of congratulation are “the destruction of the Harlot, and the liberty of the Church ;” and alike converted Jews, (“for then the Jewish people will be converted to the Lord,”) and Greek too and Latins will join in it ; crying “Hosanna ! Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.” The song of the twenty-four elders, &c.

quatenus post illum de quo dicit Joannes, *Unus est*.” But I do not exactly understand the explanation.

¹ Referring to 1 Peter v. 13 ; “The Church which is in *Babylon* ;” meaning, it was understood, *Rome*.

² Joachim here speaks of some that rested on Benedict’s words quoted by Pope Gregory I ; “*Rome shall not perish by kings’ attacks ; but by earthquakes, &c.*” This however, says he, had reference to the *Gothic kings then attacking Rome*.

³ So on the 6th Vial.

⁴ He exemplifies in those who refused to impart the divine sacraments, entrusted to them “*pro salute vivorum et mortuorum, nisi aut accipiant aliquid, aut accipere sperant.*” Also in those who looked for the praise of men ; and so too resembled Judas, who for thirty pieces of silver betrayed Christ.

is explained to be the answering Alleluia in heaven, for the liberation of the righteous, the conversion of the Jews, and bringing in of the fulness of the Gentiles. And so, adds Joachim, will begin that kingdom for which we continually pray, "Thy kingdom come."—O how good, says he, will it be for us to be there! Christ being our shepherd, king, meat, drink, light, life!

But after this so solemn a rejoicing, there remains yet another tribulation,¹ depicted in the chapter following.

Apoc. xix. "And I saw heaven opened, and behold a white horse, &c: and I saw the Beast, and the kings of the earth, and their armies, gathered to make war, &c."—So, says Joachim, Zech. xiv. 2; "I will gather all nations to Jerusalem to battle: and the Lord shall go forth and fight against those nations."—Here is the Beast "*which had been and was not and is to ascend from the abyss and go into perdition;*" i. e. the Beast under his last *head*:—also the *seventh King*, "which had not yet come, but was about to come, and to continue a short space;" though indeed this king is not here mentioned; as if to intimate that this is the *Antichrist*, in whom the Red Dragon dwells bodily.—This last point however, says Joachim, is doubtful; and whether this *seventh* king, or the *sixth*, (the one which *is*,) or he that is called *Gog*, or any other, be properly *Antichrist*. What we know is that the *sixth King* will be worse than the five preceding, and the *seventh* than the sixth; and that these will be the two last *heads* of the Dragon. I think, too, that the first will be king over the *Beast from the sea*, the second over the *Beast from the land*, or *False Prophet*.—Whether Christ's figured manifestation on the white horse, to destroy the Beast in this his last form, be a *personal* coming, or only *providential*, is a point doubted by Doctors. At first (p. 207) Joachim decides on the view of its being a *personal* coming: both because of what Paul says, "Whom the Lord shall destroy by the brightness of his coming;" and what Christ, "*Immediately after the tribulation of these days, they shall see the sign of the Son of Man, &c.*" Afterwards he admits that it *may* be explained of Christ's acting invisibly in his Church militant.—And what the armies of saints following him on white horses? I think, says he,

¹ This second tribulation of the 6th period is to follow, he says, "post gaudium illud tam solemne, quod post hebdomadam quæ intitulatur de passione:" i. e. after the Easter sabbath, succeeding the Church's *Passion Week*. Compare Vol. ii. p. 133.

they must signify either distinctively the saints that rose from the dead when he rose, (Matt. xxvii. 52,) or all the saints dead in Christ generally, as now to appear with Him; i.e. if Christ's coming be personal.¹ If not, then they may be Christ's saints on earth.²—The *sword from the rider's mouth* is expounded as what St. Paul speaks of, "Whom the Lord shall consume with the *breath of his mouth*:" (a parallelism well deserving notice :) his *eyes like fire*, as indicating the all-revealing brightness thrown on things at the day of his judgment.

PART VII. Apoc. xx.—So, says Joachim, we come to the *seventh* Part, in which we have to treat of that *great sabbath* which is to be at the end of the world: a period which I have called *The third State*; and which may be termed the *Age of the Spirit*, as the two former were of the *Father* and of the *Son*. The idea of all secular time and things ending with the fall of Antichrist, had been overthrown, he adds, by St. Remigius; who had shown that a certain time, of uncertain length, would still remain after that event:—the idea itself having arisen from want of observation that *the last day* of Scripture is not to be understood as signifying the last moment of the world; but rather the *world's last age*, or *time of the end*:—a point illustrated by St. John's saying above a thousand years before, "It is the last hour."³ Whether Christ's coming is to be at the beginning of this sabbath time, or the end of it, has seemed to some doubtful: but, says Joachim, again reverting to the pre-millennial theory, both St.

¹ "Unum è duobus arbitror esse tenendum:—quòd aut mortui qui sunt in Christo cum eo protinus apparebunt viventes, secundum suprà scriptam Apostoli auctoritatem; aut illi apparebunt suscitati cum ipso, qui cum eo pariter resurrexerunt à mortuis:" viz. as in Matt. xxvii. 52, referred to just before. P. 208.—The first view is the completed *pre-millennial* theory.

² For saints in the mortal state may conquer even in suffering: "qui, sequentes passionem Domini sui, ita pugnaturi sunt in corporibus suis tradendis pro nomine Crucifixi in tempore sexto, quomodo ipse in die sexto in candido illo equo suo superavit et vicit." Ibid.

What is said of the *heaven appearing opened*, in order to the exhibition of the vision, may be meant, he adds, of the opening of Scripture truth at the time; so that all that the vision relates may appear clear.

"Maximè cum jam sint transacti amplius quàm mille anni, ex quo dixit beatus Joannes, Filioli novissima hora est."

A sentence which cannot but suggest the opening of the Waldensian Noble Lesson; "Well have 1100 years been completed since it was said, It is the last time." See my Vol. ii. pp. 329, 350.

Paul's and Christ's own words, referred to above, seem to fix it at the commencement of the sabbath period.¹—As to this constituting the seventh millenary of years from the world's creation, Joachim speaks of the idea as set aside by both the Greek and Latin mundane chronology : much more than 6000 years from the world's creation having past, according to the *Greek* chronology : and much less (though the time Joachim thought must be close at hand) according to the *Latin*. His own view was, that the Apocalyptic millenary period was specified simply as being a most perfect number : that the binding of Satan spoken of might possibly have had an *incipient* fulfilment from the time of Christ's resurrection ; and in that sense the Apocalyptic *millennium* extend from that epoch to the world's consummation : but that its *perfected* fulfilment would be in the *sabbath-time* after the Beast's destruction :²—which sabbath might be longer, or shorter, as God pleased ;³ indeed so short perhaps that the real and chief Antichrist might possibly exist and act in the great antichristian battles both before and after it.⁴ But time would unfold this.—As to the *first resurrection* he conceived it identical with Daniel's prophecy, that, after the destruction of the Beast and its Little Horn, the kingdom and power under the whole heaven should be given to *the saints of the Most High* ;⁵ and with that too in Ezek. xxxvii, which speaks of a resurrection before Gog's coming.⁶ Perhaps, he says, on the clause, “ The rest of the dead lived not till the 1000 years were ended,” the saints are then to rise, and enter at once on life eternal, without that terrible ordeal of the judgment of the white throne which others must go through.⁷ But he admits

¹ Let it be here marked how, immediately that the Christian æra had so far advanced as to allow of the *year-day* principle being applied to the 1260 days' prophetic period, without placing Christ's second advent necessarily at a distance, it was so applied. Compare Note ³, p. 375.

² “ Secundum aliquam sui partem incarceratus fuerit Draco ex eo tempore quo superavit eum Christus die in mortis suæ : secundum vero universitatem capitum suorum, ex eâ die vel horâ quâ Bestia et Pseudo-propheta mittentur in stagnum ignis.” And again : “ Secundum partem incepit ab illo sabbato quo requievit Dominus in sepulcro : secundum plenitudinem sui, à ruinâ Bestiæ et Pseudo-Prophetæ.” 211.

³ “ Tunc erit magna pax ; cujus terminus erit in arbitrio Dei.”

⁴ “ Ista tria prœlia ” (viz. that of the ten kings destroying Babylon, or Rome, that of the Beast against the Lamb, and that of Gog, the two first pre-sabbatical, the last post-sabbatic) “ tam fortassis erunt vicina, ut ille Homo Peccati possit omnibus interesse ; maximè autem in secundo et tertio.” ib. ⁵ P. 212. ⁶ P. 213.

⁷ “ Forte intelligamus sanctos protinus post resurrectionem suam abaque terribilibus

difficulties in the view ; and the need of waiting for further illustration—As to *Gog*, he might very possibly be the Antichrist.

The *new heaven* and *new earth* Joachim expounds to mean the final blissful state, when the tares shall have been gathered from the wheat, and the just shine as the sun in the kingdom of their Father;¹—the *New Jerusalem*, on the other hand, to figure the Church even in its earthly state, and from its first beginning at Christ's birth.²

So I conclude my abstract of Joachim : an abstract which I have made longer and more detailed than any other, because of what I deem its peculiar importance and interest. For the same reason I subjoin in a Note Roger de Hoveden's account of Joachim's Exposition of Apoc. xii, xiii,³ to our king Richard ; whereby we shall

illius judicii examine, et absque intervallo dierum, intraturos ad veram vitam ; cæteros vero non statim, sed post consummationem judicii." Ibid. Compare Joachim on Apoc. xix. 14, in my p. 398 *suprà*.
¹ p. 216.

² " Non est referenda ista visio, et iste descensus, ad horam illam ultimam in qua manifesta erit gloria Hierusalem ; sed ad tempus nativitatis ipsius." Ibid.

³ " The interpretation of this vision according to Joachim, Abbot of Curacio, is as follows.—The woman clothed with the sun, with the moon under her feet, signifies the Holy Church covered and clothed with the Sun of Righteousness, which is Christ our God ; under whose feet the world, with its vices and lusts, is ever to be trampled. " And upon her head a crown of twelve stars." Christ is the head of the Church : her crown is the Catholic faith which was preached by the twelve apostles. " And bringing forth, she was in pain to be delivered." Thus the Holy Church, which is continually blest with new offspring, is in pain from day to day, that it may bring forth souls to God ; whom Satan endeavours to snatch away, and draw down with himself to hell. " And behold a great red Dragon, having seven heads and ten horns." That Dragon signifies the Devil : who is well said to have seven heads ; for every wicked one is a head of the Devil. He puts seven as the finite for the infinite, for the heads of the Devil are infinite ; that is, the persecutors of the Church, and the wicked. But though they are infinite, nevertheless this Joachim in his exposition specified seven persecuting powers ; whose names are Herod, Nero, Constantius, Mahomet, Melsemut, Saladin, Antichrist. St. John also says in the Apocalypse ; " There are seven kings ; five have fallen, and one is, and one is not yet come : " which the same Joachim thus explains : There are seven kings, namely, Herod, Nero, Constantius, Mahomet, Melsemut, Saladin, Antichrist. Of these, five have fallen ; namely, Herod, Nero, Constantius, Mahomet, Melsemut : and one is ; namely Saladin ; who at this time oppresses the Church of God, and keeps possession of it with the sepulchre of our Lord, and the holy city Jerusalem, and the land in which the feet of our Lord stood. But he shall in a short time lose it.

Then the king of England asked, " When shall this be ? " To whom Joachim answered, " When seven years shall have elapsed from the day of the taking of Jerusalem." " Then," said the king of England. " Why have we come here so soon ? " To whom Joachim replied, " Your coming is very necessary ; because the

be enabled to compare his views in the year 1190 with those in 1196 or 1200 : ¹ and append moreover a Tabular Scheme of his Exposition.

Lord will give you victory over his enemies, and will exalt your name above all the princes of the earth."

It follows; "One of them is not yet come;" namely, Antichrist. Concerning this Antichrist the same Joachim says that he is already born in the *city of Rome*, and will be elevated to the *Apostolic see*." And concerning this Antichrist, the Apostle says; "He is exalted, and placed in opposition, above all that is called God:" and, "then shall be revealed that wicked one, whom the Lord Jesus will slay with the breath of his mouth, and destroy with the brightness of his coming."

And the king turning to him said: "I thought that Antichrist would be born in *Antioch*, or in *Babylon*, of the tribe of Dan; and would reign in the temple of the Lord, which is in *Jerusalem*; and would walk in that land in which Christ walked; and would reign in it for three years and a half: and would dispute against Elijah and Enoch, and would kill them; and would afterwards die; and that, after his death, God would give sixty days of repentance, in which those might repent who should have erred from the way of truth, and have been seduced by the preaching of Antichrist and his false prophets."

It follows; "and ten horns."—The ten horns of the Devil are heresies and schisms; which heretics and schismatics set up in opposition to the ten commandments of the law, and the precepts of God. "And upon his head seven crowns." By crowns are signified kings, and princes of this world, who will believe on Antichrist. "And his tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven;" because of the great multitude of men believing on him. "And cast them unto the earth."—He calls the inferior persons who shall believe on Antichrist stars; and says, "the third part of the stars of heaven," because of the great multitude of men believing on him. "And cast them unto the earth:"—that is, he casts all into hell, who shall continue to believe on him. "Which stood before the woman who was about to bring forth; that when she had brought forth, he might devour her son." The Devil is always practising against the Church; that he may seize her offspring, and devour what he has seized: and he is properly said to "stand;" because he never declines from his wickedness, but always stands stiff in malice, and inflexible in the craft of his fraud. Or, in another sense, his tail signifies the end of this world: in which certain wicked nations shall arise who are called Gog-Magog; and shall destroy the Church of God, and subvert the Christian race. And after that shall be the day of judgment. And in the time of Antichrist many Christians abiding in caverns of the earth, and in the solitude of the rocks, shall keep the Christian faith in the fear of the Lord, even until the destruction of Antichrist. And this is what he means when he says, "The woman fled unto the wilderness of Egypt, where she had a place prepared by God, that they should there feed her 1260 days." But "her man-child, who should rule all nations with a rod of iron," is especially our Lord Jesus Christ: who, after his passion and resurrection, ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty, and shall come again to judge the quick and the dead, and the world by fire. Whose followers if we are, and persevere in the way of his commandments, we shall be caught up to meet him in the air, and shall be with him for ever.

And although the said Abbot of Curacio maintained this opinion concerning the coming of Antichrist, nevertheless Walter, archbishop of Rouen, and Girard, archbishop of Auxerre, and John of Worms, and Barnard, bishop of Bayonne, and other ecclesiastics well versed in the scriptures, endeavoured to prove the contrary: and, although many plausible arguments were adduced on each side, the matter still remains undecided." (Maitland's Translation.)

¹ See Note ³ p. 373, and Note ² p. 374.

JOACHIM ABBAS' APOCALYPTIC SCHEME.

A.D.	1—100.	100—310.	310—550.	550—800.	800—1200.	1200—1260.	1260.
SEALS.	I. Christ and Apostolic Church triumphing over Jerusalem.	II. Roman Pagan Persecutions and Blood-shedding.	III. Arians, with false balance and Scripture perversion.	IV. Mahomet and the Saracens' desolations.	V. Persecutions and Martyrdoms by Saracens in Spain and Mauritania.	VI. Babylon's judgment, the day begins. Christianity visibly suppressed.	VII. Half hour's silence, the Sabbath. Perhaps the last half of the 3½ times.
TRUMPETS.	I. Judaizers' indurated as hail. ¼ of Christianized Jews apostatize.	II. Nicolaicans' burning mountain, in the sea of Gentilism.	III. Arius' falling star.	IV. Light of Monks and Virgins quenched by the Saracens.	V. Locusts, or Pathareni.	VI. Condescension of Saracens, Turks, Moors, and Northern Germans against Rome.—Mystery of Iniquity preparing.	VII. Mystery ended. Antichrist beginning, as in Apoc. xx.
VIALS.	I. on Jews & Judaizers.	II. on Gentilizing recreants.	III. on Arian Bishops and Doctors.	IV. on vain and hypocritical Monastics.	V. on Monastics apostatizing to the Beast.	VI. Ephraim of Roman power dried up—Antichrist's 3½ crops.	VII. Air purified for Church's bridal
WITNESSES AND TRAVAILING WOMAN.	The 42 months or 1260 days of the Holy City of Christendom partially Gentile-trod.	The 42 months or 1260 days of the Holy City of Christendom partially Gentile-trod.	The 42 months or 1260 days of the Holy City of Christendom partially Gentile-trod.	Christ's Woman in 1260	eral the years. Witnessing Wilderness by	Body. { Moses, } 3½ yrs. { Elias, } 3½ yrs. Gentiles.	rit. End: to God.
BEAST'S SEVEN AND RIGHT HEADS.	I. Antichristian Jews, under Herod. (= Daniel's 1st Beast.)	II. Roman Pagans, Nero to Diocletian. (= Daniel's second Beast.)	III, IV, & V. Arian Greeks, Goths, and Vandals. (= Daniel's third Beast.)	VI. Arian Lombards.	VII. Saladin and his Turks.	VIII. The 7th Head wounded, revives as Daniel's Little Horn. Still under Saladin.	Spi the end known only
SEVEN CHIEF KINGS.	I. Herod. Nero.	II.	III. Constantius.	IV. Mahomet.	V. German Ghibelline Emperors. (or Melemtut.)	VI. Saladin A.D. 1195.	Age Time When to

The observant reader cannot but have remarked the newness of many of Joachim's views ; alike on some of the later Seals, Trumpets, and Vials ; or the *year-day* construction of the 1260 prophetic days of the Woman and Witnesses ; and the Dragon, Beast, Harlot, and Millennium : also that they were both thought out, and urged, with a measure of earnestness and conviction of their truth abundantly greater than attached to any previous Apocalyptic Expositor ; at least any subsequent to the Constantinian revolution.—And could these new opinions on the Apocalypse, promulged thus publicly and earnestly by one so venerated as the Abbot Joachim, fail of exercising a marked influence on the subsequent interpretation of this wonderful prophecy ? In truth we find the effect marked and speedy. In *the Romish Church*, while some still held mainly to the old generalizing views of Tichonius or Ambrose Anshert, Bede or Haymo,—of which class *Albertus Magnus* and *Thomas Aquinas*, both of the xiiith century, were much the most illustrious,—others, as *Almeric*, *Pierre d'Olive*, &c, quickly followed in the tract of Joachim with yet bolder innovations : while *open dissidents moreover from the Romish Church*, despised nearly up to this time as contemptible heretics, began too to make their voice effectively sound forth, on *two* points at least in which Joachim had innovated ; a voice which, after one temporary suppression, has even to the present day never ceased. It is to these innovators, whether within or without the Romish Church, that I wish to draw the reader's chief attention, in all that remains of this present fourth Section : and I shall therefore content myself with placing my notices of *Albertus Magnus* and *Thomas Aquinas* below.¹

¹ 1. *Albertus Magnus*.

The celebrity of this man is handed down to posterity in his surname, *Albert the Great*. He is spoken of by Mosheim as a man of vast abilities, and the literary dictator of his time. Born early in the thirteenth century, he was in 1260 made Bishop of Ratisbon : but soon retired again to the Dominican Convent at Padua, of which he was Provincial ; and, after a life spent in study, died there in 1281. His works are said to make up twenty-one folio volumes. His Treatise on the Apocalypse was printed at Basle in small 4to, in 1506 ; the edition which I now have in hand.

His frequent reference to Haymo is stated in a commendatory Preface prefixed by one Bernard of Luxembourg, of the order of Preachers. “Sæpe in roboratione dictorum suorum allegans *Haymonem* ; unum de antiquioribus expositoribus Apocalypseos : qui fuit magister Karoli Magni, monarchi Ordinis Sancti Benedicti.” But he refers to *Bede* as much, I think, as to Haymo : and also sometimes to one Gilbert ;

3. The two hermeneutic innovations which I stated specially to have been so taken up are Joachim's explanations, 1. of the *Apocalyptic Babylon*, as in a certain sense *Papal Rome*; 2. of the pre-

who seems to have been a commentator of celebrity in the preceding century. The following points seem to me the most noticeable in Albert's Apocalyptic Commentary.

The *Epistles* he considers to have depicted the Church Universal, with reference to its state in its successive chronological periods: viz. of the apostles, of the post-apostolic martyrs to Constantine, of the period of the Arian struggle, or 4th century, of the confessors and doctors afterwards, during whose time Mahomet introduced his heresy, of the still later time (I suppose commencing from Charlemagne) during which the temporalities of the Church were increased, of the time then present, and lastly the future time, apparently of Antichrist. In the second Epistle, to Smyrna, he suggests as an alternative explanation of the *ten days* of tribulation spoken of, that it may have reference to the ten persecuting kings designated by the Beast's ten horns; viz. Nero, Domitian, Trajan, Antonine, Severus, Maximin, Decius, Valerian, Aurelian, Diocletian.

As a general view of the *Seals*, he cites and acquiesces in the following succinct sketch from *Bede*. "Secundùm Bedam in primo sigillo orditur status primitivæ ecclesiæ: in tribus sequentibus bellum cùm ecclesiâ triforme: (viz. of Roman Pagan persecutors, heretics, and hypocrites:) in quinto triumphantium in hoc bello gloria: in sexto persecutio Antichristi futura: in septimo quietis æternæ initium:"—this last being signified by the half-hour's silence; of which, says Bede, as Albert again quotes him, "Post interitum Antichristi requies aliquantula futura creditur in ecclesiâ."

In the *Trumpets* Albert again follows Bede; explaining them of judgments in nearly the same chronological periods as before: the sixth being that of Antichrist's invasion. In Apoc. x the vision passes, according to Albert and Bede, to describe Christ's descent from heaven at his incarnation: the *seven thunders* being the voices of preachers, terrible as the denouncing of seven-fold punishment; understood by the good, sealed to infidels. In Apoc. xi the *Temple* means the Church; the *casting out*, the excommunication from it of false brethren. The *forty-two months* are explained to be generally all the time of the wicked trampling the Church, specially of the $3\frac{1}{2}$ times of Antichrist; the *two witnesses*, Enoch and Elias; (though some, meaning Joachim, had lately said Moses and Elias;) the place of their slaughter, the literal Jerusalem, where Christ had been himself literally crucified, and would now be crucified figuratively in his members; the three and a half *days* of their lying dead signifying three and a half *years*.—In Apoc. xii the *woman* is explained as either the Church or the Virgin Mary; the twelve stars of the coronet meaning, on the latter hypothesis, the twelve prerogatives of the blessed Virgin; while the Dragon's seven heads figure the seven evil spirits, and his ten horns the ten kings, as in Dan. vii.—In Apoc. xiii. the Beast is Antichrist; or possibly, as Haymo, the Devil: the seven heads signifying all powers adhering to him. God's Tabernacle, blasphemed by him, meant Christ's flesh, in which dwelt the fulness of the Godhead bodily. (Might not questions about *transubstantiation* have suggested themselves to Albert as he wrote this?) The *second Beast* signified the preachers of Antichrist: the *Image of the Beast*, a conformity to Antichrist, urged on men by the preachers; ("sic dicit glossa et Haymo:") or perhaps a material image. The name and number 666, construed in Greek words, might be, as Bede says, *αρτεμος* or *τετρας*: the latter as the *sum of righteousness*, which Antichrist would call himself: or perhaps, adds Albert, with the same idea, in Latin words, *Dic Lux*; in the sense "Dic me esse Lucem"!!

The *seven Vials* are described as the seven last plagues on the *reprobate*, in the time

dicted *Antichrist's* elevation, as that which might have fulfilment (and that speedily) in his possession of the throne of a *Universal Pontiff, the Papal throne*. The careful guards with which Joachim

of *Antichrist*: though the specification following might lead us to suppose a succession of plagues was meant from the earliest promulgation of Christianity: "In primâ continetur damnatio Judæorum reproborum; in secundâ Gentilium reproborum; in tertiâ hereticorum; in quartâ damnatio Antichristi; in quintâ suorum ministrorum; in sextâ falsorum Christianorum; in septimâ damnatio dæmonum."—The great city *Babylon* is stated to mean that "vanitatis mundanæ:" the *seven mountains*, all the proud; the *seven kings*, those of chief wickedness in the course of all time; 1. those before the flood; 2. those from Noe to Abraham; 3. those from Abraham to Moses; 4. those from Moses to the Babylonish captivity; 5. those from that captivity to Christ; 6. those from Christ to the time then present; 7. Antichrist. The *ten horns* might mean either the ten kingdoms into which the Roman empire was to be divided in the time of Antichrist, or all the reprobate.

On the *Millennium* Albert repeats the old Augustinian explication. The *New Jerusalem* he interprets as a figure of the saints' glorified state.

2. Thomas Aquinas.

This *angelic doctor* of the Romish Church was a pupil of Albertus; but ran a shorter career than his master: the date of his birth being 1224, of his death 1274. The scene of his literary labours and triumphs was Italy; chiefly Naples, where he died. His *canonization*, or (as the recent Romish Editor and Annotator* of his work *De Antichristo*,† which is the subject of my present notice, characteristically expresses it) his *apotheosis*, was solemnized in 1323. Whence a question as to the supposed early date of the MSS; superscribed as it is as a work of St. Thomas. But, it seems, his fame was such, that the Pope's act was anticipated by the public voice: and the title *saint* attached to him even before the year 1300, per prolepsin.

His subject, *Antichrist*, leads him necessarily to speak of Apoc. xi, xiii, xvii, concerning the *Apocalyptic Witnesses, Beast, and Babylon*.

He begins by noting what is to precede the preaching of the two witnesses, *Enoch* and *Elias*:—viz. a *general religious hypocrisy*, as predicted by St. Paul, 1 Tim. iv. 1; a *universal agitation of the people*, as predicted by Christ, Luke xxi. 25, 26; and, agreeably with St. Paul's prophecy to the Thessalonians, an *αποστασία*, or *defection of the nations included in its empire from the Roman rule*: the Roman empire meant being still existent, having only changed from a temporal empire into a spiritual; (so T. Aquinas, in a rather remarkable manner, tries to overcome the difficulty arising from the fact of the nations, once subjected to Roman rule, having separated from, and broken up the old empire, yet Antichrist, as he would have it, not even then come:) and thus a defection indicated from the Roman ecclesiastical government and faith, as well as from its temporal rule.

In the Apocalyptic prophecy of the *Witnesses*, he explains the *fire out of their mouths* figuratively of their "*scientia spiritualis*;" the city of their slaughter, like

* Hyacinthus de Ferrari O. P. S. Theologiæ Magistri, Bibliothecæ Casanat. Præfecti.

† This is the title of the first of Two Treatises by Thomas Aquinas; that of the second being *De Præambulis ad Judicium*. They are connected Treatises; and were published at Rome, with the usual license, in 1840. They are each of about 130 octavo pages. The first Treatise is the one referred to in my Notes and Numerals except where the Numeral ii is inserted.

fenced these opinions, so as that they should neither impeach, nor be inconsistent with, his fidelity to the Romish See, are almost amusing. Though Babylon meant Papal Rome, including its sub-

Albertus, of the literal Jerusalem; the Lord's crucifixion spoken of by the Narrating Angel, like him also, as both literally and figuratively meant; and the witnesses "*tormenting them that dwell on the earth*," as those "*quorum damnationem prædixerunt, et contradicendo iniquitati eorum*."—On their *resurrection* he discusses the question whether they are so to rise, like Lazarus, as to die again; and concludes in the negative: and on *the earthquake* concurrent with their ascension, explains the tenth of the city that fell to mean many just that will then fall by the sword of the enraged Antichrist; the 7000 being the number that never bowed their knees to him. Thus he regards the city *here* meant as the *Holy City* spoken of Apoc. xi. 2; which, as well as the *Temple* of Apoc. xi. 1, he interprets (p. 121) to signify *the Church*.

Then, on *Antichrist*, he makes the *literal* Babylon his birth-place; explaining what is said in Apoc. xvii about Babylon "*being drunk with the blood of the saints*," of the blood of saints killed in *Old Testament* times, *before* Christ's coming; also, like Adso* (after Augustine†), tells of his being nourished in Chorazin and Bethsaida, and infused with the Magian philosophy of Babylon. The Beast's (or Antichrist's) seven heads he makes *all* bad princes adhering to him; the ten horns (like Andreas‡) his *anti-decalogic* enmity.—The *second Apocalyptic Beast* he expounds, after Albert, to be Antichrist's false apostles and preachers: the *two horns like a lamb* indicating their (professedly) preaching Christ, holding Christian doctrine, and retaining the virtue of Christ's miracles; but all in falsehood.§ "They will in fact exalt their head *Antichrist*, as we exalt *Christ*." He speaks (p. 87) of Antichrist making war with the saints, "*per blandimenta et promissiones et exhortationes*," and even (p. 114) by urging the authorities of scripture, as well as by violence: repeats the old patristic notion that he will pretend to be Messiah to gain the *Jews*, and rebuild the temple at Jerusalem: also (p. 92) that, to gain the *Gentiles*, he will make *oracular statues*, answering to the Apocalyptic *image of the Beast*, and Daniel's *maozim*. Elsewhere (p. 82) he adds Albert's explanation of the *Beast's image*, as meaning resemblance to him in the heart.—He alludes to some of the *Vials* in the course of his argument. The 4th Vial poured out on the *sun*, (p. 104,) means poured out on *Antichrist*; because Antichrist "*se solem existimabit, et dicet mundum illuminatum per eum esse: ipse enim sibi usurpabit nomen veri solis, id est Christi*." (I have elsewhere quoted this, viz. in my Vol. ii. p. 69, in illustration of the notable fulfilment in the *Roman Popes* of some of the gravest Roman doctors' own declared anticipations of *Antichrist*.) Further, on the 6th Vial, he advances the extraordinary fancy, that by "*the waters of the Euphrates being dried up*" we are to understand the interdiction of the waters of baptism, in order thereby to a preparation of the way for Antichrist. The denounced *going into captivity* of those that send into captivity, &c. he explains of Anti-

* See the Note p. 368 *suprà*.

† In Matt. xi.

‡ See p. 354 *suprà*.

§ "Doctrinam habens similem doctrinæ Agni, id est Christi, et miraculorum Agni similitudinem: sed veritatem cornuum Diaboli; scilicet doctrinam foetentem, et virtutem miraculorum phantasticam. Et inde aperitur falsitas Bestiæ, id est Antichristi; quia apostoli ejus simulabunt se bonos, et tamen mala suadebunt." i. 97. So a Gloss from Gregory I, cited p. 96 by the Editor: "Cornua (sc. Agni), quia simulabunt se habere innocentiam, et puram vitam, et veram doctrinam, et miracula quæ Christus habuit, et suis dedit."—The reader should mark the long chain of opinion on this point of the religious hypocrisy of Antichrist.

ject states, yet this was chiefly with reference to the evil-minded multitudes in it: so as still to leave to the Papal Church its promised prerogative of infallibility; "Thou art Peter, &c." ¹ Again, though Antichrist might sit on the Papal throne, it would of course be as a *usurper* of it.²—But the fitting of Scripture prophecy with the living reality of Papal Rome, in respect not of the disaffected and evil-minded in it, but of the *religious system, ecclesiastical government*, and *head* there enthroned, enthroned in mighty supremacy over Western Christendom, (for the contingency of Rome's revived empire, looked on by Andreas some six centuries before as scarce imaginable,³ had indeed now more than had fulfilment,) this fitting, I say, when the idea had once been christ's sentence to the prison of hell; so perishing by "the sword" of divine justice. And I may add that in one place, (ii. 67,) he makes the *scorpion-locusts'* tormenting power in Apoc. ix, (elsewhere, i. 99, expounded of Antichrist's false preachers,) to signify the tormenting power of bad angels over the lost in hell; so that these wretches shall "wish to die, and not be able."

Finally, with reference to the consummation, he not only, like Bede and Albert, explains the *half hour's silence*, in Apoc. viii, 1, of a certain respite-time of tranquillity for the gospel-preaching of the 7th Trumpet, before the end of the world, but makes it to include Daniel's last 45 days of the 1335, following on Antichrist's reign during the 1290: a tranquillity soon issuing in a general state of carnal security, such as in 1 Thess. v. 3.—Of the *millennial binding of Satan* he in one place (i. 119, 120) gives the old Augustinian explanation; as having reference to time past, and commencing from Christ's ministry: yet seems elsewhere (ii. 63) to apply it to a judgment on the Devil *after Antichrist's destruction*. "In illâ sententiâ ultimi judicii præerunt executioni Michael et omnes angeli, qui præerunt malis angelis ad torquendum: qui et religabit Sathanam et omnem virtutem ejus. Apoc. xx. 1." It was another step, in the track of Joachim Abbas, to the abandonment of the so long received millennial theory of Augustine.—Once more the *New Jerusalem symbol and state* is explained of the saints' heavenly state after the judgment; (ii. 86:) and among the hallelujahs of praise attending its introduction (90), Thomas Aquinas somewhat fancifully expatiates on the music of the seven planetary spheres.

3. In closing this Note on Romish expositors of the thirteenth Century, let me recal to the reader's recollection Pope Innocent III's interpretation of the Apocalyptic number 666, as signifying the time of the duration of Mahomedism; an interpretation given by him A.D. 1214 to the 4th Council of Lateran, and which I have referred to in my Vol. iii. p. 218, on the Number of the Beast. It is as follows.

"Post tempora Gregorii perditionis filius Machomettus pseudopropheta surrexit: cujus perfidia etsi usque ad hæc tempora invaluerit, confidimus tamen in Domino qui jam fecit nobiscum signum in bonum, quòd finis hujus bestię appropinquet: '*Cujus numerus*,' secundum Apocalypsim, '*intra sexcenta sexaginta sex clauditur*:' ex quibus jam pœne sexcenti sunt anni completi." Hard. vii. 5.

¹ See pp. 377, 394, 395, *suprà*.

² See p. 392.

³ "Siquidem antiqua Roma jam olim majestatem amisit: nisi quisquam arbitrat^{ur} pristinam dignitatem et majestatem suo postea tempore de novo recuperaturam." Quoted or referred to by me at pp. 350, 355, *suprà*.

bruited, was too striking not to impress itself deeply on many a thinking mind in Christendom. Scarce had Joachim rendered up the last breath among his brethren,¹ when *Almeric* and his *disciples* (alluded to, I see, by Thomas Aquinas) declared that Rome was Babylon, and the Roman Pope Antichrist:² proclaiming too, agreeably with the predictions of Joachim, that the third Age, the Age of the Holy Spirit, a time of light and reformation, had even then begun to dawn with the opening of the new xiiith century.³—The rumour too was most widely and influentially circulated by them, that the Franciscans, in their revival of preaching, were the fulfilment of the prefigurative Apocalyptic vision, of the Angel flying abroad with the everlasting gospel to preach to every nation under heaven.⁴ A few years later *Jean Pierre d'Olive*, another professed follower of Joachim, and leader in Languedoc of the austerer and more spiritual section of the recently-formed Franciscan body, in a Work entitled *Postils on the Apocalypse*, affirmed that “the Church of Rome was the Whore of Babylon, the Mother of Harlots, the same that St. John beheld sitting upon a scarlet-coloured Beast, full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns;”⁵ and the chief and proper Antichrist a pseudo-Pope.⁶ The idea was echoed by not a few others

¹ Let me be permitted to quote from Fleury a brief obituary sentence on this remarkable, and I believe sincerely devoted man. “Vers ce tems là mourut en Calabrie l'Abbé Joachim, fameux par ses propheties. Il avoit environ 72 ans quand il tomba malade à Pietrafitta, près de Cosenze; et mourut au milieu de trois Abbez et de plusieurs moines: a qui il recommanda de s'aimer les uns les autres, comme Jesus Christ nous a aimez; ce qu'il repeta plusieurs fois. Il mourut le trentieme jour de Mars 1202; et son corps fut porté en son Abbaye à Flore.” Fleury H. E. Liv. lxxv. chap. 41.

² “Quem (sc. Bestiam Antichristum, Apoc. xiii) quidam hæreticorum jam sequentes, dicunt omnes confessores qui fuerunt in ecclesiâ à tempore Silvestri Papæ esse damnatos, et in inferno.”—On which says Aquinas' recent Roman editor, Hyacinthe de Ferrari: “Ex Amalrici discipulis erant isti; qui dicebant Romam esse Babylonem, et Romanum Pontificem Antichristum; sanctorum cultum idololatriam esse, &c.” He refers for authority to Berti Brev. Sec. xiii: and adds; “Ideo tempore Silvestri Papæ, &c, quia ipse excommunicavit eos à quibus exulavit.” Th. Aquin. De Antichristo, i. 102.

Mosheim states that Amalric was sometime Professor of Logic and Theology at Paris; that his disciples received with the utmost faith Joachim's predictions; that he held sundry heretical opinions; and that his bones were dug up and publicly burnt in the year 1209. Mosh. xiii. 2. 4. 12, 13. ³ Mosh. ibid. ⁴ See my Vol. ii. p. 32.

⁵ So Mosheim xiii. 2. 2. 36. Vitranga, p. 1007, says, “Legi excerpta interpretationis ejus Apocalypticæ (i. e. P. Olivi) cum admiratione.” He refers to Baluzius' Miscell. as containing it. At p. 1136, let me observe further, he notices a prophecy of the future by one of the Friars Minor, written A. D. 1356, and given in D'Achery.

⁶ “Quod Antichristus proprius et magnus erit Pseudo-Papa, caput Pseudo-Prophe-

among professed Romanists.¹ And so, however inconsistent these its propagators, it travelled down through the xiiith century; to be stereotyped in the xivth for all literary posterity, in Dante's *Inferno*,² and the *Epistles* of Petrarch.³

4. Meanwhile, in a different and purer channel,—I mean among the *Waldensian Schismatics*, or rather *Waldensian Witnesses for Christ*,—the same idea quite independently taken up, was never thenceforth forgotten; and was thus transmitted downwards by them, to the Wickliffites and Hussites of the xivth and xvth centuries. Before Joachim had either published his *Apocalypse*, or made known his views on this mighty point in the famous conference with Richard Cœur de Lion, the Waldenses in their *Noble Lesson* had hinted (as I have elsewhere stated) that whereas the Antichrist was to come, “even then there were (evidently in the Romish Church) many Antichrists;” Antichrist being explained by them, not in its peculiar and proper meaning, but as opposers of Christ.⁴ In 1207 we find the Waldensian Arnold asserting and defending, in a Public Disputation at Carcassonne, the Proposition that Rome was the Babylon and Harlot of the *Apocalypse*.⁵ About A.D. 1250 Reinerius tells us that this representation of Papal Rome, and of the Pope being the head of *tarum*.” Gieseler ii. 303, 304. To whose abstract of Pierre d'Olive's 60 Articles I beg to refer the reader.

¹ e. g. Eberhard, Bishop of Salzburg, in the Council of Ratisbon held A. D. 1240, declared that the Popes under a shepherd's skin concealed the wolf; that Hildebrand 170 years before had laid the foundations of the Babylonian Empire of Antichrist: that the old Roman Empire having been taken away from the earth, according to St. Paul's prophecy, (the new Western Empire being but a name and shadow) there had risen in its place ten horns; “Turcæ, Græci, Ægyptii, Afri, Hispani, Galli, Angli, Germani, Siculi, Itali;” and among and over them the Pontifical Little Horn, having eyes and speaking great things. Aventinus Ann. B. vii.

² *Inferno*, Canto xix. 106 —

Di voi pastor s'accorse 'l Vangelista,
Quando colei che siede sovra l'acque
Puttaneggiar co' regi a lui fu vista:
Quella che con le sette teste nacque,
E dalle diece corna ebbe argomento.

This with reference specially to the simony and avarice of the Popes and Romish Church. On which says his Commentator, Pompeo Venturi; “Dante *empiamente* intende qui nell' infame drama la *dignità Pontificia*, come residente in Roma; e, per meglio gli dire, *stessi Pontificii simoniaci*.”

³ In his xxth *Epistle* he calls the Papal Court the Babylonian Harlot, Mother of all idolatries and fornications. ⁴ See my Vol. ii. p. 353. ⁵ See *ibid.* p. 333.

all errors, was one of the Waldensian heresies :¹ and somewhat later, perhaps a century or more, the whole theory is developed in their treatise on Antichrist.²—Then the mighty truth (for such I must beg permission to call it) was proclaimed by *Wicliffe*,³ and by his followers : among whom, A. D. 1391, *Walter Brute's* testimony stands so conspicuous, as detailed to us by the venerable Foxe from original documents,⁴ written and registered on occasion of his being brought before the Bishop's Court at Hereford, that I think I cannot better conclude this Section than by a brief abstract of it.

It seems then that this *Walter Brute*, by nation a Briton or Welshman, who was “a layman and learned, and brought up in the University of Oxford, being there a graduate,” was accused of saying among other things, that “the Pope is the very Antichrist, and a seducer of the people, and utterly against the law and life of Christ.” Being called to answer, he put in first certain more brief “exhibits :”⁵ then “another declaration of the same matter after a more ample tractation ;”⁶ explaining and setting forth from Scripture the grounds of his opinion. In either case his defence was grounded, as we shall see, very mainly on the Apocalyptic prophecy.

For he at once bases his justification on the fact, as a point demonstrable, of the *Pope* distinctly answering alike to the *chief of the false Christs* prophesied of by Christ, as to come in his name ; to the *Man of Sin* prophesied of by St. Paul ; and to the *second Beast*, or *Beast with the two lamb-like horns*, in the Apocalypse : the city of *Papal Rome* answering also similarly to the Apocalyptic *Babylon*.

No doubt, he admits, this had been a mystery long hidden. But if so, and only recently revealed, it would not be unaccordant with God's dealings and declarations.⁷ “Make the heart of this people fat, that seeing they may not see, &c.,” was said by Isaiah of a long permitted judicial blindness on the Jews ; and again by Daniel, ch. xii.

¹ See my Vol. ii. p. 333.

² Ibid. p. 354.

³ “Wiclif's days were passed in incessant warfare against ‘this Master of the Emperor, this *Fellow of God*, this *Deity on earth*.’ And whatever may at any period have been his respect for the Pope in the *ideal* perfection of his character,—of the *actual* Pope he scruples not to pronounce that he is ‘*potissimus Antichristus*,’ the *veriest Antichrist*.” Le Bas' Wiclif, p. 333.

Among Wiclif's writings Mr. Le Bas mentions one in *Apocalypsin Joannis* ; and as being in the Bibl. Reg. Ib. 444. I have not seen any account of this.

⁴ Foxe, Vol. iii. pp. 131—188. (Ed. 1837.)

⁵ Foxe. p. 136.

⁶ Ib. 139.

⁷ Ib.

in one of the self-same visions that would now come into question, "*Seal up* the vision till the time of the end:" also, as to the revealer of them, Apoc. ii, "*He* hath the key of David, and openeth and no man shutteth:" and, with reference to the persons revealed to, Dan. ii. 30, "As for me, this secret is not revealed to me for any wisdom that I have;" and Luke x. 21, "Thou hast revealed them unto babes."—Nor was reason wanting why the revelation should be made *now*, in respect of *time*, said Walter Brute; and *here*, in this nation.¹

1. *Now*: because there are signs of *Christ's coming being near at hand*, "to reform his Church; and by the disclosing of Antichrist to call men again to the perfection of the gospel, from their heathenish rites, and ways of the Gentiles, by whom the Holy City was to be trodden for forty-two months."² 2. *Here*, in Britain, as being by God's special favor the earliest *kingdom* converted to the Christian faith; viz. under King Lucius, when Eleutherius was Bishop of Rome:³ and in effect the *very wilderness* (here begin Walter's special Apocalyptic interpretations) in which the Woman, the Church, (after by faith bringing forth Christ into the world, who was soon taken up to God and his throne,) did, on the Dragon or Devil's persecuting her, thus early take refuge: where too, when the Serpent, especially under Diocletian, sent waters of persecution after her to drown her, "the earth, i. e. the British *stability of faith*,"⁴ helped the woman by supping up the water of tribulation;" and where subsequently, for the 1260 *days*, or, as was meant, 1260 *years* of the prophecy, (a period otherwise exprest by a time times and half a time,⁵) the true faith had ever since continued.

Then he passes to the great subject of *Antichrist*.—Very vain, he says, had been the usual and long-received ideas about Antichrist:⁶—ideas as of one that was to be born in Babylon of the tribe of Dan, to circumcise himself, give himself out as the Messiah, or Christ, come for the Jews' salvation, and preach three and a half years where Christ preached; then in three ways to seduce the people of Christ-

¹ Foxe, p. 141.

² Foxe, p. 141.

³ About 180, A.D.

⁴ Compare Tichonius' explanation, "*ore sanctæ terræ*," noted p. 335, *suprà*.

⁵ His mode of identifying this with the 1260 days is curious. The *time* first mentioned is the greatest time that we speak of, i. e. 1000 years; the next times mentioned 100 years each, of which we have two here indicated; these together with the former making 1000 + 200 years; and then the half-time added being about 50 years. Foxe 143.

⁶ P. 145.

endom, viz. “with miracles, and gifts, and torments;”¹ and to fight with the two Witnesses Enoch and Elijah, and kill them, and be himself finally slain by lightning:—vain too what was often added, as to Daniel’s 1290 days, or time times and half a time, of the abomination of desolation, applying to Antichrist’s being worshipped for that number of days in God’s temple; and then the 45 days additional of the 1335 signifying 45 days of repentance granted to such as should have worshipped Antichrist:²—as also the application to a yet future Antichrist of the Beast with seven heads and ten horns. For all this, argues Walter, both Scripture and reason contravene. How is it likely that one avowedly of the tribe of Dan should propose himself to, and be believed on by, both Jews and Christians as Christ; when it is notorious to both that Christ is of the tribe of Judah? Or how again, when coming as a man of war and bloodshed: whereas the character of Christ’s coming is foretold as one of peace, under which men should beat their swords into ploughshares and pruning-hooks? Then he opens *his* view of those *prophecies*. 1. That in Dan. xii. 11, which says that “from the time of the sacrifice being taken away, and the abomination of desolation set up, there shall be 1290 days,” refers plainly to what was said before in Dan. ix:—how that “after seventy weeks Christ should be slain, and the city and the sanctuary destroyed by a prince that should come; and that he would confirm the covenant with many for one week; and in the half week the sacrifice and offering should cease; and in the temple there should be an abomination of desolation: and even to the fulfilling of all, and to the end, shall the desolation continue.” For, as the 70 weeks after which Christ was to be slain meant *weeks of years*, not *days*, so, similarly, the 1290 *days* of the desolation meant 1290 *years*: and the prophecy had fulfilment in the fact of the Romans destroying Jerusalem; and, on its last desolation by Adrian, placing an idol, or abomination, in the holy place: a desolation which has ever since continued, now nearly about 1290 years; and which was to continue till the revealing, or in other words the *exposure*, of Antichrist.—2dly. In Apoc. xiii, the *first Beast* there figured in vision, *with seven heads and ten horns*, which men explain of an imagined yet future Antichrist, meant rather the *Roman emperors*; who did much perse-

¹ So Adso, p. 368 *suprà*.

² So T. Aquinas, p. 407 *suprà*.

cute the Lord's people, both Jews and Christians. For the *Woman* seen seated on this Beast afterwards was expounded by the Angel to mean the city on seven hills, which then reigned over the kings of the earth," *i. e. Rome*; "a city upholden by her cruel and beastly emperors:"—and its power was to continue 42 months, or 1260 days, *i. e. 1260 years*; a *day* being (as before) meant for a *year*: just as also the *ten days* of tribulation predicted to the Church of Smyrna signified the *ten years* of Diocletian's persecution; and the *5 months*, or *150 days*, of the scorpion-locusts of Apoc. ix the *150 years* of the locust-like *begging friars*, from their first rise to their primary exposure by Armachanus. And the prophecy was fulfilled in the continuance of the Roman empire just 1260 years; from its commencement under Julius its first emperor, to the death of its last emperor, Frederic.

But then "who the real Antichrist, lying privy in the hid scriptures of the prophets?"—"I now pass on to the declaration of that conclusion," says Walter Brute; "bringing to light the things which lay hid in darkness. For what was said in the darkness let us say in the light; and what we have heard in the ear let us preach upon the house-tops." If then, proceeds he, the high Bishop of Rome, calling himself God's servant, and Christ's chief Vicar in this world, do make and justify many laws contrary to Jesus Christ, then must he be the chief of those false Christs foretold by Christ as to come in his name, and deceiving many. Now 1st, as to the fact of *the Popes calling themselves Christs*, it is evident: since Christ means *anointed*, a characteristic and appellation specially applied in Scripture to *kings* and *priests*; both of which the Popes claim to be, as both *high priests* and *chief kings*, invested authoritatively alike with the temporal and spiritual sword. Then 2ndly, as to *the difference of Christ's laws and the Pope's*, the first of Christ's laws is that of *love*; but the Pope wageth war both against infidels and against Christians. And though it be alleged that miracles have been done by those who have preached or engaged in such crusading wars, yet does not this justify them. For "for no miracles may we do contrary to the doctrines of Christ." And, as to miracles, did not the Egyptian magicians perform them? Is it not said by Christ that false prophets would rise, that would do them? by Paul that Satan was transformed into an angel of light? by Christ, again, that at the last day he would have to reject many say-

ing to him, "We have prophesied in thy name, and in thy name done wonderful works?" even as the second Apocalyptic Beast was said to do miracles? The standard of truth must be God's word. "Is not my word like fire, &c?"—Further Christ's second law might be said to be that of *forgiveness* and *mercy*; mercy to sinners. But here too how contrary the Pope's and priests' law: giving judicial sentence of death, and perhaps exciting crusading wars against heretics. In which there is an ante-dating of *times* too. For Christ said that here the tares were to grow with the wheat; and the separation to be made by himself only at the time of the day of judgment. Whereas the Pope would have the separation made by himself now; so changing *times*, as well as *laws*.

Then next our confessor and prophetic expositor proceeds to argue against the Romish doctrines of the keys, auricular confession, transubstantiation, and a sacrificing priesthood: and, after describing the universal and awful habit with all classes of the priesthood, of "selling prayers, pardons, &c.," in direct contradiction to Christ's charge, "Freely ye have received, freely give," he breaks into the exclamation; "I would to God that all the buyers and sellers of spiritual suffrages, would with the eyes of their heart behold the ruin of the great city Babylon, and that which they shall say after that fall. For doth not the prophet say, "And the merchants of the earth shall weep and mourn for her, because no man shall buy any more their merchandize; crying, Alas! that great city Babylon, because that in one hour she is become desolate?"—Then he expounds the second Apocalyptic Beast, with two horns like a lamb, of the Popes with their assumed kingly and priestly power; speaking like a dragon, and allowing none to sell their spiritual pardons, &c., but such as bore their mark: interprets the Beast's name, with the number 666, to be DVX CLERI; and concludes with another earnest word of warning from Apoc. xix: "My counsel is, let the buyer be aware of those marks of the Beast! For, after the fall of Babylon, 'If any man hath worshipped the Beast and his image, and hath received the mark on his forehead or on his head, he shall drink of the wine of God's wrath, and be tormented with fire and brimstone in the sight of the holy angels and of the Lamb; and the smoke of their torments shall ascend evermore.'"

§ 5. THE ÆRA AND CENTURY OF THE REFORMATION.

At the Reformation the light which had previously gleamed here and there on the subject of Antichrist, but been at length for a while all but extinguished, burst into a blaze ; and the voice of the Waldenses, Wicliffites and Hussites, protesting against the Popes as the Apocalyptic Beast, and Rome as the Apocalyptic Babylon, revived, after a temporary suspension, in power unparalleled. Vain was the authoritative prohibition of writing or preaching on the subject of Antichrist by the 5th Council of Lateran.¹ There was an energy in the impression and the voice, as if derived not from books or earlier traditions, but from the Spirit's own teaching. Alike in Germany, Switzerland, France, Denmark, Sweden, England, it was received as an almost self-evident and fundamental truth by the founders of the several Protestant Churches ; indeed as in itself a sufficient justification of the mighty act of their separation from Rome.² But the difficulty remained to adjust and explain certain *details* of the Apocalyptic prophecies respecting the Beast, Antichrist, and Babylon ; as well as to offer a satisfactory and consistent solution of the many other mysterious visions of this prophetic Book. Nor was the difficulty slight ; or one soon, or as yet, to be fully overcome.

1. My illustrations of the history of Apocalyptic interpretation in this æra must commence of course with a brief sketch of the views of the great Father of the Reformation, *Luther*.—In my Vol. ii. ch. iv³ I have described the time and the manner in which the idea of the Popes being the Antichrist broke upon his mind ; and also in the chapter v, next following,⁴ how it was primarily from *Daniel's*

¹ "Tempus quoque præfixum futurorum malorum, vel *Antichristi adventum*, aut certum diem judicii, prædicare vel asserere nequaquam præsumant." Harduin ix. 1808.—I have already quoted this in my Vol. ii. p. 84.

² "On this principle" (viz. "that the *Man of Sin*, or *Antichrist*, could be no other than *the man that fills the Papal chair*") "was the Reformation begun and carried on ; on this the great separation from the Church of Rome conceived and perfected. For though (mere) persecution for opinion would acquit those of schism whom the Church of Rome had driven from her communion, yet on the principle that she is *Antichrist's*, they had not only a right, but lay under the obligation of a command, to come out of the spiritual Babylon." Warburton's Works, v. 488.

³ Pp. 116 et seq.

⁴ Pp. 130 et seq.

prophecies respecting the little horn and the abomination of desolation, that he drew this his conclusion. It was also there intimated that in 1522, at the time of concluding his translation of the New Testament, he had come to doubt of the genuineness of the Apocalypse as an Apostolic or inspired Book:¹ though it would seem, from a Latin Treatise of his now in my hands, “De Antichristo,” dated by himself at its ending, Wittenberg, April 1, 1521,² (the very day, I believe, before his setting out for Worms,³) that the doubt had not *then* fixed itself in his mind; for he not only alludes in more than one place to the Apocalypse, as an inspired prophetic book, but interprets the prophecy of the scorpion-locusts in Apoc. ix, in considerable detail. A few years later, viz. in 1528, he is stated to have found and republished an Apocalyptic Commentary, expounding the Beast to mean the Popedom; written some hundred years,⁴ or rather, as Pareus shows, some 150 years before his time:⁵ an evidence of his inclining then again, as at first, to view the Apocalypse as an inspired Book. Finally, in 1534, he prefixed to the Apocalypse in his great Edition of the German Bible a brief explanatory sketch: from which, and from certain notices found elsewhere in his writings,⁶ I may give what follows as mainly his views on the subject.

Like most of his predecessors he judged that the Book must be more or less a prefiguration of the chief events and æras of Church History: the *Seals* chiefly prefiguring the *physical* or *political* evils under which the Church and world connected with it was to suffer, the *Trumpets* the *spiritual*; and either septenary running on from the commencement of the Christian æra to the consummation.—Thus in the *Seals*, the 1st, or White Horse and Rider, indicated (as Zech. i. 6) the persecutions of tyrants; the 2nd, or Red Horse, wars and bloodshed; the 3rd, or Black Horse, famine; the 4th, or Pale Horse,

¹ Ib. p. 130 Note ¹.

² “Vale in Christo, mi Vincilae! Vvittenbergæ, Anno M.D. xxi, prima Aprilia.”

³ So Merle D'Aubigné.

⁴ Such is the general statement.

⁵ “The Author disputing on Apoc. xx touching the 1000 years, testifies that he wrote A.D. 1357; which, saith he, is our present date.” So Pareus, p. 12, English Translation. Amsterdam, 1644.—It seems from him that it contains the same Prologue which Lyra in his Postill had noted, and which is prefixed also to Joachim Abbas' Treatise; in which latter it is ascribed to Gilbert of the xiith Century. (Nicholas de Lyra himself died A.D. 1340.)

⁶ Where not otherwise stated, the interpretation given will be found in Luther's Preface, or Marginal Explanatory Notes, to the Apocalypse in his German Bible.

pestilence and mortality : all to have fulfilment, from time to time, to the last day :—the 5th Seal figuring martyrdoms of the saints, early begun, and ever and anon repeated, even to the end ; the 6th, great political revolutions ; the sealing and palm-bearing visions, the preservation and ultimate salvation of the saints. The 7th Seal's half-hour's silence, he does not explain.—Again, in the *Trumpets*, the 1st figures the heretic Tatian and his Encratites, inculcating righteousness by human works of merit, as did afterwards the Pelagians : the 2nd Marcion, and the Manichees and Montanists, exalting their fancies above Scripture ; (so as of late Munzer and his Anabaptists ;) the 3rd, Origen and a false philosophy, revived in our own high schools ; the 4th, Novatus and the Donatists, denying repentance to the lapsed ;¹ the 5th, Arius and the Arians ;² the 6th, Mahomet and the Saracens : cotemporary with whom was the Woe of the *Papacy* ; depicted alike in Apoc. x, xi, and xiii.

And here, on Apoc. x, xi, is the most curious particular explanation in Luther's Commentary. Deeply impressed with the Pope's and Papacy's mock show of Christ and Christianity, and with an impression too, possibly, even now, of the resemblance of the *seven thunders*, which sounded in answer to the rainbow-crowned Angel's cry, to the *Papal mandates and thunders*,³ he was led to explain the

¹ " Among these four," says Luther, " nearly all our clergy may be classed."

² So in Luther's Preface to the Apocalypse. In his earlier Treatise "*De Antichristo*," spoken of a little before, he explains the locusts to mean the *Romish Schoolmen*, " Scotists, Thomists, and Modernists ;" who, headed by Aristotle, introduced the dogmas of free-will, merits, and the efficacy of good works for salvation. The star that fell from heaven, and opened the pit whence the locusts emerged, he makes to be Alexander de Hales, or St. Thomas Aquinas himself. G ii. (The pages are not numbered).

³ I am indebted for this idea to the Rev. C. Smith of Alfriston, who has lately translated Luther's Antichrist : the following, he informs me, being in Luther's Tischreden, (Frankfort, 1568) p. 254. " Great was the tyranny of the Pontiff : who, without law, to gratify his own arrogance, has ever lightened and thundered with ample puffed-out cheeks. It was all in vain for a man to give credence to the four Gospels, if he did not receive the Decretals of the Romish Church. These are the great swelling and loud-trumpeted words of which St. Peter speaks ; these the *seven thunders* of Papal intimidation in Apoc. x."—The information is to myself very curious : having adopted long since the view of this being substantially the true meaning of the symbol in Apoc. x ; though with quite a different view of the context from that which Luther took : and never seen, or had an idea of, such a view having been entertained of the symbol by any previous expositor. In my English Edition of Luther's Table Talk I do not find the passage.—I need hardly say that the Table Talk exhibits Luther's views exprest in later life.

whole vision, including the Angel himself, of the Popes and Popedom. "The mighty Angel," he says, "with a rainbow and a little bitter Book, is Popery;" Popery in the speciousness of its spiritual forms and pretensions. So the Popes, he thinks, are figured as a mock Christ on the scene of vision: the opened Book being that of Papal laws, given the Evangelist to eat, as representative of the Church visible; the lion-like voice and seven thunders, the great swelling words and thunders of the Popedom—Moreover, it is the Popes that are still symbolized¹ at the commencement of Apoc. xi, as measuring the Temple, or Church, with their laws and regulations; casting out the court without; (in the sense, I presume, of anti-papal heretics;) and establishing a mere formal kind of Church, with outward show of holiness.—The subject having to be renewed and more fully developed in the vision of the *two Beasts*, Apoc. xiii, Luther speaks of the interposition, for the comfort of God's people, of two intermediate and very different visions: viz, 1st. of *the two Witness-preachers*, signifying a succession of faithful witnesses kept up for Christ; 2, of *the Woman with child*, meant of Christ's true Church, and God's provision for her, during the Beast's reign, in the wilderness.—In Apoc. xiii Luther explains the *first Beast* to mean the Papistic secular revived Roman empire, the *second Beast* the Pope's ecclesiastical or spiritual empire: Popery now ruling by the sword, as before by the book; and constituting the third and last Woe, proclaimed by the seventh Angel. Of the *seven heads* of the Beast the five that have fallen are, he says, those in Greek Christendom; the sixth, "which is," that of Papal Germany; the head wounded to death, or old Roman Empire, having been thus revived;) the seventh, or "that which is to come," he considers to be Spain; the eighth, ("which is of the seven,") Rome or Italy. The *ten horns* are Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, France, England, &c; which, though Popery's profest defenders, are yet sometime to attack and desolate it. The *Beast's Image* is the new Empire, which is but the shadow of the old.—The *Number of the Beast*, 666, Luther explains to signify the number of years that the Beast may be destined to endure; measured, he says in his Table Talk, from Gregory, or perhaps Phocas.²—The *seven Vial-Angels* he interprets, of the gospel-preachers of the latter days: the *seat of the Beast* being thereby

¹ So the Tischreden, or Table Talk.² Table Talk, ii. 12. (English Trans.)

darkened ; and the *Euphratean drying up*, under the sixth Vial, also figuring the exhaustion of the wealth and power of Papal Rome, the modern Babylon : while the three frog-like spirits depicted Papal Sophists, like Faber, Eck, and Emser, stirring up opposition to the Gospel.—Finally the *Millennium* is the 1000 years between St. John and the issuing forth of the Turks ; (these latter being the antitype to the Apocalyptic Gog and Magog :) Satan's incarceration and binding meaning only that Christianity and Christians will, during that whole period, subsist in spite of him.—I may add that he in various places notes his view of the predicted *Antichrist* as one that should be an ecclesiastical person. So in his “*De Antichristo ;*”¹ saying, “*The Turk cannot be Antichrist, because he is not in the Church of God.*” And again, “*Who ever so came in Christ's name as the Pope ?*”²

On the whole it will be seen that Luther did not advance far towards the solution of Apocalyptic mysteries. His explanation of Apoc. x—xi. 2, seems to me the most curious of what is peculiar to him ; that of the two Beasts of Apoc. xiii, as signifying respectively the secular Roman Empire and the ecclesiastical, perhaps the most important. The first was never, I believe, adopted by any other Expositor of note : the other has had its advocates and followers even to the present day.³

2. It will have been observed, that Luther does not enter on the question of the meaning of the several *Apocalyptic periods* ; more especially the $3\frac{1}{2}$ times, 42 months, and 1260 days.—But it was quite impossible that Apocalyptic interpretation could go on without that question being considered and concluded on. Accordingly we find, that almost immediately after Luther's publication of his Bible, it was discussed by the chief Protestant prophetic Expositors that followed ; and in most cases the *year-day* principle applied to explain them. In my chapter on the year-day question, Vol. iii. p. 241, I have illustrated the somewhat curious and original ground on which they partly based this view, from *Osiander's* Book entitled “*Conjecturæ de Ultimis Temporibus, ac de Fine Mundi ;*” a Book first published at

¹ P. 10, Smith's Translation.

² Ib. p. 41.

³ A practical improvement of the whole subject ends Luther's Comment.

Nuremberg, A.D. 1543, and dedicated to Albert, Marquis of Brandenburg and Prussia. "Sunt duo genera *annorum magnorum* in sacris literis : unum *Angelicum*, alterum *Mosaicum*. Annus Angelicus constat ex tot annis civilibus nostris ex quot diebus nostris constat annus noster civilis. Nobis enim qui cœlo inclusi sumus cursus solis ab occidente ad orientem, et rursus ab oriente ad occidentem, diem absolvit ; id quod fit spatio 24 horarum. Angelis autem qui extrâ et suprâ globos æthereos versantur, dies est quem sol in zodiaco ab austro in aquilonem, et ab aquilone rursus in austrum, circumvolvendo conficit." So that to an Angel's view (as outside, I suppose, of our solar system) the only mundane revolution observable would be the annual ; and consequently our *year* be to them a *solar day*.¹—*Aretius* of Berne, who taught theology with much reputation at Marburg, and died A.D. 1574, urged a little after Osiander the same explanation :² and so too *Chytræus*, in his Apocalyptic Exposition published in 1571, of which more presently. And, advanced so far as they now were in the Christian æra, it became a primary element with all such expositors, in calculations of the probabilities of the future, to consider what the probable *commencing date* of these same fateful prophetic periods : as the lapse of 1260 years from it might be supposed to fix the epoch of the consummation ; except, indeed, in so far as the Lord might in mercy shorten the days. By help of the last consideration the earliest Reformers, German, Swiss, and English, even though taking the *year-day* view, might yet hope for a speedy consummation to the world ; as I have already shown in my Part iii. chap. v.³ Others looked to an epoch further forward, as supposable. Said Aretius, "We may reckon Antichrist's beginnings from Constantine's establishment of Christianity, A.D. 312 ; 1260 years from which end in 1572."—Said Chytræus : "If numbered from A.D. 412, when Alaric took Rome and overthrew its empire, the end will be in 1672 : or if from the time of Phocas A.D. 606, when the

¹ Osiander adds that it was of *angelic days* that Christ spoke when he sent word to Herod, "Behold, *to-day and to-morrow* I cast out devils, and on *the third-day* I shall be perfected." For this, says he, can in no way be explained of natural days ; but must be referred to the *three years* in which Christ preached and did miracles, till his crucifixion. He adds, the angels in Daniel xii, call this *their year* by the same term that we call ours ; viz. Hebraicè דָּרָגָה.

² So Foxe reports of Aretius : "Vaticinium hoc (de Testibus) non de communibus sed de angelicis mensibus et diebus interpretatur." ³ Vol. ii. pp. 134—142.

Pope's supremacy began, (I beg the reader's attention to this,) then the end may be expected A.D. 1866."—Other Protestant Expositors however of this æra construed the prophetic periods less definitely.

3. Reverting to the more general subject of Apocalyptic interpretation, I shall select *Bullinger* and *Bale*, as two of the more eminent and characteristic of the Apocalyptic Expositors of the *middle* of the period under review.

Bullinger's work, which is in Latin, is made up of the *Conciones* delivered by him at Zurich; and dedicated, as a book well fitted to furnish them with consolation, to all the exiles from France, England, Italy, and other kingdoms, taking refuge in Germany, and Switzerland. The date is A.D. 1557; and during the reign therefore of our Popish Queen Mary. The following are in brief the heads of his Exposition.

Of the *Seals*, he makes the *first* to signify the triumphant progress of the Gospel, even under suffering, whether from Pagan or Papal powers, from its beginning to the end:—the *second*, wars, including both the Roman civil contests, the Gothic and Saracenic desolations, the *Bellum Sacrum* begun A.D. 1000, and then the Turkish:—the *third*, scarcities, inflicted from time to time, even till now; *e.g.* that in 1529:—the *fourth*, pestilence, as under Decius, Justinian, Gregory, &c. &c.:—the *fifth*, martyrdoms of the saints, continued even till the completion of the elect:—the *sixth*, “*corruptela doctrinæ sanæ in ecclesiâ*,” from the heresies of Valentinus down to those of the Papal Antichrist: heresies whereby mens' minds had been agitated, the sun of righteousness obscured, the doctors of the Church fallen like stars apostate, and the heaven of Christ's Church been withdrawn.¹—In the *Sealing Vision* there was figured the hindering of the winds of gospel-preaching and Bible-reading by Pagan Roman emperors first, then by Popes: while the sealing itself told of the multitudes saved all along, even in Antichristian times;² and the palm-bearing, of the saints' ultimate blessedness in heaven.

¹ In reference to a different view of this Seal, as figuring the *last judgments*, he observes that some of the Apocalyptic details were such as to make any application like this impossible.

² As to the *Jews' restoration*, which was urged by some from this figuration of the sealing of the tribes of Israel, he says; We must take care lest we fall into *chiliasm*, so as Papias, Irenæus, &c. He adds; “I believe that the predicted restoration of the Jews

Proceeding to the *Trumpets*, (the *silence in heaven* having been explained simply of the waiting on God's revelations in admiration, and the *Incense-Angel* as Christ the intercessor, a remedial thought in all trouble,) he thus expounds them; premising that the use of trumpets in Israel was for convoking assemblies, moving the camp, and war. —The 1st was war, as denounced by the apostles against *Judaizers*: the 2nd, that against Valentinus, the Manichees, and Montanists:—3. against the star fallen from heaven, or Arius:—4, against Pelagius and Pelagianism:—5. against the first Woe, Popery: Boniface (after Gregory, and under Phocas) having opened the pit of the abyss, by becoming Universal Bishop: the locusts figuring the Papal clergy, the king of the locusts the Pope; and the time mentioned (five months) being the brief duration of the natural locusts. In Trumpet 6, the *second Woe*, or Mahomedan Saracens and Turks, was figured with reference to their course of universal desolation: ¹ the Euphrates being taken literally; and the four angels loosed explained as Arabs, Saracens, Turks, Tartars.

After a curious interpretation of “*the rest of men non-repenting*,” in Apoc. ix. 20, as if meaning people, both nationally and individually, that were *spiritually* killed neither by the Papal nor Mahomedan plague, *i.e.* who, though neither Mahomedans nor Papists, had yet not given themselves to God,² Bullinger proceeds to Apoc. x, xi, a part relating (as I believe in common with him and other Reformers) to his own times; and which he appears to me to have explained better than all else in his Commentary. The Angel-vision in Apoc. x he explains of Christ's intervention through the Reformers,³ against the Papal Antichrist and Mahomedans; the antithesis and contrast between Christ, as here figured, and the Papal Antichrist, being drawn out in detail. The book opened is the Gospel, opened to men by gospel-preachers, and with the aid of printing, in spite of the Pope: the seven thunders anti-Papal preaching, begun by Beren-

is threefold: 1. *historical* and *national* by Cyrus; 2. *spiritual*, of the election (chiefly Gentile election, adopted into the true Israel) from Christ to Antichrist; 3. that “*a restituto evangelio, et extremo judicio, quod progrediatur usque in secula seculorum.*” This last would be the most absolute restoration: and is the same that was meant by Peter in Acts iii. 19—21; and by Christ when he said, “Then lift up your heads, for your redemption draweth nigh.”

¹ He quotes Nicephorus; *Tote oi Sapaknvoi ηρξαντο της τε παρος ερημωσης.*

² “Colligimus ex his non sufficere ad vitam piam et beatam ne quis sit Papista aut Mahumeticus, &c.”

³ As beginning however before Luther.

ger ; the sealing up, that from the wicked : the oath (one deeply to be noted ¹) alluding to the 3½ times of Dan. xii ; and showing to Christians at that time living that their redemption, as to be effected at Christ's coming and the resurrection, was even then drawing nigh : the charge, "Thou must prophesy again," meant of preachers of John's doctrine against Antichrist in the last time ; and showing (I beg attention to this, as a point in which I now first see that Bullinger anticipated me) that God's own legitimate commission attached to the ministers of the Reformed Protestant Churches, although not ordained by bishops. Finally, "the court *within*" ² cast out, he takes to be the Roman Pontifex and Pontificii excommunicated by God ; but does not apparently follow up his own principles by explaining it, in the manner I have done, of the excommunication as acted out by the Churches of the Reformation.

So Bullinger comes to the *Witnesses*.—The number *two* indicated them to be but few, yet sufficient. The 1260 days of their witnessing in sackcloth, and of the Gentiles treading the Holy City, are an uncertain, yet, in God's purpose, definite time. For above 700 years we know that there existed such, who opposed themselves to Papal abominations.—The statement, "When they shall have completed their testimony the Beast shall kill them," he applies individually ; in the sense that none shall be cut off till they have done their appointed work. The 3½ days of their lying dead, is the short time before their revival in others ; as Huss and Jerom, killed at Constance, were quickly revived first in the Bohemians, then in Laurentius Valla, Savanarola, Luther, &c : the depicted joy at the Witnesses' death being also illustrated from the rejoicings of the Romanists, even then when Bullinger wrote, at the news of Queen Mary's persecutions of the Protestants in England. The Witnesses' ascent to heaven he makes that of their departed spirits entering Paradise ; and the falling of the tenth of the city, and killing of the 7000, to mean the mighty defections already begun from the Papal Church and empire. He notes too the taking and sack of Rome itself in 1547 by the Constable Bourbon.—On the 7th Trumpet he says, "It must come soon : therefore our redemption draweth nigh."

¹ "Quod (sc. sacramentum) res maximi est momenti, consolatione plenissima, omnibusque omnino salutaris et necessaria hominibus." See my Vol. ii. p. 139.

² Bullinger takes the reading *εσωθεν*.

Passing on to Apoc. xii, Bullinger explains the *travailing Woman* like many of his predecessors, alike of the Virgin Mary and the Church; the triumph and ascent of his members being assured and involved in that of Christ himself: but he gives a new interpretation to the Woman's *flight into the wilderness*; as meaning that of the Church from the *Jews* (who of old constituted God's inclosed vineyard) to the *Gentiles*. The $3\frac{1}{2}$ times are expounded *generally*, as before. And so too in a general sense the Dragon's seven heads and ten horns; as indicating that the Devil "præfuit monarchis impiis omnium seculorum, et omnium cornuum vel regnorum."—Then, in Apoc. xiii, the *first Beast* is rather remarkably made by him the *old Pagan Roman empire*: remarkably, I say, as by Bullinger, a *Protestant*. (In Bossuet and the Romanists it was quite natural.) The seven heads might have allusion to Rome's early seven kings, or to the seven Julian Emperors, ending with Nero: in whom the Beast suffered a *deadly wound*; which however was healed by Vespasian. The ten horns might allude to Pagan Rome's ten persecutions of the Christians.—The *second Beast* is interpreted to be the Papal Antichrist, the same as Daniel's *Little Horn* and St. Paul's *Man of Sin*, rising up under Gregory I, and his successor Boniface, to be Universal Bishop, soon after Totilas' utter destruction of old Rome; just as this *second Beast* was seen to rise *after* the *first*. The Beast's two lamb-like horns indicated his claims to both *sacerdotal* and *royal* supremacy, in heaven too and on earth: agreeably with which the Pope has the two swords; and Boniface at the first Jubilee, A.D. 1300, appeared one day in the Pontifical habit, another in the imperial purple. Bullinger draws out here a contrast of this Antichrist and Christ; and notes his changing times as well as laws, substituting his *feriæ* for Christ's sabbaths, &c. In short one must be blinder than Tiresias, he says, not to see the predicted Antichrist in the Popes.—The *Image of the Beast* is the *new Roman or Western Empire*: which is, indeed, says he, but the *shadow* of the old one.¹ The explanation of the second Beast's giving breath to the image is, on this hypothesis, obvious. Unless the Pope confirm the new Emperor's election, his election is invalid; and in the ceremony of his confirmation he has to take an oath of allegiance to the Pope. So is the Emperor in a

¹ Very much as Luther. See p. 418 *suprà*.

manner the Pope's creature; and, in case alike of Councils General or national, (so Bullinger all but touches on what I believe the true explanation,) the Council "*Papæ spiritu regitur.*"—But already he has had to meet difficulties from his explanation of the first Beast. The second was to exercise all his power *εὐνοίας*, before, or in presence of the first. How does Bullinger get over the difficulty? He refers to Aretas, saying, that it might be in the sense of *following* and *imitating*! I need not say how incorrectly. Again, it was to make the earth adore the first Beast. How so? By making men regard the *Roman empire*, says Bullinger, as something divine! Further, the miracles of the second Beast, said to be done in *sight of the Beast*, meant in sight of himself! On the name and number he prefers Irenæus' solution of *Λατρεύς*.¹

Proceeding onward through the next three chapters, it may suffice to observe that he interprets the Angel with the everlasting Gospel in Apoc. xiv, and also the two Angels following him, of gospel-preachers then in existence: that the *Vials* of Apoc. xvi are explained as the closing judicial plagues on the Papal Egypt: the 1st being the "*posca Gallica*," which first broke out, he says, A.D. 1494, in the Neapolitan war between French and Spaniards, and was rife especially in the Romish convents; the 2nd pestilences generally; the 3rd Popes and Papal priests, stirring up bloody wars in which themselves were slain; the 4th (on the sun) heat and drought; the 5th, that on the Beast's Seat, the darkening of Rome's majesty through the progress of the Reformation; the 6th, on Euphrates, the drying up of the resources and powers of the Papal Babylon; while the three frogs consequent thereon were the Papal legates *e Latere*, issuing forth to the kings of the earth, to stir them up to war against Christ's Gospel-ministers. The 7th, or Vial on the air, meant elemental convulsions, such as were predicted by Christ, Matt. xxiv, as to precede his coming: and the three parts into which the Great City would fall in consequence, those of true Christians, Papists, and neutrals.—Further, on Apoc. xvii, feeling the difficulty of his original solution of the first Beast as the *old* Roman empire, he speaks of the Revelation as here

¹ On the number 666 he further intimates a chronological solution. It was about 666 years from the revelation of the Apocalypse to Pepin's endowment of the Papal See.—Under the witnesses he says, How long the duration of the Pope is to be from the fated 666, God only knows.

conjoining in the figured Beast whereon the Woman sate, both the *Beast and Beast's image, old and new Rome*, the empire and the Papacy.¹ The "*was and is not*" he thus explains. The old empire *was* from Julius to Nero, in the Julian Cæsars; then, after a while, became great again under Trajan. Or perhaps (we must mark this his aliter) it *was* as the old Roman empire; and "*is not, and yet is,*" as the new western empire, which is of the old but the shadow and image. The "*five heads that have fallen,*" were the five emperors that had followed after the deadly wound under Nero; viz. Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian, Titus: the one "*that is*" Domitian; the 7th, that was to last but a short time, Nerva; (so does Bullinger unconsciously fall in with Victorinus;) the 8th, Trajan: who might be also called *of the seven*, as having been adopted by Nerva.—The statement that the ten kings received power *at one hour with the Beast*, he makes to have reference to the *second* Beast, or Popes, not the *first*; (so again showing the difficulty from his solution of the first Beast;) these being the ten horns, among which the Papacy was as the dominant little horn: and, like Luther, he explains that these ten kings will probably *desolate* Papal Rome; (this too is to be noted;) though none but Christ will *destroy* it.—Finally the *bridal* in Apoc. xix Bullinger makes to coincide with the saints' resurrection: the vision of *Christ and his army on white horses* to symbolize the last judgment; the *Beast* then taken with the *False Prophet* to be the *Papal* Roman Empire: (mark again this necessary inconsistency:)—also the *Millennium* to be the 1000 years either from Christ's ascension to A.D. 1034, when under the pontificate of Benedict IX Satan seemed loosed to deceive the nations; or from A.D. 60, when Paul speaks of the Gospel having been preached over the whole world, to the pontificate of Nicholas II, A.D. 1060; or from A.D. 73, the date of the destruction of Jerusalem, to the pontificate of Gregory VII, A.D. 1073. At the same time he objects not, he says, if any prefer to follow the *chiliasm* of Papias.—The *Gog and Magog* loosed he of course interprets of the Turks: makes the *first resurrection* to be that from sin, the *second* that from the grave: and in the figured *new heaven and earth* recognizes the renovation of this our world.

¹ "Conjungit Bestiam et Imaginem Bestiæ, Bestiam et insidentem Bestiæ, superbum scortum."

Bale, Bishop of Ossory under Edward 6, and one of the exiles from England during our Popish Queen Mary's persecution, next calls for our notice.—He published his Apocalyptic Commentary, under the significant title, "*Image of both Churches*," i. e. the true and the false ; in part, I incline to suppose, before Bullinger's, in part after.¹ For its Three Parts were published at three different times, paged as separate volumes ; the first with frequent marginal references to previous authors, of the incorrect printing of which he complains grievously ;² the other two, in consequence, without. His first Preface gives a very copious list of Apocalyptic Expositors, from the earliest period ; which I think it may be well to abstract below.³

¹ He alludes frequently to the persecutions of the Protestants under Queen Mary in England ; and this in his first Volume and Part, as well as the others. So in the primary Preface ; "The boystuous tyrauntes of Sodoma with theyr great Nemroth Wynchester, (i. e. Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester,) have of long tyme taken much payne ; and many have they cruelly burned, as was seene of late years in Coventrie, London, and other places." Now the burning of Saunders at Coventry was in 1555. Bullinger's Treatise is dated, we saw, 1557 : but Bale does not mention it in his list of *neoteric* Apocalyptic Expositors' given in the Note ² below. Later, however, in the Work he seems to refer to it.

² "Two cruell enemyes have my just labours had.—The Printers are the fyrst ; whose headie hast negligence and covetousnesse commonly corrupteth all bookes. These have both dysplaced my many allegacions, both of the Scriptures and doctors, in the mergent of the first Part ; and also changed their numbers, to the truthes derogacion." Preface to the 2nd Part. Bale was of a rather choleric temperament.

³ 1. *Patristics*.—Justin Martyr, Melito, Irenæus, Hippolytus, Victorinus, Tichonius, Jerom, Augustine, Primasius, ("which volume I have redde,") Aprigius, Cassiodore.—(The Aprigius spoken of was, he says, Bishop of Pace in Spain, and made a notable work on the Apocalypse, A.D. 530.—Of Cassiodore's work he gives the title, "*Complexiones in Apocalypsin*," and the date 570.)

2. *Benedictines*.—Bede, Alcuin, Haymo, Strabus Fuldensis, Rabanus Maurus, (qu. Adso ?) Ambrose Ansbert, Robert of Tuy, Joachim Abbas, a certain Benedictine Monk of Canterbury, and Easterton, also Anglus.

3. *Regular Canons*.—Ricardus de Sancto Victore, Gaufredus Antisiodorensis.

4. *Carthusians*.—Henricus de Hassia, Dionysius Rikel.

5. *Secular Priests*.—Ambrose on the seven Trumpets, Berenger, Gilbert, "Auctor à centum annis," John Huss, Paulus Burgensis, Mathias Dorinck, Jacobus Stralen.

6. *Carmelites*.—Baconthorpe, Tytleahale, Thomas de Ylleya, John Barath, John de Vernone, Nicholas of Alsace, Bloxam, Elyne, Tilneye, Winchingham, Thorpe, Egidius, Haynton.

7. *Augustinians*.—Augustin de Anchona, Jordanes Saxo, Bertrand of Toulouse, Augustin of Rome, Philip of Mantua, John Capgrave, Sylvester Meocius of Venice.

8. *Dominicans*.—Jordanes Botergius, Hugo Barchinonensis, Albertus Magnus, Stephanus Bisuntinus, Nicholas Gorham, Bernard de Trilia, Paganus Bergomensis, Alvarus de Caturco, Frederic of Venice, John Annius of Viterbo, Savanarola.

9. *Franciscans*.—Alexander de Hales, Helias de Hanibalis, Petrus J. Cathalanus,

The *Seals* he explains, much as other Reformers, to prefigure, as they were opened, the mysteries of the seven ages of Christ's Church:—1. Christ and his apostles' triumphant progress; 2. the earlier heretics and Pagan persecutors to Diocletian; 3. Arius and the Pelagians; 4. Popery as commencing with Gregory I, and Mahomedism with Mahomet; 5. the Publican,¹ Albigenian, and Waldensian martyrdoms; 6. the convulsions and revelation of Antichrist's kingdom, begun under Wicliff,² continued under Huss, and now experienced yet more: the sun seen eclipsed in it; the stars or doctors fallen from Christ's heavenly doctrine, &c; their mountains too of strength passing from before them, under the preaching of the Word, and with a fearful looking-for of judgment. In the *Sealing Vision* the Angels of the Winds are explained to mean Antichrist seeking to withhold the Holy Spirit; and the sealing of the 144,000 as figuring Christ's intervention to mark and seal his true Church, especially at the time then present. In the 7th Seal the *half-hour's silence* betokens the peace then to be given to the Christian Church; Babylon having fallen, the Beast being slain, and Dragon tied for 1000 years. For, as all the time elapsed since Christ is called by John "the last hour,"³ this *half-hour* may well mean the 1000 years of Apoc. xx. "In the time of which sweete silence shall Israell be revyved, the Jewes be converted, the heathen come in agayne; and Christ seeke up his lost sheepe, that they may appeare one flock, lyke as they have one shepeherde."

The æras of the *Trumpets* Bale, like others before him, identifies John Walleya, Petrus Aureolus, Nicholas Lyranus, Astesanus Astensis, Bernardinus Senensis, Theodoric Andree of Thoulouse, Franciscus Titelman.

10. *Neoterici*.—Luther, Sebastian Meyer, George Æmilius, Francis Lambert, Zwingle, John Brencius, Calvin, Melchior Hofman, "and many other more."

In this long list not merely direct Apocalyptic Expositors are included, but those also that have in works on other subjects commented indirectly on any part of the Apocalypse.

¹ i. e. the Paulikiana.

² "Anon I beheld a marveyulous earthquake arise. Most lively was this fulfilled such tyme as William Courteney the Archbishop of Canterbury, with Antichrist's sinagoge of sorcerers, sate in consistorie against Christ's doctrine in John Wycleve. Mark the yeare month day and houre; and ye shall wonder at it." This was in 1382. During the sitting of the Synod, held at Greyfriars in London, an earthquake shook the city, and alarmed some of the members of the Synod. Wicliff, who did not attend, used to call it afterwards, in irony, "*the earthquake Synod*."

³ 1 John ii. 18. A passage often alluded to, we have seen, by the earlier fathers Jerome, Augustine, &c: see my Vol. i. pp. 372, 373: and also by later expositors: see p. 398, Note ², *supra*.

with those of the Seals: the 1st being figurative of wicked anti-Apostolic Jews and Gentiles; the 2nd of false brethren inciting the Roman emperors against Christians; the 3rd of heretics, such as Arius and Valens; the 4th of the progress of superstition, image-worship, and hypocrisy, ending in Popery and Mahommedism.—Then the *Woe-denouncing Angel* he makes to be *Joachim Abbas*; (after whom followed Arnold and Savonarola;) and the locusts of the 5th Trumpet the Papal Canonists, Thomists, and Sophistics. The 6th Trumpet's horsemen from the Euphrates, he expounds to mean the Antichristian Papists, ever prepared for evil, whether at the hour, day, month, or year: many, however, from among the four angels having been graciously loosed, at this gospel Trumpet's sounding, from Euphrates; viz. "by the Lord with his Spirit in this age preaching deliverance to the captive, and opening the prison to them that were in bondage."

The Vision of Apoc. x, Bale explains clearly and strikingly, just as Bullinger, of the Reformation: the *Book opened* being the Scriptures; the *Angel* the gospel-preachers of the Reformation, whose light is to be seen alike in the isles and on the continent; the *seven thunders*, God's fearful coming judgments: the *time and times* (Daniel's 3 times) mentioned in the Angel's oath, the ages of the Church from Christ to the 7th Seal's opening, and the sounding of the 7th Trumpet; (of which Trumpet the sounding must be near, though *when* we know not:) the *half-time* the interval thence to the end.

In Apoc. xi (which begins his second Part and Volume) Bale makes the *measuring-rod* to be God's word, "now graciously sent us out of Zion;" the *temple* the Church, defined and discriminated by it from the synagogue of Satan; the *altar*, Christ; the Gentiles cast out, the Popish prelates; the Holy City "the living generation of them that fear God;" the two Witnesses faithful protesters for Christ, that continue all through the time of the Gentile oppression of the Church; (a time figured by Elias' $3\frac{1}{2}$ years;) and that were never in more power than now.—Of the Witnesses' *slaughter by the Beast Antichrist*, when they have finished their testimony, and their reviving *in others*, much, says he, has been already fulfilled, though something remains to be accomplished yet. Again, the Witnesses being *seen by their enemies to ascend to heaven*, is illustrated from the acknowledgment often made even here by Romanists, as in

the cases of Berenger and Tindal, to their having loved God, and had their citizenship in heaven.—“Thus,” says Bale, in concluding this subject, “have we what is done already; and also what to come under the 6th Trumpet, whereunder we are now.” The 7th Trumpet, he adds, is to introduce the full declaration of God’s word, and peaceable time figured by the half-hour’s silence. Which, however, will not always continue; as there is to be in that last age the outbreak of Gog and Magog, and the last judgment.

Passing to Apoc. xii, Bale interprets the vision of the *Woman* and *Dragon* much as others before him: the Dragon’s *seven heads* having a probable reference, he says, to the world’s seven ages; and their likeness respectively, he conjectures, 1st (and before the flood) to the serpent; 2. to the Egyptian calf; 3. to the lion; 4. to the bear; 5. to the leopard; 6. to Daniel’s terrible and peculiar Beast; 7. to man; this last symbolizing the Papacy.—In Apoc. xiii he makes the *first Beast* to be the universal or whole Antichrist; comprehending all Antichrist’s members from the beginning of the Christian æra, and thus including the 4th Seal’s Pale Horse, and 5th and 6th Trumpets’ locusts and Euphratean horsemen: his *seven heads* the same as the Dragon’s; the *deadly wound* of the 7th head, that by the Reformation;¹ the *healing of it* accomplished by the partial re-establishment of Popery, as now under the Bishops Bonner and Gardiner in England: the duration of which healed head however will be but short, as shown us in Apoc. xvii.—As to the *second Beast*, it figures false prophets and teachers, even from the world’s beginning; the lamb’s horns indicating their counterfeiting of Christ and Christianity: the *Beast’s Image* (Bale here follows Bullinger) Popish emperors and kings, now especially, speaking as dictated by their Confessors: the *Beast’s name and number* perhaps (as earlier Expositors suggest) the names *αρτεμος*, *αρνεμε*, *τειταν*, or *Dic Lux*: or perhaps *Diabolus Incarnatus*, or *Filius Perditionis*; which two last want but 4 and 6 respectively of the fated number 666. Bale also adds, as adopted from “a certain unnamed disciple of Wiclif,” (he should have rather said from Joachim Abbas,²) a suggestion of the 600 indicating the world’s 6 ages till Christ’s coming, the 60 the 6 æras since Christ to the ending sabbath, the 6 that sabbath.

¹ “If this be not a deadly wounding of one of the beastes heads, I think there is none.”

² See p. 393 *suprà*.

In Apoc. xiv he explains the 144,000, and *three flying Angels* also, much as Bullinger, with special reference to the time of the Reformation; and the earth's *harvest* and *vintage* as close at hand: ¹ the *seven Vials* of the same seven æras as the Seals and Trumpets; the drying up of Euphrates in the 6th, under which Bale supposed men then were, as the drying up of the *worldly spirit*; "till which never shall governors rule according to God;" also the *three frogs* as the spirits of idolatry, filthiness, and hypocrisy.—In Apoc. xvii John's being carried by the Spirit into the wilderness, to behold the vision of the Harlot, is resembled to the then recent escape of many of the Reformers out of Babylon: that the Beast "*was*" is explained of *Jewish* Antichristianism; that *it is not*, and *yet is*, of its revival in the Popes and Mahomet: also its *seven hills*, or *heads*, of the seven universal monarchies of the seven climates of the world: 5 heads having fallen from Rome's universal monarchy, viz. all in Africa, Asia, and part of Europe; the 6th being the feeble Roman Western Empire remaining; the 7th the spiritual empire of the Popedom raised by Phocas. As to the ten kings (which, says he, are England, France, Spain, Portugal, Castile, Denmark, Scotland, Hungary, Bohemia, and Naples,) they received authority at one hour with the Beast, when at the 4th Lateran Council they were allied together for a crusade, and had Papal Confession enjoined on them. And he adds, like Bullinger, that it is reserved as their destiny to tear and desolate the Harlot Rome: a thing already indeed begun, not only by secular rulers, but even ecclesiastical, as Cranmer, Latimer, Luther, Zuingli, Calvin, Bullinger, &c.

In Apoc. xix, Bale says, on the *Lamb's Bridal*; "Since the beginning of the world the faithful have been preparing for this heavenly marriage; and in the resurrection of the righteous it shall be perfectly solemnized; such time as they appear in full glory with Christ. In this latter time, when all the world shall confess his name in peace, will the true Christian Church be of her full age, and apt unto this spousage."—Yet on the *Millennium*, Apoc. xx, contrary to his previous identification of it with this coming period of rest and evangelization of the world,¹ a period destined to follow on the destruction of the Popedom, he reverts to the old Augustinian solution:

¹ See p. 428 *suprà*.

making it the 1000 years from Christ's ascension to Pope Sylvester II: as Wickliff, says he, in his book *De Solutione Sathanæ*. Then was the Devil loosed in the Papal Supremacy; and the Turks also, as Gog and Magog: though no doubt the foundations of the Popedom were laid 400 years earlier by Phocas. It was now at length a plenary loosing; but only "for a little while:" as Berenger, and then the Waldenses, Wicliffites, &c, very soon after opposed the Papacy; and subsequently yet more the Reformers Luther, &c. "And I doubt not within few days the mighty breath of Christ's mouth, his lyving gospel, shall utterly destroy him."

On the *new heaven and earth* Bale professes to look for an earth purified and renovated by the fire of the judgment; very much as in King Edward's Catechism, cited by me at p. 230 of this Volume.

4. A brief notice may suffice of the two interpreters *Chytræus* and *Marlorat*, that published some twenty years later in the *middle æra* of the Reformation: for they very much followed in the track of their predecessors.

Thus in *David Chytræus'* *Explicatio Apocalypsis*, published Wittenberg 1571, the *six first Seals* are made to depict the gospel-progress, wars, famines, pestilences, persecutions, and political commotions, &c, as from time to time repeated, or continued, throughout the whole time of the Church; and the *Sealing Vision* the multitudes sealed and saved through all this same period. Of the *Trumpets* the four first Chytræus interprets of the heresies of Tatian, Marcion, Origen, and Novatus; so as Luther, says he, in his Bible "ad marginem Editionis Germanicæ:" the 5th, of the Papacy, as established by Gregory, and Phocas' Decree; the 6th, of the Saracens and Turks: the *Euphrates* being specified, says Chytræus, with a more specific *geographical* reference than others, because of the Saracen capital Bagdad being situated by it.—The *Angel vision* in Apoc. x is Christ's succouring the Church in those times of darkness, by opening the Scriptures and raising up true preachers:¹ John's charge to *prophecy again* being given him, not so much in his personal as in his representative character; the office assigned to these gospel preachers being to attack the Papal and Mahometan errors, till the 7th Trum-

¹ The *seven thunders* Chytræus makes the seven-fold gifts of the Holy Spirit.

pet's sounding, or end of the world.—In Apoc. xi the figuration of the *Temple* showed that even in the worst times, under Popery and Mahommedanism, there would be a Church of God, recognizing the true *altar*, or Christ in his characters of Priest and Mediator: and the *exclusion* directed of the *outer court* meant God's own exclusion of Papists; boasting themselves to be the true Church, but rejected by the *measuring rod* of God's law. The 1260 *days* of the Gentiles treading the Holy City are to be explained, Chytræus adds, as *angelic days*, i. e. as 1260 *years*: and to be calculated (I noted this previously) perhaps from Alaric's taking Rome, A. D. 412, perhaps from Phocas' Decree, A. D. 606; on the former of which suppositions the date of ending would be A. D. 1672; on the latter 1866. Correspondently with which view of that mystic period the *two Witnesses* signified all Christ's successive witnesses during the 42 months of Antichrist's reign; such, says he, as have been recently detailed in the "Catalogus Testium."¹ Their *death* and *speedy revival* he explains, like Bullinger and others, to signify the speedy revival of other witnessing and witnesses, on each individual occasion of their temporary suppression by Antichrist.—In Apoc. xiii he follows Bullinger in making the *first Beast* the old Pagan Roman Empire; explaining too its seven heads after him: only he makes the wounding of the seventh head to be that by the Goths. I should have observed that he notes on the 1260 days, how some had explained them of the *Interim*, from May 15, 1548, to the beginning of 1552:—the first introduction this, I believe, of the Interim into Protestant Apocalyptic interpretation. The *second Beast* is Rome Pontifical; the *Image of the Beast* the Western Empire, the shadow of the old one.—The Beast's *Name and Number* some, he says, explained as a title, e. g. *Λατρευος*; some as chronologically marking the time from Christ to Phocas or Pepin.—The *Millennium* is the 1000 years from Christ to Gregory VII and the Turks.

Augustin Marlorat's Exposition of the Revelation of St. John, published A. D. 1574, with a dedication to Sir W. Mildmay, Chancellor of the Exchequer under Queen Elizabeth, is professedly collected out of divers notable writers of the Protestant Churches; viz. Bullinger, Calvin, Gaspar Meyander, Justus Jonas, Lambertus, Musculus, Ecolampadius, Pellicanus, Meyer, Viret.—The first novelty

¹ Compare my notice of this Catalogue, Vol. ii. p. 195.

that I observe in it is on the *2nd Trumpet*; where the figure of the burning mountain cast into the sea is explained of the Roman Empire swallowed up as in the sea, by Christ's kingdom. The *5th Trumpet* is applied to Mahomet and the Pope; the *6th* to the Papal Antichrist yet more strongly.—On Apoc. x, I mark the clear decisive explanation of its *Angel-Vision* usual among the Reformers, as figuring the opening of the Scriptures, and revived gospel-preaching at the Reformation; and the exclusion of the outer court in Apoc. xi, as signifying the exclusion of Papists: there being here, however, in Marlorat this variation, that on the Angel's oath, living securely as he did under the Protestant Queen Elizabeth, he not unnaturally expresses a strong opinion that the *2nd Woe* had past, even though the *7th Trumpet* might not have sounded.—In Apoc. xii he interprets the *Dragon's seven heads* like Bale: in Apoc. xiii, the *first Beast* as Antichrist and his kingdom; (the *deadly wound*, made by Mahomet, being healed by the Popes :) the *second Beast* as monks and priests supporting the Papacy: the *Beast's Image* as the images of saints; the *Beast's name and number*, much as Chytræus. Finally, in Apoc. xx he explains the *Millennium* as the period from Christ to Antichrist; during which Satan, he says, was restrained: and takes occasion on it to reprobate the errors of the Chiliasts.

5. In conclusion of my Historic Sketch of Apocalyptic Expositors of the century and æra of the Reformation, I shall now briefly state the opinions of *Foxe*, *Brightman*, and *Pareus*; expositors who published in the *last quarter* of that century, as dated from A.D. 1517.

The Exposition by *Foxe*, our venerable English Martyrologist, was written (as appears by two chronological notices in the book¹) in the year 1586; and had been only advanced to Apoc. xvii, when the work was interrupted by his death. The next year it was published by his son, under the modest title of *Eicasmî in Apocalypsin*; (*Conjectures on the Apocalypse*;) with a Dedication to Archbishop Whitgift; in size, making up a thin folio of about 400 pages. It seems to me to deserve attention, not merely from the venerable character of the writer; but also from the learning and original thought and views manifest in the Commentary itself.

¹ First, on the 6th Seal, where he says, "It is now the year 1586:" secondly, on Apoc. xi.—*Eicasmî*, pp. 60, 123.

Thus, to begin, he makes the *horses* and *horsemen* of the *four first* seals to signify the same four great empires of the world that were previously symbolized by Daniel's four beasts; the Assyrian, Persian, Greek, and Roman : ¹ the *fifth* picturing the Christian martyrdoms under Pagan Rome, from Nero to Diocletian. The intimation added, "till their brethren should be killed even as they," he explains of another and later succession and æra of persecutions and martyrdoms, destined to make up the Christian martyrs' complement : the same which, having commenced from the time of Satan's loosing 1000 years after Constantine, or about the æra of Wicliff, had when Foxe wrote, amounted to the same number ten, ² and continued the same length of near 300 years, as the successive persecutions of the Christian Church under Rome Pagan.—On the *sixth* he compares its symbols of the earthquake and the elemental convulsions with similar ones in Isaiah denoting Babylon's overthrow ; and thence infers its signifying *primarily* the overthrow, following on the first æra of martyrs, of the Roman Pagan Emperors and Empire by Constantine : yet so as to symbolize also, *secondarily* and *chiefly*, the greater day of judgment, at the conclusion of the second and final æra of Christian martyrdoms. Which judgment might seem to be very near at hand, if it was intended that the second æra should only be of the same length as the first : 294 years from A.D. 1300 ending A.D. 1594 : i.e. within eight years from the time when Foxe wrote.

The *Sealing Vision*, included in the same sixth Seal, shewed the preservation of the saints at this period of the judgment, amidst the physical disturbances of the mundane system ; (for the stagnation of the winds, the *literal* winds, indicated a stop in the usual course of nature ;) just as the fate of the antichristian and wicked had been depicted in the previous figuration : the saved being both of Jews and Gentiles.—Then the *half-hours' silence in heaven*, Foxe, dissatisfied

¹ The same view that Mr. Faber has in our own days adopted. See his Sacred Calendar of Prophecy.—Foxe criticises and shows the inconsistency and untenableness of the old interpretations.

² Viz. 1. under Henry IV and V in England ; 2. in the Council of Constance ; 3. under the Roman Pontiff in Italy ; 4. under the Emperor Charles V. ; 5. under Henry VIII, in England ; 6. under Henry II. in Gaul ; 7. under James II, in Scotland ; 8. under Charles IX. in France ; 9. under Mary in England ; 10. under Philip in Spain and Flanders.

with other views, conjectures to mean the peace of the world under Augustus, preceding Christ's birth : and that the prayers of all saints that followed, being prayers of the saints after Christ's death and ascension, while under persecution from Jews and Romans, brought down on their persecutors the judgments symbolized in the Trumpets. Thus Trumpet 1 was the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans ; Trumpet 2 the plague under Aurelius, after the third Pagan persecution : Trumpet 3 the plague under Cyprian, and that far greater one, together with all the other troubles, under Gallienus : Trumpet 4 the desolation of Rome and the Empire by Goths, Vandals, and Lombards : Trumpet 5 the woes of the Papacy and Mahommedanism, from Phocas and Mahomet ; the five months specified having reference simply to the time of the natural locusts, that constituted the figure, making their ravages : Trumpet 6 the *Turks*. On this last point Foxe is very strong. "It is clearer than the light itself," he says, "that this is the main intent of the Trumpet." He dates the Turks' power in Asia from A.D. 1051, when the alliance was formed by them with the Caliph of Bagdad ; and traces their history thence downward to A.D. 1573.

"And the rest," it is said, Apoc. iv. 1, "repented not of worshipping idols, &c. The Anglo-Rhemenses, observes Foxe, explain this of *heathen* idols. But were the Greeks, that have been slain and enslaved by the Turks, worshippers of *such* idols ?—Then he proceeds to the vision of Apoc. x, xi, all under the same sixth Trumpet. In Apoc. x the magnificent vision of Christ, there given, signified chiefly two things :—1st, the restoration of gospel-preaching, "Thou must prophesy again ;" John being a representative person on the scene of vision : 2nd, a declaration of the surely approaching judgment under the seventh Trumpet. He explains both these of his own time ; and particularly refers to the wonderful discovery of printing.—In Apoc. xi the *Temple* meant the Church ; its *inner* court true worshippers, its *outer* false : also the measuring it indicated its reparation and *reformation*, during the Turkish woe of the sixth Trumpet, "*as in our day*." This reformation implies a previous corruption of it, he adds, by Antichrist : the progress of which he traces.—As to the 42 months, during which the Holy City was to be trodden down, it was no doubt the same as the 42 months of Apoc. xiii. And this he deemed to be on the scale of one month to seven years ; (a sin-

gular scale, applied by him however to the numbers in Daniel also;) or in all 294 years. This then would be the duration of the Turks and Pope jointly oppressing the Church: and as, measured from the rise of the Ottoman Empire, 286 years of this period had, when Foxe wrote, elapsed, there would remain of it but eight years more.—Similarly the Witnesses' 1260 days of prophesying in sackcloth is dated by Foxe from A.D. 1300; and, on the scale before mentioned, would have to end in 1594. At the same time he mentions Aretius' view of the period, as one of *angelic days*, i.e. of *years*: ending, if measured from Alaric. A.D. 412, in the year 1672; if from Phocas, in the year 1866.—The Witnesses' prophesying 1260 days in sackcloth, and then being *killed by the Beast*, he explains of the proceedings of the Council of Constance in the condemnation of Huss and Jerome: (so too, he says, Bibliander :) its first Session having been Dec. 8, 1414; the last, May 22, 1418, just $3\frac{1}{2}$ years after. After which time their principles, thought to have been suppressed, soon revived. Foxe dwells long and minutely on this history; deeming it evidently a very remarkable fulfilment of the prophecy.—Since which time the revived Witnesses had come down to the times of Luther and the Reformers.—All this had been under the sixth or Turkish Trumpet: which Foxe regarded as then, when he wrote, near its end; the 7th Trumpet being thus close at hand; when the Church would have its time of blessedness accomplished, in Christ's coming and the resurrection.

In Apoc. xii the *Woman travailing* was the true Church; the *Dragon* the Devil: seeking through Herod to destroy Christ at his birth, and persecuting him afterwards till his death and ascension. After which event the Woman driven into the wilderness, had for 1260 mystic days, meaning 294 years as before, i. e. until the time of Constantine, to undergo persecution.—The *first Beast* of Apoc. xiii is explained by Foxe as the *heathen* Roman Emperors: his *seven heads* meaning either, so as Bullinger had interpreted them, the seven original kings of Rome, or as Chytræus, the seven Julian Emperors to Nero; or perhaps, as Peter Artopæus and D. Fulco, the seven orders of chief ruling magistrates, (the reader will mark the epoch of this important point of advance in Apocalyptic interpretation,) Kings, Consuls, Decemvirs, Dictators, Triumvirs, Cæsars, and Emperors of foreign

ancestry.¹ The 42 mystic months of his ruling as a persecutor were to be taken, as before, to signify 42×7 , or 294 years. And here Foxe recounts, somewhat mysteriously, that his secret of the mystic numbers, and true scale of computation intended, had been revealed to a friend of his, a martyrologist; meaning, I conceive, himself.—The *second Beast* he interprets of course as the Popes, or Antichrist: who revived the old Roman Empire that had been wounded to death; fulfilled the symbol of two *horns like a lamb*, in their hypocritical pretensions to Christianity; pretended too to *miracles*; had in Hebrew the name $\text{שׁמַעַנִשׁ} = 666$; and, in the oaths of fealty to the Romish Church, imposed on all functionaries secular and ecclesiastical, stamped them as it were with the Papal *character*, or mark.

Of the Apocalyptic *Vials* the five first were explained by Foxe as woes poured out on the old Roman empire; the other two on that of Papal Rome: 1. Gallienus' $\epsilon\lambda\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ or plague; 2, 3, and 4, the bloodshed in the civil and foreign wars of the persecuting emperors; 5. Rome's destruction (the seat of the Beast) by the Goths; 6. the Turkish plague from the Euphrates, the same as in the 6th Trumpet.

The millennium, or 1000 years of Satan's binding, he explains, as I before observed, of the 1000 years from Constantine to the acme of Papal supremacy, and the outbreak of Ottoman Turks, about 1300, A.D.

On the whole, the following points seem to me chiefly notable in Foxe's Exposition: viz. his reference of the fifth and sixth Seals, partially at least, to Diocletian's persecution and the revolution under Constantine; his strong and distinctive application of the 6th Trumpet to prefigure the Turks; his application of the visions in Apoc. x, xi, as to the Angel's descent, John's prophesying, and the measuring of the Temple, to the Church's revival in the Reformation; and his explanation, after Fulco and Artopæus, of the seven heads of the Beast; all advances in the right path, I conceive, if not altogether correct:—also his date of Satan's binding, as to be computed from Constantine. Foxe was, I believe, the first so to compute it. His grandest failure seems to have been in that on which he regarded himself to have been favoured with peculiar discernment; viz. the scale on which the prophetic periods were to be calculated.

¹ So, or nearly so, Osiander also, who published A.D. 1544. See my vol. iii. p. 99.

I now proceed to *Brightman*. His Commentary appears to have been written and first published in the year A.D. 1600, or 1601, before the death of Queen Elizabeth. It is one of great vigour both in thought and language ; and deservedly one of the most popular with the Protestant Churches of the time. He gives himself a brief summary of it ; which I here subjoin, with a few illustrative notes.¹

“ Apoc. vi. The *Seals*. 1. The truth is first of all opened, and overcometh under Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius ;² at the voice of the first Beast, Quadratus, Aristides, and Justin Martyr. 3. At the voice of the second Beast, (viz. the same Justin, Melito of Sardis, and Apollinarius,) cometh forth the Red Horse under Marcus Antonius Verus, confounding all things with wars.³ 5. The third seal being opened, the third Beast, Tertullian, crieth out under Severus the Emperor, when the Black Horse scourgeth the world with famine and barrenness. 7. The fourth seal is opened ; and then speaks the fourth Beast Cyprian, Decius being emperor ; when the Pale Horse wasted all with war, famine, and wild beasts. 9. The fifth is opened,⁴ and some intermission of the public persecution given under Claudius, Quintilius, Aurelian, and the rest, till the 19th year of Diocletian. 12. The sixth is opened, when Diocletian and Maximian Hercules rage : till at length they were cast out of their empire by the power of the Lamb ; for fear of whom those tyrants fled and hid themselves.⁵

“ Apoc. vii. The seventh seal offereth first a general type of all the ages following. 1. When wicked men were ready to trouble all the world with contention, ambition, heresy, war, they are restrained by Constantine the Great ; till he had sealed the elect, by providing for

¹ In Apoc. iv the Book with seven seals is supposed to have been the Apocalypse.

² The triumph of Christ's truth Brightman illustrates from Hadrian's Edict, that no Christian should be condemned unless found guilty of some violation of the civil laws. Euseb. iv. 2.

³ Especially the wars with the Parthians and the Marcomanni.

⁴ The *opening* epoch of the fifth Seal is, according to Brightman, the persecution of Gallienus : the *white robes* given being an emblem of the temporary respite for 40 years ; and the intimation about *other martyrs to be sacrificed*, before the vengeance, having reference to the martyrdoms of the next and the last Pagan persecution under Diocletian.

⁵ The elemental convulsions of the 6th Seal are supposed to be those of Diocletian's persecution, when the very Church itself seemed to be blotted out of the visible heaven ; the kings' subsequently figured flight and terror, on the other hand, the overthrow of the Pagan Emperors by Constantine.

the faithful (who were few and living in obscurity) in that great calamity of the Church which straightway followed. 9. Which rueful time being at last passed over, the prosperity and happiness of the faithful grew great.¹

“ Apoc. viii. Secondly, to this seventh seal belongeth the silence that was in heaven : *i.e.* peace procured by Constantine. 2. The trumpets are prepared ; and Constantine calleth the Nicene Council to cut off troubles, which yet by it are more increased. 6. The Angels sound the trumpets ; at the sound of the first whereof the contentions of the Arians about the word *co-essential* arose. 8. At the sound of the second, the burning mountain of ambition is cast into the sea, by the decree concerning the primacy and dignity of bishops. 10. At the third the star falleth from heaven ; the Arian heresy being defended by Constantius and Valens. 12. At the fourth, the third part of the sun (*the Church of Africa*) is smitten by the Vandals. 13. The world is warned concerning more grievous Trumpets to ensue, by Gregory the Great.

“ Apoc. ix. 1. At the fifth sounding the bottomless pit is opened,² and swarms of locusts crawl out : that is, of religious persons in the West, of Saracens in the East.³ 13. At the sixth the Turks invade the world, which is punished for the Romish idolatry.⁴

¹ Brightman places the Sealing Vision distinctly under the 6th Seal ; but makes its figured symbolization to give an *anticipative* view of what was to happen afterwards under the Trumpets. The *contention, ambition, heresy, and war*, specified in his summary, are made by him the *four evil angels* of the sealing vision : the same, he says, that were developed in the four first Trumpets ; and arrested all four by *Constantine*, the sealing angel. The sealing was by means chiefly of the Council of Nice : into the spirit of which, however, few entered ; so that the true Church, or number really sealed, was small. The 144,000, depicted as the first sealed, were the *first-fruits* and representatives of a true church of the elect, similarly sealed, down to A. D. 1300 ; when the *palm-bearing vision* began to have fulfilment, in the ingathering of a larger multitude of Gentile converts, in the Waldenses, &c ; being intended to include ultimately also the converted *Jews*, restored to the *privileges of Christ's Church*, (not *Jewish temple*, as of old,) after their great tribulation.

² The opener of the pit is, according to Brightman, the *Pope*.

³ The five months, or 150 days of the locusts, he explains of two or three different periods of that duration, marked in the Saracen ravages ; such as that from their first ravages of Syria, about A. D. 630, to their overthrow by the Emperor Leo, A. D. 780.

⁴ “ The hour, day, month, and year,” Brightman reckons on the year-day principle to be the 396 years of the Turks' duration, measured from their revival under the Othmans, A. D. 1300 : and thus that the year 1696 would see their destruction. This anticipation was naturally recalled to mind on Prince Eugene's victories about that same year ; (indeed one of our Bishops had repeated Brightman's prediction previously ;) and the overthrow of Turkish supremacy consequent.

“ Apoc. x. 1, At what time the Turks rise up, the study of the truth in many in the western parts is kindled.¹ 9. By whose endeavour the interpretation of Scripture is restored again to the earth.²

“ Apoc. xi. 1. Prophecy being restored, there was a more full knowledge of the past age : namely, that the Church from Constantine’s time for 1260 years was hidden in the secret part of the Temple ;³ the Romans in the meantime boasting of the holy city and outmost court. 7. And that, at the end of those years,⁴ the Bishop of Rome shall wage war against the Church, cut the *throat* of the Scriptures with his Council of Trent, yea, make very carcases of them, and triumph over them for three years and a half ; and should also, by the help of force and arms from Charles the Fifth, tread upon the saints in Germany : who yet, after three years and a half, lived again in the men of Magdeburg and Mauritius ; stroke the enemies with a great fear ; and overthrew the tenth part of the empire of Rome. 15. The seventh Angel soundeth ; and, about the year 1558, Christ getteth himself new kingdoms ; England, Ireland, Scotland, embracing the Gospel.⁵

¹ This prefigured revival of the study of the truth is supposed to date from the times of the Waldenses : the little book opened being the Scriptures, especially the Apocalypse ; a book now *little*, because so much of the whole *seven-sealed Apocalyptic Book* had been already developed. This is notable as the first step, if I mistake not, to Mede’s remarkable view of the Little Book, of which more in the next Section.

² He allots 200 years to the Waldensian and Wickliffite time of preparation, as intended in the former part of this chapter ; then applies the eating of the book to the Reformers : (John being a type of Christ’s ministers :) and that through the unfolding of history by Luther, Melancthon, Guicciardini, &c., the faithful were prepared for understanding the state of the church and Christian witnesses in former times, as figured in the next Chapter, Apoc. xi.—This too is observable.

³ Here the reed like a *rod* had reference to Constantine’s *rod* of authority ; by whom the first defining of the temple.—Brightman’s “ church hidden in the secret part of the temple,” may have furnished Mede perhaps with a hint of his *atrium interius* and *exterius*.

⁴ The *two witnesses* Brightman makes to be the *Scriptures*, and the *assemblies of the faithful*.—Their 1260 years he makes to be but 1242 *Julian* years : which measured from Constantine’s accession, A. D. 304, ended in 1546, the year of the assembling of the Council of Trent ; which in its third Session *slew the Scriptures*, by making the *Vulgate* the only standard, and the authority of tradition equal to that of Scripture. The slaying of the *assemblies of the faithful* was by Charles the 5th’s victory over the Protestants, April 22, 1547 : against whom the Protestants of Magdeburgh rose in Oct. 1550, 3½ years from the former date ; and in 1555, having united with Maurice, overthrew Charles’s anti-Protestant plans, and procured freedom to the Reformed Religion.

⁵ This view of the epoch of the 7th Trumpet’s sounding was peculiar, I believe, to Brightman.

“ Apoc. xii. The first part of the seventh trumpet giveth yet a more full light into the state of the age past ; the century writers of Magdeburg being raised up by God.¹ The whole matter is repeated from the beginning, and we are taught ;—1. that the first Church of the Apostles was most pure, yet most of all afflicted by the Dragon,² i. e. the Roman heathenish emperors, who endeavoured with all their might that no way might be given to any Christian to the highest empire :—5. at length that Constantine the Great was born, the male child of the Church ; at whose birth, though the first purity fled into the wilderness from the eyes of men, yet this Constantine threw down the Dragon from Heaven, the heathenish emperors being driven out, and put from ever reigning again in or against the Church :—13. that, all hostile power being taken from the Dragon, he persecuted the Church under the Christian name by Constantius and Valens ;—15. and that he sought to overwhelm her, fleeing from him, with an inundation of barbarians rushing in upon the West ; 17. which flood being dried up, he stirred up the war of the Saracens.

“ Apoc. xiii. 1. The Dragon being cast out of heaven by Constantine, he substituted the Beast to be his Vicar there ; which Beast is the Pope of Rome, who sprung up at once with Constantine, was made great by the Nicene Council, was wounded by the Goths invading Italy, was healed by Justinian and Phocas, and thenceforth made greater than ever before. 11. The second Beast is the same Pope of Rome, enlarged in his dominions by Pepin and Charles the Great ; who gave him a new kind of springing up, whence he grew extremely wicked.

“ Apoc. xiv. For 1000 years from Constantine, the Church, abiding in most secret places, was hidden together with Christ, but did no

¹ Mark this reference to the Centuriators of Magdeburgh. And see p. 433 *supra*.

² The Dragon's ten horns are explained as alluding to the Roman ten imperial Provinces.

³ Mark here, 1st. Brightman's singular distinction of the *two Beasts*, as alike the Popes and their Empire, only at two successive times ; the earlier from Constantine to Pepin, the second from Pepin and Charlemagne ; the one being the *primary seventh head*, the other the *secondary seventh*, or *eighth* : 2. the notice (the first I have observed) of *Justinian's Decree* as an epoch of Papal greatness : 3. that Brightman makes the Beast's *ten horns* here to be the ten Christian Emperors, on the Beast's seventh head, from Constantine to Theodosius, *that gave power to the Pope* : whereas those that would in God's time *hate the whore and tear her*, as foretold in Apoc. xvii. 16, were a *later succession of them*, on the Beast's eighth head ; the first being Charles V.

great matter famous and remarkable in the world. 6. Those 1000 years being ended, Wicklif preached the Gospel in the world. 8. John Huss and Jerome of Prague succeeded him, who threatened the fall of Rome. 9. After these followeth Martin Luther, who inveighed most bitterly against the Pope of Rome. 14. After that there is a harvest made in Germany by Frederic of Saxony, the rest of the Protestant Princes, and the free cities. 17. After that a vintage in England by Thomas Cromwell and Thomas Cranmer.

“ Apoc. xv. Hitherto reacheth the first part of the 7th Trumpet concerning *things past*. 1. A preparation of *things to come*, is of the seven Angels with their Vials. 2. The reformed Churches dissent amongst themselves; yet all triumph over the Pope of Rome, being vanquished. 5. The temple is opened, and knowledge increaseth, and the citizens of the Church are made the ministers of the last plagues; the issue whereof the new people of the Jews expect, before they come to the faith.

“ Apoc. xvi. The Vials are poured out. The first, by our most gracious Queen Elizabeth, and other Protestant princes; by means whereof the Popish crew are filled full of ulcerous envy. 3. The second by Martin Chemnitius upon the Council of Trent; whereby the sea of Popish doctrine was made full of filthy matter, and car-
 rion-like contagion, by the Jesuits, the masters of controversies. 4. The third by William Cecil upon the Jesuits, who are the fountains of Popish doctrine; until when our times proceed.—The rest of the Vials are to come, yet shortly to be poured out. 8. The fourth upon the sun, *i. e.* the Scriptures; with the light whereof men shall be tormented, and shall break out into great anger and contentions. 10. The fifth upon the city of Rome, the throne of the Beast. 12. The sixth upon Euphrates; whereby a way shall be prepared for the Jews of the East, that after they have embraced the faith of the Gospel, they should return into their own country: where there shall be a great preparation of war; partly by the Turk against these new Christians, in the East, partly by the Pope in the West. 17. The seventh upon the air, whereby the mystery shall be made perfect; the Turkish and Popish name being both quite destroyed, the Church also being established in as great happiness as can be looked for upon the earth.

“ Apoc. xvii. 1. The first execution of the fifth Vial upon the throne of the Beast ; wherein it shall be demonstrated by most certain arguments, *by some man of no great account in the world*, both that Rome is the seat of Antichrist, and that it became that seat since the Roman emperors were banished thence.¹

“ Apoc. xviii. The second execution of the fifth Vial is the final destruction of the city of Rome by three angels :—1. the first descending out of heaven ; 4. the second exhorting the Romans to flight, and describing both the lamentations of the wicked, as also the joy of the faithful ; 21. the third confirming this everlasting destruction by a great millstone cast into the sea.

“ Apoc. xix. The joy of the saints is described because of the destruction of Rome. The sixth Vial is explained, and the calling of the Jews is taught. A preparation likewise of war : partly in respect of Christ the captain, and soldiers ; partly in respect of the enemies. 20. The seventh Vial is declared by the destruction of the false prophet, the Pope of Rome, the western enemy and his armies.

“ Apoc. xx. 1. The whole history of the Dragon is repeated, such as he was in the heathen emperors before his imprisonment : 2. such as he was in prison, whereinto he was cast by Constantine, and bound for 1000 years ; all which space there was a contention between the elect and the Pope of Rome : and after that was at length ended, the first resurrection is brought to pass ; many from all places in the West, with all their endeavour, seeking to attain to the sincere religion. 7. Together with this resurrection Satan is loosed, and the Turk, with the Scythians Gog and Magog : who now, destroying a great part of the earth, shall at length turn their forces against the holy city, *i. e.* the Jews that shall believe ; in which battle the Turkish name shall be quite defaced. 11. The second resurrection is brought to pass by the second and full calling of the Jews.²

“ Apoc. xxi. The last part of the seventh Vial describeth the happiness of the Church after all the enemies of it be vanquished ; by the new Jerusalem descending out of Heaven, being of a most glorious workmanship.

¹ Between Apoc. xvii. and xviii, Brightman inserts an admirable Treatise on Antichrist against Bellarmine.

² An explanation of the rising of the dead, small and great, and the judgment of the great white throne, in which Brightman, I believe, stands alone.

“ Apoc. xxii. 1. It is declared how this happiness shall abound both with drink and with meat, to the use of others, and shall remain for ever.¹ 6. The conclusion confirmeth the whole prophecy, with many most effectual arguments.”

Pareus' Commentary followed not long after Brightman's. It was the substance of Lectures, delivered in the year 1608² to the Academy of Heidelberg, over which he presided ; but seems not to have been published till the year 1615.³ My own edition is an English translation by Elias Arnold ; printed Amsterdam, 1644.

In the *four first Seals* he makes the *horse* the Church, Christ being its *rider* : first *white*, with reference to its primitive purity ; chiefly for the first 200 or 300 years : next *red*, with reference to its persecutions and blood-shedding of martyrs, early begun, and running on to Constantine : thirdly *black*, with reference to the heresies that soon darkened it ; Christ holding the *balance* of his word with which to try them, and the words about *corn*, *wine*, &c. indicating a spiritual scarcity : fourthly *pale*, as with the deadly disease of Antichristianism : a disease prepared in the clerical and prelatical luxury and pride consequent on the Constantinian revolution, and developed, as having then taken hold of the whole body ecclesiastical, in the time of Gregory and Boniface III ; the latter made Universal Bishop by Phocas, and so sitting in the chair of “ universal pestilence.” The *fifth Seal* depicts the blessedness of the martyrs slain in Christ's cause, from Nero to Boniface, “ the first Antichrist ;” with intimation added of another set of martyrs to be slain under Antichrist before the time of vengeance : the *sixth Seal*, 1. the horrible confusions and calamities from which the Church was to suffer, for 1000 years and more, under the reign of Antichrist ; 2. the day of the Lamb's wrath and judgment against the Antichristians ; 3. the preservation meanwhile of a true Church to himself during Antichrist's reign, figured under the 144,000 sealed ones ; and 4. their ultimate triumph and blessedness in Heaven.—On the *seventh Seal's* opening,

¹ i. e. as he explains, “ all the time the world shall last after this.”

² Pareus' Preface notes the date, being thus headed ; “ The Author's Preface on the Revelation of St. John, happily begun and propounded to his auditory in the University, Anno 1608.—It was the result of *thirty years'* thought, he tells us, p. 20.

³ At p. 18 of the English Edition Pareus gives an extract from a letter received by him, apparently while preparing the work for publication, or while passing it through the press, dated March 1615.

Pareus explains the *half-hour's silence* to be merely a break and pause, during which St. John rested from the contemplation ; a new series of visions being then marked as commencing.

For he makes these visions to retrogress to the times of the beginning of the Christian Church. First, Christ, as having ascended, is seen acting as the High Priest for his people ; and sends down the fire of the Holy Ghost on his disciples, in answer to their prayers :—consequent on which are the *voices, thunderings, and lightnings* ; typifying what before was typified under the red, black, and pale horses ; and an earthquake moreover, answering to the revolution in the church and world, caused by the rise of the Papal Antichrist and of Mahomet.

The *Trumpets* Pareus refers to the same times respectively as the corresponding Seals : the 1st being significant of the injuries to the faithful, from the time of Nero to Domitian ; the 2nd of the bloodshed of the subsequent Pagan persecutions to Constantine ; the 3rd of the preparation for Antichrist, in the rapidly-developed ecclesiastical apostacy ; an apostacy fitly figured as *a star falling from heaven*, and embittering the streams of Church doctrine : the 4th being the darkening of the Church under the advancing apostacy ; the 5th and 6th the rising of the Western and Eastern Antichrist, or the Popes and Mahomet : the desolations by the former of whom were depicted under the figure of *locusts*, the time *five months* having only reference to the usual time of locusts making their ravages ; those by the latter under that of *horses and horsemen* from the Euphrates. In the case of the Euphratean horsemen *the four angels bound* were Arabians, Saracens, Tartars, Turks : the “ hour, day, month and year,” for which they were prepared, designating only their preparation at any day that the Lord should send them. For Pareus, while noticing Brightman’s notable view of this clause, as meaning a period of 396 years from A.D. 1300, measuring the Turkish empire’s duration, hesitates to admit it.—The *non-repenting remnant*, Apoc. ix. 20, is explained of the Papists still persisting in idolatry, after all the Turkish desolations of Christendom.

In Apoc. x. the vision of the *Covenant-Angel* shows Christ’s provisions for the preservation of a Christian ministry, and for the opening of his word, during *all* the long times of opposition, especially

that under Antichrist. (So that Pareus, like Brightman before him, made a less definite application of this prophecy to the times of the great Lutheran Reformation than some of his Protestant predecessors had done.)—By the Angel's *oath* it appeared, he says, that but one Trumpet more remained after the Turkish woe to the consummation. “*Thou must prophesy again,*” is applied by him to the preachers of truth near the end of the 5th and 6th Trumpets; also the *measuring of the Temple* to the Church's reformation, as begun about the time of Huss, continued A.D. 1517. The 1260 days of the *Gentiles treading the Holy City*, he *inclines* to reckon as 1260 years, beginning from Boniface's grant of the title of universal Bishop to the Roman Pope, A.D. 606; a period ending, says he, A.D. 1866. But he leaves the *decision* of this point with God. The *two Witnesses* he understands indefinitely for all true Christian witnesses. Their symbolized slaughter in the great city, and the 3½ days' exposure of their dead bodies, had respect to the repeated slaughter, and as repeated revival very speedily of Christ's witnessing servants: Foxe's particular case of Huss and Jerome at Constance, and Brightman's case of the Council of Trent's temporary triumph over Protestantism, and its revival through Prince Maurice, both included. The Witnesses' resurrection he explains of the martyred saints' resurrection literally: and makes the *tenth part of the city*, that fell, to be the part that fell off from the great city of Papal Christendom at the time of the Reformation.

In Apoc. xii the *Woman* (as usual) he makes the Church; the Dragon the Devil; his seven heads and ten horns symbolizing indefinitely the multitude of earthly powers under him. The battle or war in heaven, is explained 1st *allegorically*, of the conflict of Christ and Satan; 2nd *historically*, of Constantine's being advanced to the throne of the Roman Empire.—The waters cast after the Woman are heresies, such as the Arian, &c: and the Woman's 1260 days in the wilderness to be dated from the Papal Antichrist's constitution by Phocas, as before.—In Apoc. xiii the *first Beast* out of the *sea*, is the Popedom with reference to the Popes' asserted *imperial* power and authority; his *deadly wound* that of the Papal schism healed at Constance: the *second Beast* being the Papal Antichrist in his character of a seducing *Prelate*; the head with the members, or whole crew of

his seducing priests. The *Image of the Beast* Pareus deems to be one image for many ; meaning the *images of saints*, which the Papal Beast requires men to worship. The name and number he makes with Irenæus and Foxe, respectively, to be *Λατρευος* and *שבעים*.—In Apoc. xiv the *first preaching Angel* is explained as Wicliffe ; the *second* as Luther ; the *third* all faithful preachers since Luther.—In Apoc. xvi. the *seven last plagues* are the plagues under the last of the four periods into which the Christian æra is divided : viz. 1, that to Constantine ; 2, that to Phocas ; 3, that to Leo and Luther ; 4, and last, that after Luther. The 1st *Vial* is the sore that fell on the Popedom from Luther's Reformation ; the 2nd the deadly decrees of the Council of Trent ; the 3rd, the persecuting Papal Bishops and Doctors ; the 4th, a fresh heat and light from the Scriptures opened by Christ, yet with the result of only the more enraging the Papists ; the 5th, the darkening of Rome of its former lustre ; the 6th, the drying up of the resources of the Antichristian Babylon or Rome ; the 7th, the smiting of the air or natural atmosphere with pestilence, and the universal destruction then following.

On Apoc. xvii Pareus explains *the Beast* to designate Antichrist not simply, but as clothed with the skin of the Roman Empire : an Empire which “*was*” under the old government of kings, consuls, &c ; which “*is not*” because of the Roman ecclesiastical hierarchy not having begun in St. John's time ; and which “*is to ascend out of the bottomless pit*” at the time of Phocas. Further the *seven kings*, answering in the *seven hills*, are construed by him, after Aretius, Napier, and Brightman,¹ to signify Kings, Consuls, Dictators, Decemvirs, Military Tribunes, and Emperors, according to the enumeration of Rome's ruling magistrates given in Tacitus ; *five* having

¹ This explanation has been ascribed to James I. (Daubuz on Apoc. xii. 3.) In King James's comment I find the explanation stands thus. “The seven heads of the Beast signify as well seven material hills, whereupon the seat of this monarchy is situated ; as also seven kings, or *divers forms of magistrates*, that this empire hath had, and is to have hereafter.” He is said by the Editor of the Edition of his Works in 1616, the then Bishop of Winchester, to have written this commentary on the Revelations before he was twenty years old ; which would be A. D. 1586. And I see in Watts' Bibliotheca that 1588 is put down as the date of its first publication. Now this was the same year that Foxe's *Eicasm* was published, giving the same solution ; and giving it as from Peter Artopæus and Dr. Fulke, both some years King James' seniors. See my p. 437 *suprà*. Fulke published on the Apocalypse A. D. 1573, and died 1589 : Artopæus earlier. And, as I observed at p. 437, Osiander suggested nearly the same yet earlier.

passed away, and the *sixth*, or Pagan Emperors, holding the rule at the time when St. John saw the vision : the *seventh* head being the Roman *Christian Emperors* from Constantine, and the *eighth* the Popes or Antichrist. “And *is of the seven*,” Pareus understands to mean, that this eighth would have the same power as the seven previous. (He notes in passing, that other Protestant Expositors made the eighth to be the *French and German Emperors of the West*.) With regard to the *ten horns* symbolized, he supposes them to have sprung out of the 7th head, or that of the *Christian Cæsars*. The statement that the ten kings, after rising *at one and the same time with* the Beast, are to strip and make bare the Woman, or Rome, he speaks of as a thing still future.¹ But they are not, he adds, *there-with to destroy the Papal Antichrist* : he being destined to survive Rome’s destruction, and to be destroyed only by the brightness of Christ’s coming.

On Apoc. xx the Millennium is explained nearly on the Augustinian principle ; Satan having no power, says Pareus, after Christ’s first advent and ministry effectually *to maintain Paganism* : and his destined post-millennial loosing was at the time of Antichrist’s full development in Gregory VII ; i. e. A.D. 1073. Meanwhile the saints and martyrs did all *reign with Christ in heaven after death* during that earlier part of Antichrist’s reign, which lasted from 606 to 1073 ; in which, although he was not then fully developed, they had yet to encounter and resist him. (Pareus here takes occasion to controvert the Chiliasts ; the *first resurrection* being *spiritual*, he says, not *corporal*.)—Then Gog and Magog are explained as the *Turks* loosed about the time of Gregory VII ; and finally that it was the heavenly glory of the redeemed that was typified under the figure of the *New Jerusalem*.

By far the most valuable part of Pareus’ exposition seems to me to consist in his interpretation of the *two Beasts* ; distinguishing between them, as he did, to symbolize the Popes in their *imperial* supremacy, and the Popes in their *ecclesiastical* and *prelatic* supremacy. The application of the Papal pretensions as *Christ’s Vicar*, (or *Antichrist*,) on which in fact the Pope’s grand *supra-imperial* supremacy

¹ On this passage Pareus strongly insists that the right reading is *ἐν τῷ θηρίῳ*, and not what Bellarmine would have, *καὶ τῷ θηρίῳ*.

was grounded, was however overlooked by Pareus. Nor was he more successful than his predecessors, as I think, in solving the Beast's *seventh* head, though clear on the *eighth*. On certain other points he appears to have retrogressed, rather than advanced.

The reader has now before him, pretty much the state in which Apocalyptic interpretation was left at the close of the *æra and century of the Reformation*.

§ VI. FROM THE END OF THE CENTURY OF THE REFORMATION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

Our sixth and last Section of the History of Apocalyptic Interpretation opens naturally with *Mede*, Pareus' immediate successor; one whose works have generally been thought to constitute an *æra* in the science. It then passes to *Bossuet*, *Vitringa*, and *Daubuz*, as the next Expositors of chief repute among Romanists and Protestants: and then, after a brief supplementary addendum, to what may be called modern times.

1. *Mede*.—It was in 1627 that Mede first published his *Clavis Apocalyptica*, in 1632 his *Commentary*. The reputation of these works, especially in England, is well known. He was looked on, and written of, as a man almost inspired for the solution of the Apocalyptic mysteries. And certainly of his learning, as well as of his modesty and worth, there could not be too high an opinion. Yet, if it be permitted to express freely an opinion on so great a man, it seems to me that his success has been over-estimated as an Apocalyptic Expositor. For if on some important points he much advanced the science, on others I conceive him to have very materially caused it to retrograde. This will appear as I proceed.

The Tabular Scheme of his views appended on my next Page, and the observations on them scattered through the *Horæ*, will do away with the necessity of entering into them so particularly as might otherwise have been desirable. Suffice it to say with reference to the *Seals*, that the 1st Seal is supposed by Mede to depict the early gospel victories; the 2nd, the wars of Trajan and Hadrian; the 3rd, the severe justice, and procuration of corn, notable in the

MEDE'S APOCALYPTIC SCHEME.

THE SEVEN-SEALED BOOK									
SIX FIRST SEALS.			THE SEVENTH Seven TRUMPET			SEAL, Trumpets.			
SEAL			containing			SEVEN			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	The MYSTERY OF GOD is finished, as foreshown to the Prophets.		
Victory : CHRIST.	Slaughter : ADAMIA.	Balance : SEVERAL.	Death : GALLIENUS.	Altar : DIOCLETIAN.	Earthquake : CONSTANTINE.				
			Hall : ALABIC.			Sealing of 144,000 out of all the tribes of Israel.			Palmbearing Company out of all nations.
			Burning Mountain : GOTHs and VANDALS to GERMANY.			Falling Star : OPACER.			Kingdoms of this World
			Eclipse of Luminaries : TOTIAS.			Locusts : SARACEN.			become the kingdoms of Christ.
			Ruphratean Horsemen : TURK.			Satan bound, and Saints reign with Christ, 1000 years.			The Lamb's Wife, NEW JERUSALEM descends from heaven : And the nations walk in her light.
						Outer Court (or Holy City) unmeasured is given to the Gentiles 42 months.			loosed.
						Christ's two witnesses prophesy 1260 days in sackcloth.			
						Woman is driven by Dragon into the wilderness ; there to be nourished 1260 days.			
						Seven-headed ten-horned Beast, revived under last head, blasphemes and domineers 42 months.			
						Two-horned Beast, or False Prophet, exercises all the power of First Beast before him.			
						The 144,000, that sing the new song, tell of coming judgments.			
						Harlot Babylon, on ten-horned Beast, under last head, makes drunk the nations with her poison-cup.			
THE LITTLE OPENED BOOK.									

reigns of the two Severi; the 4th, the famine, pestilence, and murderous wars of the æra of Gallienus; the 5th, Diocletian's persecution; the 6th, the overthrow of Paganism and its empire by Constantine.—Again of the *Trumpets*, the 1st is explained of Alaric; the 2nd, of the Gothic and Vandal desolators of the Empire that followed, down to Genseric; the 3rd, of the extinction of the Hesperus, or Western Emperor, by Odoacer; the 4th, of the ravages of Totilas, whereby Rome received its last desolations; the 5th, of the Saracens; the 6th, of the Turks.—In most of which particulars I conceive Mede to have made advances to the true interpretation: adjusting the 5th and 6th Seals, as he did, to the times respectively of Diocletian and Constantine, not of Claudius and Diocletian like Brightman; while following Brightman mainly in the exposition (the *Rome-referring* exposition) of the four Seals previous:¹ and also in the four earlier Trumpets, instead of Brightman's "*contention, ambition, heresy, and war,*" applying the emblems to prefigure the successive epochs in the Gothic desolations, and overthrow of the Western Empire. In the evolution, however, of the particular details, he seems to me unsuccessful: the *one third* of the four first Trumpets having no definite explanation; and the *land, sea, and rivers* being expounded loosely and figuratively, so as I have stated in my Vol. i. pp. 329. The two *prophetic periods* in the fifth and sixth trumpets are explained by him, as are all the other prophetic periods, on the *year-day* principle: the locusts' 150 *days* of the ravages of the Saracens on the Italian coast from A.D. 830—980; a solution certainly anything but happy:² the Euphratean horsemen's *hour day month and year*, much more happily, of the 396 years' interval, from the Turkman's investiture with the sword by the Caliph at Bagdad, A.D. 1057, to the destruction of Constantinople, A.D. 1453.³ In his reference of the smoke and sulphur of the sixth trumpet to the Turkish cannon, he well follows Brightman: explaining the figures *definitely*, and according to the analogy of Scripture prophecies, from *visible appearances*: and adds too, as

¹ On the third Seal, I should observe, Mede, though explaining it to refer to the times of Severus, yet makes it signify, not as Brightman, a scarcity then occurring, but the justice and procurations of corn by the Emperor.

² All the main strength of the Saracens had in 830 past away, as I have shown in my Chapter on the subject.

³ See my Vol. i. p. 499, Note ².

illustrative of the meaning of the emblem in the fifth trumpet, a notice from Pliny of the flowing hair of the Saracens, on the same interpretative principle.¹

But now comes what seems to me to have been the most unfortunate, as well as most striking novelty in Mede's Commentary: viz. his explanation of the *Little Book* in Apoc. x, as a *new and distinct prophecy* from that of the *seven-sealed Book*: the Covenant Angel's descent and lion-like cry, the seven answering thunders, the Angel's oath, and the giving John the book to eat, being merely introductory to, and the ushering in of, this new prophecy. "The former prophecy," says he, "was of the fates of the *Roman Empire*; this, by far nobler, of the fates of *religion and the Church*."² Hence, besides a departure from all simplicity of Apocalyptic arrangement, the setting aside also of that which had been the most striking and admirable feature in the Protestant Commentaries of the preceding æra; viz. the application of the vision of the Covenant Angel's descent, of the prophesying again, and of the measuring of the temple, more or less to the Reformation. Reasons Mede gives none; except that the charge "Thou must prophesy again" indicated a new prophecy: that which assuredly the word prophesy need not indicate:³ and which involves the setting aside of the *representative character* of St. John; a view so early taken, so long cherished, and so exceedingly applied by the Reformers on this particular passage, though never indeed *fully* carried out. Unfounded, however, as was Mede's view of this vision, and of the Little Book, it has been repeated and perpetuated by Apocalyptic Expositors, to the great obscuration of the Apocalypse, even to the present day.⁴—The prophecy of the Little Book thus introduced, Mede begins its development by the further very singular interpretation, first of *the measuring of the inner court and temple*, then of *casting out the outer court and not measuring it*, as indicating two chronologically-successive states of the Church, of *lengths propor-*

¹ A principle which I have expanded in my application of the fifth Trumpet to the Saracens.

² E. g. mark how the sounding of the 7th Trumpet, which belongs to the *seven-sealed Book*, and is related Apoc. xi. 15, cuts into the prophecies of the *Little Book*. See the Tabular Scheme.

³ See my Vol. ii. p. 146, &c.

⁴ Alike Jurien, Vitringa, Bishop Newton, and in our own days Cuninghame, Faber, &c, have more or less followed Mede in the view.

tional:¹ the first the more primitive Church of the first three or four centuries, which was conformed to the rule of God's word; the second that which succeeded, and was in character gentilized and apostate. With which latter coincide the 1260 days, or years, of Christ's two Witnesses' prophesying in sackcloth: the *two* signifying *many*, or sufficient at least to keep up a valid testimony.—So Mede comes to the clause, Apoc. xi. 7: "When they shall have completed," or, as he renders it, "when they shall be about finishing their testimony, the Beast shall kill them," &c: a passage which he construes as predicting what was still in his time future; and that which would immediately precede the fall of Papal Rome. For the *tenth part of the city*, whose fall is mentioned immediately after the Witnesses' resurrection and ascension, (ascension to political eminence, says Mede) is made by him to mean the city of modern Rome, *as being but the tenth size of ancient Rome*; a notion which he illustrates by an ichnographical plate, exhibiting the comparative size of the two cities.

In Apoc. xii the vision of the *Woman* and *Dragon* is explained of Constantine's war with, and overthrow of, the Roman Pagan Emperors and Paganism.—In Apoc. xiii and xvii the *first Beast* is the Roman Secular Empire, or Decem-regal Body of Western Christendom,² *under the Pope*, as the Beast's last ruling head:³ the five heads of the old Roman Empire, that had fallen in St. John's time, being Kings, Consuls, Dictators, Decemvirs, and Military Tribunes, so as they had been interpreted by Fulke, Foxe, and others; the 6th, or head reigning when St. John saw the vision, the Imperial Cæsars; (Cæsars then Pagan, but destined in time to be changed into *Christian Cæsars*, which last might be reckoned a new head to the Beast, says Mede, or might not;⁴) the seventh the Popes: the Beast's *deadly wound* having been sustained in passing from the sixth to the seventh or last head.⁵—The *second Beast* was the Pope and

¹ See the Tabular Scheme.

² "Bestia decem-cornupeta seu Secularis, est Universitas illa decem plus minus regnorum in unam denuo Rempublicam Romanam, redintegratâ Draconis impietate, coalescentium." He adds that all the horns were on the 7th or last Head. Pp. 498, 499.

³ "Decem illa regna, *Pseudopropheta* capitis sui auspiciis, cum Agno pugnabunt." So on Apoc. xvii. 16.

⁴ See my Vol. iii. p. 103.

⁵ "In transitu à sexto capite ad novissimum Bestia lethali vulnere occubuit." P. 501.

Papal clergy.¹ The *Image of the Beast* the first Beast itself, or Secular decem-regal Empire; as being but the shadow and revived ghost of the old Roman Empire, or Beast under its sixth head.² The Beast's name and number is *Λατρεύς*.—In Apoc. xiv the first flying Angel Mede makes to be Vigilantius and the early Iconoclastic Emperors; the second, the Waldenses; the third, Luther.—In Apoc. xvi. the Vials, which he considers to figure the destruction of Antichrist, are 1st, the wound given to the Popedom by the Waldenses, Wicliffites, and Hussites; 2nd, Luther's secession and protest; 3rd, Queen Elizabeth's secession and protest; these three Vials being past, the rest future. Of which last the 4th, on the *Sun*, would be on the German Emperor, as chief luminary in the Papal Imperial system; and, while I write, says Mede, news is brought of a Prince from the north (meaning Gustavus Adolphus) gaining victories over the Emperor in defence of the afflicted German Protestants: the fifth Vial, that on the *seat of the Beast*, meaning one on Rome; the sixth, that of the drying up of the Euphratean flood, the exhaustion of the Turkish Empire; by the which the way of the *Jews* from the East would be prepared: the seventh, on the *air*, being one on Satan's power, as the Prince of the power of the air.

Finally, as all know, the *millennium* is construed by Mede, so as by the oldest patristic expositors, Irenæus, Justin Martyr, &c; the *first resurrection* being the literal resurrection of the saints, fulfilled on Christ's coming to Antichrist's destruction.

2. Bossuet.

The Apocalyptic Comment of this Roman Catholic Prelate deserves the more attention from us, as being written by one who is, I believe, confessedly the ablest as well as the most eloquent of controversialists on the Papal side; and written by him, deliberately and avowedly, in order to wrest out of the hands of Protestants a weapon

¹ “*Bestia Bicornis, seu Pseudo-Propheta, Pontifex Romanus cùm suo Clero.*” P. 505.

² “*Bestia Romana capitis novissimi est imago Bestiæ sexto capite mactatæ.*” P. 506. And again, p. 505: “*Qui*” (viz. the Pseudo-Propheta, or Second Beast) “*eo sensim reges, ex dissipato Caesarum Imperio nuper in orbe Romano natos, induxit, ut sibi, cassæque jam alioquin imperio Romæ, colla unanimiter submittentes, pristini jamque demoliti Imperii Ethnici imaginem induerent.*”

used so often and so powerfully by them against his Church.—For some time following the Reformation the Romish Doctors were very shy of the subject; and after Thomas Aquinas, (as the venerable Foxe tells us in the Preface to his *Eicasm*,¹) had 'up to the year 1587 scarce ventured to write a word of Comment on the Apocalypse. But just a year or two before his death, *Ribera*, a Jesuit Priest of Salamanca, took up the question, and published an Apocalyptic Commentary; which vehemently excited the indignation of our countryman Brightman,² and served to hasten on his own antagonistic and masterly exposition. Again in 1604 *Alcasar*, another Spanish Jesuit, but of Seville, published a copious Commentary on the Apocalypse, still more Papistic in its character than *Ribera's*, in time to receive the notice of Pareus.³ Of these two I subjoin a brief notice below.⁴ The more learned, however of the

¹ "Post Thomam illum haud quisquam fere sit ex totâ illâ cohorte Pontificiâ, infinitâque scribentium multitudine, qui vel verbum in hanc Apocalypsim commentare sit ausus." Præfat.

² So in the Dedication of his Comment "to the Holy Reformed Churches of Britain, Germany, and France." Says he: "But mine anger and indignation burst out against the Jesuits. For when as I had by chance light upon *Ribera*, who had made a Commentary upon the same holy Revelation, Is it even so? said I. Do the Papists take heart again, so as that book, which of a long time before they would scarce suffer any man to touch, they dare now take in hand, to intreat fully upon it? What! was it but a vain image or bug, at the sight whereof they were wont to tremble a few years since, even in the dim light, that now they dare be bold to look wishly on this glasse in the clear sunshine; and dare proclaime to the world that any other thing rather is poynted at in it than their Pope of Rome?"

³ In his Preface Pareus specially notices him; (see next Note;) and also from time to time in the body of his Commentary.

⁴ "*Ribera*," says Pareus, p. 16, "explicates the argument of the Apocalypse as being nothing else but certain commentaries upon that prophecy of our Lord in Matt. xxiv, touching the state of the Church, and the signs of *the last times*." At p. 4, Pareus observes that *Ribera* makes the ten horns of the Beast to be ten kings that shall be the only kings in the world at Antichrist's coming; and that, *three* of them being destroyed, there shall only remain *seven*, who shall fight for Antichrist against the Lamb, being *Pagan*, not Christian kings. (Is it not they that will have given their power to the Beast, says Pareus, that are to have it put in their hearts to hate and tear the Whore; their former support of her having been through ignorance?) Also Pareus says that they (the Romanists, and especially, I suppose, *Ribera*) were expecting their Antichrist to arise every day, out of the Jewish tribe of Dan.

On the other hand *Alcasar*, Pareus tells us, p. 16, explained the Revelation as teaching "that Rome, of old the head of Pagan idolatry, by an admirable vicissitude was to be changed into the metropolis of the Catholic Church; that the Roman Church was gloriously to triumph both in respect of the Roman city and the whole empire; and that the sovereign authority of the Roman Bishop should always remain in the height of honour." *Alcasar* exults, and gratulates the Pope, that he first out of the

Roman Catholic Doctors seem not to have been satisfied with them.¹ And when in 1685, just after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes,² *M. Jurieu*, one of the exiled French Calvinist Ministers, had published his work on the Apocalyptic prophecy, (a work mainly based on Mede's views, but with various new particular applications to his own time and his own country,³) the Bishop of Meaux thought it

darkness of the Apocalypse should have showed this light. (Surely, observes Pareus, this might cause laughter or shame even to the Roman Court itself.)

Further, Pareus says, p. 17, Alcasar's general argument is that the Apocalypse describes a twofold war of the Church; one with the *Synagogue*, the other with *Paganism*; and a twofold victory and triumph over both adversaries. More particularly the development of the subject was thus:—1. from Apoc. i—xi the rejection of the Jews, and desolation of Jerusalem by the Romans: 2. from Apoc. xii—xx, both inclusive, the overthrow of Paganism, and empire of the Roman Church over Rome and the whole world; the judgment of the Great Whore, and destruction of Babylon, being effected by Constantine and his successors: 3. in Apoc. xxi, xxii, under the type of the Lamb's Bride, the New Jerusalem, a description of the glorious and triumphant state of the *Roman Church in heaven*.

¹ *Sylveira*, a Portuguese Carmelite, had also published before Bossuet on the Apocalypse; viz. A.D. 1661; his Exposition being on a general *historic* principle. But it was one little approved by Romanists.

² *Jurieu's* date is given at pp. 203, 254 of my English edition; (London, 1687:) at the latter page as the year of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

³ *Jurieu* avowedly takes Mede as his master in Apocalyptic interpretation; except in the parts of latest application.

In the *Seals* he only differs from him by expounding the first Seal not of Christ, but of a *Roman subject*, and *Roman Emperors*; (viz. of Vespasian and Titus, with respect to their victories and general prosperity;) consistently with Mede's Rome-referring explanation of the horses and horsemen of the three next Seals.

In the *Trumpets* he improves on Mede by expounding the falling star that made bitter the third part of the rivers, not of the extinction in the Western Empire by Odoacer, but of an epoch and a part of the Gothic ravages of Western Christendom: (viz. in the *provinces*, which might be viewed as the *rivers*; Rome and Italy being as the *sea*;) the extinction of the Western Emperors being symbolized by the darkening of the heavenly lights in the 4th Trumpet.

The *Little Book* he interprets with Mede as a new prophecy: and dwells with admiration on the idea thrown out by our English Expositor, that as the *unmeasured* state of the court, or Church, was to be for $3\frac{1}{2}$ times, i. e. 1260 years, so the proportion of the Jewish temple proper to the court, indicated the Church's previous better and *measured* state to be about 360 years: an indication agreeable with fact. The *Beast* too he explains as Mede: making its 7th head to be the Papal Antichrist; and the possible two-fold division of the 6th or imperial head into Pagan and Christian Emperors, to be the solution of the enigma of the last head being both the 8th and the 7th.

In his Chapter on the *Witnesses* Jurieu expresses his opinion, that the *last* persecution of Christ's people had commenced in the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes: the death of the two Apocalyptic Witnesses having then begun at least to have fulfilment; and their prefigured resurrection being anticipated by him either in $3\frac{1}{2}$ years from that date, or $3\frac{1}{2}$ years from some further act of the same persecution, as extended

well to take up the matter ; and to apply his great talents to the drawing up of an Exposition, such as might be conformable with the dogmas and requirements of the Romish faith, and sufficiently strong and solid (so he expected) to withstand the criticism of Protestants.¹ —I now proceed to give a sketch of it. It is framed much more on Alcasar's plan than Ribera's ; on that of the *præterists* ; not of the *futurists* : though with reference, in the *Jewish* part, only to the later calamities of the Jews ; not to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, which had happened, Bossuet judged, before the giving of the Apocalypse. The grand subject of the Prophecy he conceives to be the triumph of Christianity over Judaism and Paganism ; i. e. Paganism as established in the Roman Empire : the details as follows.

The *six first Seals* exhibit the subject in the general. There is 1st Christ's moving forth as a conqueror ; then in the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Seals, his judgments of war, famine, and pestilence, on the enemies of Christianity : then in the 5th Seal, persecutions of Christians, perhaps to the Waldenses, or other Protestant Christians ; such as might possibly furnish the intended date of commencement to the $3\frac{1}{2}$ mystic days of the Witnesses lying dead in the *street* of the great Papal City, or empire ; i. e. France. Further, he judged that the *tenth of the Great City* destined to fall, on the Witnesses' ascent, meant also France ; which would fall from the Popedom by embracing the Reformation. After this, some time might probably elapse in order to the full effect of the exposure of Antichrist : and thus the epoch of the fall of the Popedom might be probably about A.D. 1710 or 1715 ; this being the end of the 1260 years, as computed from A.D. 450 or 455.

In the details of the *Vials* Jurieu altogether deserts Mede ; though agreeing with him in placing them mainly under the 6th Trumpet. Thus Vial 1 was the gross corruption of Popery, and outbreking of its open sores in the 10th century : Vials 2 and 3 figured the bloodshedding in the earlier and later crusades : Vial 4 was the intolerable scorching of the Papal despotism, from the 11th to the 14th century : Vial 5, on the seat of the Beast, was the transference of the Pope's residence from Rome to Avignon : Vial 6 was the drying up, as it were, of the Bosphorus, before the Turks, and their consequent overthrow of Constantinople and Eastern Christendom ; which Bosphorus had been previously the Eastern barrier to Greek Christendom, so as had been the Euphrates in old times to the Roman Empire : Vial 7 was the earthquake of the Reformation : the great City, or Papal Christendom, being after it divided into three divisions of Papists, Lutherans, and Reformed. (The English Church, being in communion with the Reformed, could not be considered, he says p. 220, a fourth division.)

On the *Millennium* Jurieu shows that it never yet had had fulfilment ; anticipating from it a reign of the saints on earth, the Jews' restoration, and fulfilment concurrently of the prophecies of the blessedness of the latter day in the Old Testament. He also decidedly *inclines* to think that the *first resurrection* is a *literal* resurrection of the departed saints ; then at length to take part in the glory of the manifested kingdom of Christ.

¹ It was published A.D. 1690.

and the reason of God's delay of judgments, viz. till the number of martyrs be completed : further, in the 6th, a picture of political convulsion and revolution ; applicable first to the overthrow of the Jewish people ; secondly to that of the Roman Empire ; thirdly to what the others might be considered in a manner typical of, that is the general judgment.

Then to *particulars*.—After an illustration in the 7th chapter of what was said in Seal 5 of the cause of the delay of God's judgments, by a representation of the sealing of such as were elect unto salvation among the Jews, and also of the salvation of Gentile martyrs innumerable, from out of the Empire of Pagan Rome, the *first four Trumpets* thus depicted the progress of God's judgments against the Jews. Trumpet 1 showed the primary victory over the Jews by Trajan : Trumpet 2, the victories over them by Adrian ; Trumpet 3, the impostor Barchochebas, (Son of a star,) declaring himself the Messiah, and so stirring up his countrymen to the war : Trumpet 4, the obscuration of the Scriptures, especially of the prophetic Scriptures, (which were as *luminaries* to the Jews,) by the compilation of their Talmud : the subjects particularly obscured being Christ, the Sun, and the Church, the moon. In all which Trumpets the *third part*, spoken of as affected, meant that *not all* the Jews would be killed, *not all* the light extinguished, &c.—Then the subject passed from the Jews. In Trumpet 5 the *scorpion-locusts* were Judaizing heresies, introduced soon after Adrian's destruction of the Jews by Theodotus of Byzantium, and continued onwards to Artemon and Paul of Samosata ; heresies concerning the Trinity and Christ's Divinity : the commission not to *kill*, but only to *torment*, showing that this plague was not one of invading warrior-foes. On the other hand Trumpet 6 exhibited the woe of an invading enemy of horsemen from the Euphrates : viz. the Persians ; who after a while overthrew, and took captive, the Emperor Valerian.

In Apoc. x. Bossuet, like Mede, makes the *Little Book* a prophecy ; but only as the remainder of that of the seven-sealed Book ; its contents being developed in the chapters following.—Thus in Apoc. xi we have first a general view of Christ's witnesses and martyrs, during the persecutions of Pagan Rome : some (for example that of the Emperor Valerian) lasted near about $3\frac{1}{2}$ years ; though that

term of time, or its equivalent 42 months, signified rather a certain limit of time, ordained by God to one and all of them. Next, and when the Witnesses should have finished their testimony under Pagan Rome, there is the prophecy of Diocletian's persecution of them, (Diocletian, *the Beast from the abyss*,) and temporary suppression of the Christian worship; followed, however, quickly by a figuration of the revival under Constantine:—the song in heaven, on the 7th Trumpet's sounding, "The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our God and of his Christ," having reference to the establishment of Christianity then effected in the Roman Empire.—A more particular figuration of which, and of its consequences, followed in the next chapter. For the male-child of the travelling Woman, or Church, was Constantine: the war of the Dragon against the Woman before her child-birth, being that with Maxentius; the war in heaven afterwards, that with Maximin; the floods cast out of the Dragon's mouth, as the Woman fled to the desert, that with Licinius. Then in Apoc. xiii, came the figuring of the revival as it were of Diocletian (*the Beast that had killed the Witnesses*) in the apostate Emperor Julian: the *second Beast*, with two lamb-like horns, being Julian's Pagan priests and philosophers, pretending to miracles and moral maxims like those of Christianity: the *Image of the Beast*, images of Pagan gods made to speak oracles, &c, by the Pagan priesthood: the Beast's *name and number* (here it is the *original* not the *revived Beast*) *Diocles Augustus*.

Then in Apoc. xiv the prophecy proceeds to announce the fall of Rome and of the Roman Empire, through the Gothic invasion. The *harvest-judgment* is that by *Alaric*; the *vintage* that by *Attila*.—The *Vials* trace out the same subject more particularly, and as beginning from an earlier date. The *ελκος* of the 1st Vial was the great plague in the time of Valerian and Gallienus: the 2nd Vial figured the bleeding Empire, as if dead; the 3rd, the civil wars and thirty tyrants; the 4th, the drought and famine of that period, commemorated by Cyprian; the 5th, Valerian's defeat by the Persians; the 6th, the drying up of the Euphratean barrier, and opening of a passage into the Empire to the kings from the East, i.e. the Persians; the *frogs*, the magicians, &c. who urged on Valerian to his fated Armageddon, i.e. the field of battle where he was captured

by the Persians: the 7th, on the air, with its earthquake and hail, the capture of Rome by Alaric.

Yet again, Apoc. xvii reveals other important points in the subject, more in detail. The Beast's *seven heads* were Diocletian, Galerius, Maximian, Constantius Chlorus, the four Emperors in whose joint names the first Edict of persecution went forth; together with Maxentius, Maximin, and Licinius, three persecuting Emperors afterwards added. At the precise time to which the vision related, A.D. 312, five of these *had fallen*, viz. the first mentioned four and Maxentius: one *was*, viz. Maximin: Licinius, the seventh, *had not yet come*; i.e. as a persecuting Emperor. It was further said, "the eighth king is of the seven, and goes into perdition." This was *Maximian*; who was of the original four, but had abdicated: and then became Emperor again.—(Julian is not here brought forward by Bossuet.) Further, in this chapter, Apoc. xvii. 16, 17, there was the very striking prophecy about the *ten horns on the Beast*. They were to give their power to the Beast till the words of God were fulfilled; yet to hate the Harlot and tear her. So were the Goths, Vandals, &c, long admitted as soldiers into the Roman armies, and as allies into the Roman territory: (Bossuet here makes the Beast to be *Rome*;) yet did they afterwards tear and desolate the Woman; i.e. ravage Rome and its Empire.—The *millennium* Bossuet explains as Augustine: the *new heaven and earth*, and *new Jerusalem*, as figures of the saints' *heavenly* glory.

3. *Vitringa* is the next Apocalyptic Expositor that calls for our notice. He was Theological Professor in the Academy of Franeker for many years, till his death in 1722: and from that petty Dutch town, near the mouth of the Zuyder Zee, sent forth those masterly and learned works on Isaiah and the Apocalypse, which have always been regarded as placing him on a high rank among Biblical Expositors. His Apocalyptic Commentary, under the title of *Ανακρίσις Αποκαλυψεως*, was first published at Franeker, A.D. 1705. My notices of it in the body of my work are frequent. Hence the less need of any extended sketch.

Alike the *seven Epistles*, *seven Seals*, and *seven Trumpets*, (though not the *seven Vials*,) were deemed by him to be representations of

SCHEME OF VITRINGA'S SEVEN EPISTLES, TRUMPETS, AND VIALS.

A. D.	EPISTLES.	SEALS.	TRUMPETS.	A. D.
100	I. <i>Ephesus.</i> From John to the Decian Persecution, A. D. 96—250.	I. The 150 years of partial peace to the Church from Nerva to Decius, A. D. 96—250.	I. Calamities in Roman Empire; especially Plague under Decius.	100
200	II. <i>Smyrna.</i> Decian to Diocletian Persecution, A. D. 311.	II. Persecutions from Decius to Diocletian.	II. Barbarian Invaders, A. D. 260.	200
300	III. <i>Pergamos.</i> From the Diocletian Persecution to Charlemagne, A. D. 800.	III. Church dissensions and corruptions; especially by the Arians and Pelagians.	III. Arius, the falling Star. IV. Valens' Defeat and Death. V. Gothic Invaasions of Roman Empire, A. D. 400—553, chiefly.	300
400				400
500				500
600				600
700		IV. Desolations of the Church Visible especially of Greek Christendom by the Saracens and Turks.	VI. Desolations of the Roman Empire by the Saracens and the Turks.	700
800	IV. <i>Thyatira.</i> From A. D. 800. to the rise of the Waldenses, A. D. 1190.			800
900				900
1000				1000
1100				1100
1200	V. <i>Sardis.</i> From P. Waldo to the Reformation, A. D. 1517.	V. Persecutions and. Martyrdoms of the Waldenses, Bohemians, &c ; not ended in 1700.		1200
1300				1300
1400				1400
1500	VI. <i>Philadelphia.</i> Earlier times of the Reformation.			1500
1600	VII. <i>Laodicea.</i> Lukewarm state of Protestants.	VI. Judgment on Antichrist.	VII.	1600
1700				1700

the successive states and fortunes of the Christian Church, from St. John's time to the consummation: with reference however not to the same, but to very different æras, in the respective septenaries. The Scheme on p. 462 will best exhibit to the eye their mutual relations, in time and subject. It will be seen that though the main subject of the *Seals* is made by him the external state of the Church, that of the *Trumpets* the fortunes of the Roman world, connected with the Church, yet they sometimes essentially infringe, so as might have been anticipated, on each other. The third Seal, for example, has the *Arian heresy* for one main part of its subject; and so also the third Trumpet. The fourth Seal refers to the desolations of Greek Christendom by the *Saracens* and *Turks*; and so the sixth Trumpet.—Having elsewhere referred to his *Epistles* and *Seals*,¹ let me here only add an observation or two on his *Trumpets*. It seems to me then, 1st, that his *Gothic reference of the 5th Trumpet* was that which very much fixed his general scheme of the *Trumpets*. Mede's chronological application of the *five months*, or *150 years* period, of the emblematical locusts, to designate the *Saracens'* latest and feeblest ravages,² justly appeared to Vitringa untenable: nor moreover had any satisfactory solution of the locusts' *not touching the grass and trees* appeared in Mede's Saracenic view. But the Gothic ravages, from Alaric to Totilas, did last nearly 150 years: and if the grass and trees were *figuratively* construed to mean Christians, (professing Christians,) then Alaric's sparing the Christian Churches at Rome, and those who took refuge in them, might be supposed, Vitringa thought, a sufficient and obvious explanation, on the Gothic view, of that clause also. Which being so, he evidently rests with much confidence on this solution of the 5th Trumpet; more so than on almost any other part of his Trumpet Scheme.³ And, this point settled, what preceded the Gothic invasion must of course be ascribed to the Trumpets previous; what followed to those subsequent. So the Saracens, as well as Turks, were crowded necessarily into the sixth

¹ The *Epistles* in my Vol. i. p. 78; the *Seals* in Part ii. Sect. 4 of this Appendix, *infra*.

² See p. 452 *suprà*.

³ So at p. 485 Vitringa argues from the undoubted Gothic application of the 5th Trumpet, to the right meaning of the 4th: "*Gothos enim esse illas locustas quæ sequentis Tubicini visio depinguntur, si Deo placet, clarissimè evincemus.*" And so again p. 455.

Trumpet. Yet not without obvious difficulties and inconsistency. For example, in this *Gothic* application of the 5th Trumpet Vitringa explains the locusts' *hair* being *like women's hair*, with reference to the *personal appearance* of the Goths' yellow hair ; (though certainly this was no feminine characteristic among Jews, Greeks, or Romans ;) but "the *faces as of men*" he felt no longer able to explain of personal appearance ;¹ and so fell back on the *moral* characteristic, (one surely scarce applicable to the Goths,) of *humanity*. 2. As regards "the *third part*," six or seven times noted in the first four Trumpets, after a suggestion that it might possibly be intended of one of three continents, he yet settles on explaining it to mean *some notable part* : and, after throwing out an idea in the first Trumpet, that the "*land*" might be meant distinctly of the Roman Empire, the "*sea*" of the barbarians, construes land, sea, and rivers, all alike of Roman Christendom, in the same figurative sense very nearly as Mede.²

In Apoc. x Vitringa so far follows Mede as to make the *Little Book* opened a *Prophetic Section* ; not (so as the earlier Reformers) the opened Scriptures or new Testament. The special subject of which new prophecy he expounds to be the calamities of the Western Church, or Western Christendom, contemporarily with the woe of the 6th Trumpet :—the *seven Thunders* being significant of the seven Crusades : the charge, "*Thou must prophesy again*," of the prophetic knowledge imparted to, and taught by, Christian ministers under the sixth Trumpet : the *Witnesses prophesying in sackcloth* (one grand part of this new prophecy) of the anti-papal testimony from Peter Waldo to the Reformation ; their 42 *months* or 3½ *years*, being perhaps, so as Scaliger had suggested, on the scale of a year for a century.³ As to the Witnesses' prefigured *death and resurrection*, it had been already *partially* fulfilled in the three cases following :—viz. 1, in the death of Huss and Jerome, and their revival in the Hussites

¹ Compare Jerome's statement on this point, quoted in my Vol. i. p. 410.

² See my Vol. i. p. 329 ; referred to also at p. 452, just before.

³ "Quàm hoc doctè et piè cogitatum !" exclaims Vitringa, at p. 260, in reporting this explanation of the 1260 days of the Witnesses prophesying in sackcloth, suggested by Scaliger. He adds, however, that he cannot think of any scriptural justification of it ; unless what is said in Gen. xv. 10—13. might be deemed such : where, the sacrifices having been divided into four parts to the four winds, the time prophesied of is stated to be 400 years. (Vitringa seems not to have been aware of Tichonius' similar idea. See p. 335 *suprà*.)

immediately afterwards, about the time of the 3½ years Session of the Council of Constance :¹ 2, in the anti-protestant Interim of Charles Vth, and Prince Maurice's quickly-following victory and consequent treaty of Passau :² 3, in the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and the Edict of Toleration obtained from Henry III within four years after. Vitringa notices Jurieu's views also ;³ calculating the slaughter of the Witnesses from the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, or some other persecuting act following it up : which view, however, had not so far been verified by any such rise of the Witnesses, and Protestant revolution in France, as Jurieu had expected. And on the whole, Vitringa inclined to look to the prophecy as being one in his time still mainly unfulfilled.—I may observe, that he considered that the *tenth part of the great city*, which fell concurrently with the two witnesses' ascent, ought to be construed to mean one of the ten kingdoms of Papal Christendom.⁴ Which being so, how was it that the fall of Papal England did not fix itself more deeply in his mind, as an indication of the intent of the whole prophecy ? After this, and the Witnesses' political ascent, Vitringa expected that the Turkish woe would cease ; and the sounding of the 7th Trumpet introduce God's judgment on the enemies of the Church, and the blessed times predicted by all the prophets.

In Apoc. xii the vision of the *Dragon and Woman* is expounded, 1. of Diocletian's persecution, followed by Constantine's establishment of Christianity ; the Dragon's seven heads symbolizing both Rome's seven hills, and the seven persecuting emperors of that period : 2. of the Arian persecutions of orthodox Christians after the fall of Paganism :—both explanations very much as in my *Horæ*. But the *wilderness* into which the Woman then fled, Vitringa makes otherwise to mean the barbarous nations of the West ; and the *waters*

¹ So as Foxe. See p. 437 *suprà*.

² Like Brightman. See p. 441 *suprà*.

³ See p. 457 *suprà*.

⁴ Vitringa p. 647. The opinion is thus exprest. “ Quid commodius quàm per το δεκατον της πολews hic intelligere *regnum aliquod illustre*, quod *inter decem regna Europæ*, religionis causâ Romæ subjecta, excellebat, ejusque hactenus superstitioni fuerat patrociniatum ? Id hic *casurum* dicitur mystico sensu, quando per majores illos motus quibus concutiendum erat, *evelleretur à corpore Imperii Antichristiani*. Caderet sic eorum respectu in quorum gratiam hactenus steterat et floruerat.”—I quote this, because, as Vitringa believed the event still future, it gives his *unbiassed* opinion on the real meaning of this prophetic clause : and strikingly confirms my application of it to the fall of Papal England at the Reformation.

cast by the Dragon after the Woman, the Saracen inundation, swallowed up in France on occasion of the victory of Charles Martel.—In Apoc. xiii, after a notice and refutation of Bossuet's explanation of the *first Beast*, agreeably with sundry Protestants, as meaning *Rome Pagan*, Vitringa interprets it of *Rome Papal*: its *seven heads* however not including heads of the old Roman empire as well as of Rome Papal, so as had been generally thought by Protestants; but only heads of it in its last Papal form. So he makes the five first to be five most eminent Popes before the Reformation; (the Reformation æra being the point of time to which the Angel's words, "*five have fallen*," is to be referred;) viz. Gregory VII, Alexander III, (wounded to death by Fred. Barbarossa, but soon revived,) Innocent III, Boniface VIII, (the Beast's middle head,) and John XXII: the sixth and seventh being two Popes after the Reformation, viz, Paul III and Paul V; while the eighth and last was the one that would be ruling at Rome at the time, yet future, of the last persecution. The *second Beast* Vitringa explains, after many of the old as well as the then more recent expositors, to signify Papal preachers and doctors, especially the Franciscans and Dominicans: the *Beast's image* the tribunals of the Inquisition. Of the Beast's *name and number* *ἄριθμος* was deemed by him almost too simple a solution; and he proposes some strange far-fetched Hebrew phrases from Scripture, which it is not worth while to repeat.

I pass to Apoc. xiv. Here the 144,000 are explained of the Waldenses and Albigenses: the *harpers*, next noted as sympathizing with the 144,000 of the Hussites: the *first flying Angel*, that had the everlasting Gospel, of Luther, Zuingli, and the other Fathers of the Reformation: the *second* of the voice of triumph over the Popedom at the Treaty of Passau, in the second period of the Reformation, and the disruption of the English Church from Rome: the *third* of the Protestant doctors in the third period of the Reformation; at a time of affliction to Christ's Church, such as even then existed, especially with reference to France and the French Reformed Churches.—In entering on the *Vials* in Apoc. xvi Vitringa acknowledges the plausibility of Launeus' opinion, that these Vials were all contained in, and the development of, the 7th Trumpet: Launeus having noted 1. that these were the *last* plagues; 2. the fact of the temple ap-

pearing opened introductorily to their effusion, just as it appeared at the sounding of the 7th Trumpet; 3. their answering, on this view, to the type of the seven compassings of Jericho on the seventh day. But Vitranga could not make up his mind to suppose all these Vials future; so as he felt sure the 7th Trumpet's sounding was. And consequently he explains all the five earlier Vials, if not six, as already fulfilled in certain judgments on the Popedom. Thus the 1st, that of the *grievous sore's* appearing, he traces in the Waldensian exposure of the deep corruption of the Papacy; the 2nd, that of the *sea becoming blood*, in the bloody wars between the Emperors and Popes; the 3rd, that of the *rivers being blood*, in the Hussite and Bohemian wars under Zisca, &c; the 4th, on *the sun*, (the regal emblem) in the great heat with which the two French kings Charles VIII and Louis XII had scorched Italy; the 5th, on *the seat of the Beast*, in the darkening of the Popedom by the Reformation, and taking and sack of Rome by the constable Bourbon. In the 6th Vial, Vitranga curiously explains the Euphrates' drying up of the exhaustion of the power of France, as the chief bulwark of the Papal Roman empire; an event perhaps even then begun, by the banishment of its multitude of industrious Protestant citizens at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The *three frogs*, issuing forth contemporaneously, he supposes to mean the Jesuits: and expounds the 7th Vial, on the air, as typifying the dissolution of both the political and the ecclesiastical Papal empire.¹

On the *Millennium* Vitranga adopts the view that had just before been propounded by his learned contemporary Whitby, to whom indeed he refers;² regarding it as a *spiritual* millennium, yet future: one in which the world would be thoroughly evangelized; and the Church, the bride, assume a character on earth answering to the description of the New Jerusalem.

On the whole, Vitranga seems by no means to have contributed *directly* to the solution of the many remaining difficulties of the Apocalypse, so much as from his ability and various learning one might have anticipated. Indeed his explanations are often singularly arbitrary

¹ See Vitranga's opinion on this point quoted at p. 90 of the present Volume.

² "Observavi aliunde cum voluptate nuper hoc argumentum accuratè esse pertractatum ab erudito viro, Daniele Whitby, cujus sententiæ à nostris nihil dissident." Vitranga, p. 1141.

and unsatisfactory. *Indirectly* however the value of his Commentary has doubtless been considerable : illustrating each subject handled, as he has, by a wide-ranging erudition, alike in secular and ecclesiastical, Hebraic and Greek literature ; and often applying a just and acute criticism to show the untenableness of opinions, more or less plausible, adopted by Expositors of note before him.

4. And it is chiefly in this indirect way also, if I mistake not, that *Daubuz's* almost contemporary, and yet more copious Comment, contributed to the advancement of the Apocalyptic science. For it is a Commentary quite redundant with multifarious research and learning.—It is to be understood that Daubuz was by birth a French Protestant ; found refuge in England on the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes ; there took orders in the Anglican Church ; and, while Vicar of Brotherton near Ferrybridge in Yorkshire, wrote his “ Perpetual Commentary on the Apocalypse,” which was first published in a solid folio, A.D. 1720. The following may serve as an abstract in brief of his opinions. The reader of my *Horæ* must already have formed a measure of acquaintance with him.

The *seven Epistles* then he explains, not like Vitringa as prophetic ; but in the natural way, as depicting the actual state of the seven Asiatic Churches respectively : albeit with application to the Church Universal, in its earthly suffering state, to the end of time.

In the *Seals*, Daubuz, though admitting A.D. 95 or 96 to be the year of the Revelation's having been given to St. John, yet antedates the subject of the 1st Seal ; and makes it depict the victorious progress of Christ's gospel, even *from his Ascension*. Thus he is enabled to explain the Red Horse of the 2nd Seal of the wars by which Jerusalem and the Jews were destroyed, from A.D. 66 to A.D. 135 ; including as well the Jewish wars of Vespasian and Titus, as those of Trajan and Adrian. The 3rd Seal, beginning A.D. 202, he expounds of scarcities begun in the reign and æra of Severus : (so Brightman before him :) the 4th (like Brightman also) of the Decian and Valerian æra of war, famine, and pestilence : the 5th (as Mede, &c.) of the Diocletian persecution : the 6th of the Constantinian Revolution, and fall of Paganism from its supremacy in the Roman empire.—Then comes the first considerable peculiarity in Daubuz's Commentary. He

explains both the Sealing Vision and the Palm-bearing of the happy constitution of the Church under God's Sealing Angel, *Constantine* : a Church including both many converted Israelites, and multitudes innumerable of Gentiles ; now alike admitted, from out of times of great tribulation, to the peaceful enjoyment of Church-privileges :—a peace and liberty this further indicated by the *half-hour's silence*, or stillness from hostility, at the opening of the 7th Seal ; and its accompanying representation of an act of peaceful public worship.

The *Trumpets* are explained by Daubuz, mainly as by Mede and Jurieu, of the desolations and fall, first of the Western empire, then the Eastern ; under the assaults successively of the Goths, Saracens, and Turks. More particularly he thus divides the four first :—1. Alaric's ravages from 395 to 409 A.D. : 2. Alaric's capture of Rome, A.D. 410 ; 3. Attila's ravages, 442—452, A.D. : 4. the fall of the Western Empire under Genseric and Odoacer, from 454 to 476.—In the 5th Trumpet he made an important step of advance, as I conceive, in true Apocalyptic interpretation, by explaining the locusts' *five months*, or 150 days, of the 150 years from Mahomet's public opening of his mission, A.D. 612, to the Saracen Caliph's removal to Bagdad, " the City of Peace," A.D. 762. On the other hand, he seems to me to have retrograded by not adopting Mede's definite chronological view of the *hour, day, month, or year*, predicted of the Euphratean horsemen ; but explaining it, like some before him, as if only meaning *at any time*, and *on any occasion*.

The Vision, in Apoc. x he applies, even more distinctly than the early Reforming Expositors themselves, to the great Lutheran Reformation : with the peculiar notion added of its figured Angel signifying *Luther*, as the Sealing Angel had Constantine ; and the *seven answering thunders* to his voice being those of the seven States that received and established Protestantism within them : viz, 1. the German Protestant States ; 2. the Swiss Cantons ; 3. Sweden ; 4. Denmark ; 5. England ; 6. Scotland ; 7. the Dutch Netherlands :—the thunders being *sealed up* intimating a *stop* to the progress of the Reformation, soon after the times of Luther, and the first sounding of those thunders. " Thou must prophesy again," was a charge given to Protestants at the time of the Reformation, as represented by St. John. And so too the *measuring of the temple*. The clause *ὅταν τελεσῶσιν*,

&c, "when they shall have finished, or completed their testimony," Daubuz construes most illegitimately, "*whilst they shall be accomplishing it*:" and so the $3\frac{1}{2}$ days of their apparent death as equivalent to the 1260 days, or whole period of their prophesying in sackcloth. Hence there is no special historical explanation offered, so as by Foxe, Brightman, or Jurieu, of the Witnesses' death and resurrection.—"And *the same hour* there was a great earthquake, &c:" he interprets to mean the same hour as that of the *measuring the temple*; in other words that of the Lutheran Reformation. And its solution is sought in the fall of the Greek State and Churches under the Ottoman Turks; begun indeed A.D. 1453, but advancing to completion by the Turks' subjugation of Rhodes and Cyprus, in the years 1522, 1570; as also of Candia much later, A.D. 1669.—The 7th Trumpet, yet future, Daubuz explains as that which would introduce a time when God's true worship would be seen in perfection, the *ark of the covenant* then appearing; evidently with reference to the time of the Millennium.

In Apoc. xii he interprets the vision of the travailing Woman and Dragon, much as others before him; with reference to the crisis of the Diocletian persecution, and Constantine's immediately following elevation to a Christian throne, and casting down of Paganism from its supremacy in the Roman empire. Only of the Dragon's *seven heads* he offers a peculiar solution. These were the chief subjugated kingdoms, or rather *their capital cities*, which then constituted the Roman empire: the metropolises of Italy, of the Carthaginian empire, of the kingdom of Greece, of that of Mithridates, of that of Gaul and Britain, of Egypt, and finally of Thrace; this last Byzantium.—The flood out of the Dragon's mouth he explains to be the Goths; the two eagle's wings helping the Woman, the Roman Christianized Eastern and Western empires.—Then in Apoc. xiii the *first Beast* is the *decem-regal Republic* of Western Christendom,¹ under *Rome* as its head; Rome the earliest head of the Dragon, excised by the Gothic invaders, but revived under the Popes. The Beast's 42 *months* of supremacy Daubuz reckons from the fall of the Western emperor, A.D. 476, and consequently as to end in 1736. The *second Beast* is the Beast Ecclesiastical, or False Prophet; its two horns being the Ro-

¹ Here, p. 556, he notes *Whiston's* list of the ten kings, as one that had preceded his.

man Popes, and the Constantinopolitan Patriarchs. The Pope himself is the *Beast's image*, as representing the Beast's power ; the *name* and *number* רצמ"י, in the feminine ; i.e. the Roman Church.

In Apoc. xiv Daubuz interprets its primary vision of the 144,000 to mean the *Constantinian Church*, especially as gathered together at Nice in Council : and explains the 1st *flying Angel* of Vigilantius' and Augustine's warnings against the increasing superstitions and coming judgments ; the 2nd of the cry on the actual destruction of old Rome by the Goths ; the 3rd of warnings against the Beast, whose empire was now about to be established, especially that by Gregory I : also the *harvest* as meaning the Reformation ; the *vintage*, of the wars and victories in Queen Anne's time over the Papists.—Then in the *Vials* there was, he thought, a retrogression again to early times. The plague of Vial 1 was the noisome sore of outbreking superstition in the image-worship that more and more established itself, from the seventh to the tenth century ; Vial 2 the earlier crusades ; Vial 3 the later ; Vial 4 the wars of Popes and Emperors ; Vial 5 the taking of Constantinople by the Latins, and the Popes' removal from Rome to Avignon ; Vial 6 the drying up of the power of the Eastern empire, which was, as it were, the Euphratean barrier to Christendom, and thereby a preparation for the kings from the East, or Turks. The *three frogs*, issuing forth coincidently, are explained of the monks and Papal clergy of the time. Vial 7 on the air, or power of the Devil, depicted the Reformation by Luther.

Finally, in Apoc. xix Daubuz interprets the hallelujahs and thundering heard on the fall of Babylon, i. e. of Papal Rome, to indicate the conversion of the Jews, and incoming of the fulness of the Gentiles : explains the *first resurrection* in Apoc. xx literally, of the saints and martyrs rising from the dead, and millennial reign with Christ ; also the *New Jerusalem* as the habitation and state of the Church *after the resurrection of the saints*, both during the millenium and afterwards : the Church being in the saints' *mortal* state *betrothed* to Christ ; but after the resurrection his *γυνή*, or *wife*.¹

¹ In speaking of the New Jerusalem Daubuz abstracts, as Mede had before him, Potter's argument on the equal circuit of the Apocalyptic city and Ezekiel's city, described Ezek. xlviii. 16. Of the latter "the north side, we read, was 4500 measures, the south 4500, the east 4500, and the west side 4500;" in all 18000. And these measures appear to be *cubits* from Ezek. xliii. 13 ; where the cubit is also

5. In concluding this *first* Part of my last æra, I must say a few passing words on three briefer Comments, published in the interval between Bossuet's and that of Daubuz; and which, though less elaborate than the four preceding, are too important to be altogether overlooked:—I mean those by *Cressener*, *Sir I. Newton*, and *Whiston*.

That by *Dr. Cressener*, entitled '*A Demonstration of the First Principles of the Protestant Applications of the Apocalypse*,' and first published A.D. 1690, well answered to its Title. Its one grand subject is the Apocalyptic Beast of Apoc. xiii and xvii. And in a series of connected propositions he incontrovertibly establishes, against Ribera, Alcasar, Malvenda, Maldonatus, and Bellarmine, that the Apocalyptic Babylon is not Rome Pagan, as it existed under the old Pagan Emperors; nor Rome repaganised, as Ribera would have it to be at the end of the world: but Rome idolatrous and antichristian, as connected with the Beast, or Roman Empire in its last form, and under its last head; which last head is the seventh head revived, after its deadly wound with a sword: with and under which the Beast exists all through the time of the Witnesses; in other words from the date of the breaking up of the old Empire into ten kingdoms, until Christ's second coming to take the kingdom. The 6th, or Imperial head ruling in St. John's time, must, he argues, have *fallen* at the latest at the time of the Herulian chief Odoacer, and Ostrogothic king Theodoric, reigning in the 5th century: and he concludes (here exception might be taken I conceive against him) that the 7th head was the Herulian and Ostrogothic, which continued but a short time; the 8th being the revived secular imperial, confederated with

described as one larger than the common cubit, being "a cubit and a hand breadth:" which common cubit Potter, after Villapandus, makes to be $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet. This admitted, and that the proportion of the large cubit to the common is as 5 to 4, then the length of each side of Ezekiel's city will be $4500 \times \frac{5}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ feet $= \frac{1125 \times 5 \times 5}{2}$, or 14012 feet. On the other hand, as St. John's 12,000 furlongs are to be considered as giving the cubic dimensions of the Apocalyptic New Jerusalem, "its length and breadth and height being equal," therefore the cubic root of 12,000, which is 23 nearly, (for $23 \times 23 \times 23 = 12,167$) gives the length of one of the sides: which 23 furlongs being $23 \times 625 = 14375$ feet, this measure will only by just a little exceed the length of one of the sides of the Apocalyptic City.—The coincidence is remarkable. But there is this objection, that the assumed size of Ezekiel's cubit is by no means certain; it being generally deemed of much smaller dimensions. So Calmet; who computes it at $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet instead of $2\frac{1}{2}$.

a Roman ecclesiastical head, (somewhat as under the old Emperors :¹) i. e. the secular Western Emperors combined with the Popes. And he argues for *Justinian's* sera as that of the commencement of the last head.—Altogether Cressener's Book was an important accession to the Protestant cause and Protestant argument, against the Romanists.

Sir I. Newton's brief Apocalyptic Comment, appended to his Treatise on Daniel, was not published, I believe, till the year 1733 ; six years after his death. It seems, however, to have been written some considerable time before : his thoughts having been seriously directed to these prophecies as early as 1691.² Brief as is the Comment, being of not much more than seventy pages, it yet contains much valuable matter, and exhibits much careful and original thought ; so as might have been expected from such an author. Alike on the Seals and Trumpets he expresses his *general* agreement with Mede. But the following differences occur. 1. He expounds the first Seal, as well as the three next, not of Christ, but of *Roman Emperors* : ³ (I presume with reference to the triumphs of Vespasian and Titus, as I shall have to observe again presently ; for the difference involves matter of importance :) also to Mede's view of the seventh Seal, as comprehending the seven Trumpets, Sir Isaac adds, "*and also the half-hour's previous stillness from the threatened four winds of heaven ;*" (the same that were let loose afterwards under the four first Trumpets :) which stillness he explains *historically* of the respite during Theodo-

¹ The Emperor being *Pontifex* as well as *Imperator*.

² In the biographical Notice of Sir I. Newton in the British Cyclopædia, a letter of his is given, dated Cambridge, Feb. 7, 1690-1, containing the following extract : " I should be glad to have your judgment on some of my mystical fancies. The Son of Man, Dan. vii, I take to be the same with the Word of God upon the white horse in heaven, Apoc. xix : for both are to rule the nations with a rod of iron. But whence are you certain that the Ancient of Days is Christ ? "

³ He says indeed at p. 278, (of Edit. 1733 ;) " The four horsemen, at the opening of the four first seals, have been well explained by Mr. Mede : " who made, we have seen, the first horseman to be *Christ*. But this was a mere lapse of the pen. For Sir I. expressly elsewhere gives to the first Seal, as well as to the other three, a *Roman* solution. So p. 256 ; " The visions at the opening of these (the first four) seals relate only to the civil affairs of the heathen Roman Empire. " At p. 274 he speaks of " the wars of the Roman Empire, during the reign of the four horsemen that appeared on opening the first four seals : " and at p. 277 ; " The Dragon's heads are seven successive kings ; four of them being the four horsemen, which appeared at the opening of the four first seals. "

sus's reign, from 380 A.D. to 395 ;¹ an important approximation, I conceive, to the true meaning.²—2. Dissatisfied with Mede's particular and somewhat fanciful distribution of the Gothic ravages over the four first Trumpets, he makes the distinction of the four winds the principle of distinction in them ; 1st as figuring Alaric's ravages on the Greek provinces *East* of Rome ; 2nd as the Visigoths' and Vandals' on the *Western* Gallic and Spanish provinces ; 3rd as the desolations of *Southern* Africa by the Vandal wars, from Genseric down to Belisarius ; 4th as the Lombard wars in *Northern* Italy.³—3. In the 5th Trumpet he thinks the double mention of the locusts' *quinquemensal* period of tormenting, in verses 5 and 10 of Apoc. ix, may be meant to signify two periods of 150 years each, as the times of the Saracens.⁴—4. The Turks' *hour day month and year*, he calculates as 391 years, not 396, as Mede ; viz. from Alp Arslan's first conquering on the Euphrates, A.D. 1062, to the fall of Constantinople, in 1453.

In Apoc. xii and xiii Sir I. Newton generally agrees with Mede ; explaining Apoc. xii of the times of Diocletian and Constantine, Apoc. xiii of those of the Latin Papal empire : the first Beast being this Latin Papal decem-regal empire, its name and number *Λατρεϊδος* ;⁵ the second Beast however (a singular explanation !) the *Greek Church*.⁶—And then he intimates peculiar views on the *Little Book, seven Epistles*, and *seven Vials*. The *Vials* Mede ought, he judges, to have made correspondent with, and explanatory of, the Trumpets. The

¹ " These wars (in which Valens perished) were not fully stopped on all sides till the beginning of the reign of Theodosius, A.D. 379, 380 ; but henceforward the Empire remained quiet from foreign enemies, till his death A.D. 395. So long the four winds were held ; and so long there was silence in heaven." He adds ; " And the 7th Seal was opened when this silence began." Pp. 294, 295.

² Till my present abstracting of Sir I. Newton's Treatise, I had not been aware of the very near resemblance of my own views on the *holding of the winds*, and the *half-hour's silence*, to Sir I. Newton's. See my Vol. i. pp. 227, 299.

³ Sir I. Newton, p. 296—302.

⁴ " About five months," he says, " at Damascus, and five at Bagdad ;" altogether 300 years, from A.D. 637—936 inclusive. Ib. 305.

⁵ Pp. 282—284.—Sir I. Newton gives us in his connected Treatise on Daniel historical abstracts illustrating the division of the ten kingdoms, and progress of the Papal power in respect of imperial law and historic fact, so careful and valuable, that no Apocalyptic student should be without them. I have referred to them in my Vol. iii. at p. 135 and elsewhere.

⁶ " The second Beast which rose up out of the earth, was the Church of the Greek Empire." P. 283. In the distinction of *earth* and *sea*, he makes the *earth* the Greek Empire. So p. 281.

Epistles he adjusts to the state and times of the Church indicated in the series of figurations of the future that followed : the particulars as stated below.¹ The *Little Book* he considers, like Mede, to be a new prophecy ; the Angel-Vision of Apoc. x being an introduction to it : but that, as being *when first tasted sweet, afterwards bitter*, its commencement should be considered as agreeing with Apoc. xii, and the glorious prefiguration there given of the fall of Paganism in the Roman empire : the sequel of it being the bitter times of the Beast's 1260 years, and the Witnesses' prophesying sackcloth.²

Besides all which I wish to direct particular attention to two characteristic and important points in this Comment of Sir I. Newton ; the one regarding the distant past, the other the then quickly coming future. 1. He, first of Expositors, if I mistake not, institutes a careful and critical investigation into the evidence external and internal of the *date* of the Apocalypse ;³ inferring it thence to be coincident with Nero's persecution, not Domitian's : (quite incorrectly, as I think I have shown :)⁴ which being so, a *Roman* explanation was obvious of the 1st Seal, in harmony with Mede's *Roman* explanation of the 2nd ; this latter having reference to the wars of Trajan and Adrian.—2. He insists, with regard to the so far evident imperfection of the understanding of the Apocalypse and some of Daniel's prophecies, that it was itself a thing foreseen and predicted ; Daniel having been directed to *seal up* his last prophecy *till the time of the end*. And he adds that this time of the end was Apocalyptically marked as that of the 7th Trumpet, at whose sounding the mystery of God should be finished ; the preaching of the everlasting Gospel to all nations being further

¹ The Epistle to *Ephesus* Sir I. Newton makes to depict the state of the Church during the four first seals, and before Diocletian's persecution ; when the only " somewhat " of charge against it was, " Thou hast left thy first love : "—that to *Smyna*, with its *ten days tribulation*, had reference to Diocletian's persecution, depicted in the 5th Seal :—those to *Pergamos*, *Thyatira*, and *Sardis*, wherein mention is made of the heresies and evils of Balaam and the woman Jezebel, and of the Church's works not having been found perfect before God, figured the gradual apostacy under Constantine and Constantius :—that to *Philadelphia*, the faithful under Julian's persecution :—that to *Laodicea*, the Church's subsequent lukewarmness, so increased as that God would spue it out of his mouth ; a state answering to the development of the apostacy soon after the opening of the 7th Seal, or at the end of the 4th Century.

² Pp. 271, 272.

³ At the beginning of his Apocalyptic Treatise, pp. 236—246.

⁴ In my opening Treatise on the Date of the Apocalypse, Vol. i. pp. 37, 38, and the additional notice in the Appendix to that volume.

marked, both in the Apocalypse and in Christ's prophecy, as a preliminary sign accompanying it : and that the measure of success, albeit imperfect, that had crowned the prophetic researches of the immediately preceding age, seemed to him an evidence that the last " main revolution" predicted, when all would be explained, was near at hand."¹—I must add, not from his own published Comment, but from Whiston's, the further remarkable fact, that Sir Isaac expressed a strong persuasion, with reference of course to the expected " main revolution" of the seventh Trumpet, wherein " they were to be destroyed that destroyed or corrupted the earth," —that the antichristian and persecuting power of the Popedom, which had so long corrupted Christianity, must be put a stop to, and broken to pieces, by the prevalence of *infidelity*, for some time before primitive Christianity could be restored.² An anticipation surely, fulfilled as it was soon after in the facts and the character of the expected great Revolution, when it actually broke out, that must be deemed not a little remarkable !

The Apocalyptic " Essay" by *Whiston* (Newton's successor in the Mathematical Professorship at Cambridge) was first published, as appears from the date appended to Whiston's original Preface, in the year 1706 : a second Edition following in 1744, under Whiston's own eye, improved and corrected.³—The following points in it appear to me deserving of notice. While strongly contending for the *Domitianic* date of the Apocalypse, he yet explains the 1st *Seal* retrospectively of Christ's triumphing in *Vespasian and Titus' overthrow of Jerusalem*:

¹ " The time is not yet come for understanding the old prophecies, (which he that would understand must begin with the Apocalypse,) because the main revolution predicted in them is not yet come to pass. *In the days of the voice of the seventh Angel* the mystery of God shall be finished.—Among the interpreters of the last age there is scarce one of note who hath not made some discovery worth knowing: whence I gather that God is about opening these mysteries." Pp. 252, 253.

² " Sir I. Newton had a very sagacious conjecture, which he told Dr. Clarke, from whom I received it; that the overbearing tyranny and persecuting power of the Anti-christian party, which hath so long corrupted Christianity, and enslaved the Christian world, must be put a stop to, and broken to pieces, by the prevalence of infidelity, for some time before primitive Christianity could be restored :"—which, adds Whiston, writing A.D. 1744, seems to be the very means that is now working in Europe for the same good and great end of Providence." (2nd Ed. p. 321.) N.B. The title-page of the 2d Edition bears date London 1744; Whiston's own conclusion of its 3rd Part, at p. 324, Jan. 20, 1743-4.

³ Whiston died A.D. 1752.—A little before his death, he drew up a brief *Addendum* to his Second Edition, occupying in my copy of that Edition from p. 325 to 332 : and bearing date at the end, May 7, 1750.

the other Seals as Mede, Jurieu, and Newton.—In the *Trumpets*, dissatisfied like Newton with Mede's vague principle of distribution, he takes another, and I think better plan, for giving definiteness and precision to the several shares of the several Trumpets in the Gothic ravages: his principle being drawn from the *third part* said to be affected; which he construes as the *European* part of the empire, (in contrast with the *African* and *Asiatic*,) and the *land, sea, and rivers*, literally taken, that are specified in it. Thus the subjects of Trumpets 1, 2, and 3 are made respectively to be the ravages of Alaric and Rhadagaisus in the *landward* interior, of the Vandals and Goths on the *maritime* European parts, and of Attila on the European *rivers*: (the last a real advance, as I conceive, to the truth;¹) the quenching of the third part of the *sun*, i. e. the *imperial* sun, &c, being that by Odoacer.—In the 5th Trumpet, after other previously given solutions of the locusts' *five months*, he at length concludes on the reading being faulty, and St. John having written *ε μηνας*, not *ε*; i. e. 15, not 5: 450 years measuring the whole duration of the Saracens, till their entire supercession by the Turks.² (Whiston does not seem to have been acquainted with Daubuz' simple and satisfactory solution of these five months.)—In his exposition of the Turks' "*hour day month and year*," the exactness of the astronomer appears. Asserting that Othman could not be properly recognized as Sultan, till the Hutbe prayers had been put up for him in the mosques, and that this was first done for Othman May 19, 1301, he calculates the prophetic period of an hour day month and year, or 396 years 106 days, as reaching to Sept, 1, 1697, O.S.: the very date of Prince Eugene's great victory over the Turks, which was followed by the Peace of Carlowitz.³—On the *Beast* of Apoc. xiii Whiston, after suggesting that the *7th head*, which was to continue for but a short time, might be the *five Emperors* noted by Lactantius as reigning over the Roman world just before Constantine's victories, (another approximation, I conceive, towards the truth,) makes the *8th head* to be that of the *ten kings* of the revived Romano-Gothic Empire: these *ten kings* being as it were a revival of the old *decemviral* head:⁴—an original idea this, that I have not seen elsewhere.⁵—The

¹ This view has been very much followed by Bicheno and Keith. I have also mainly adopted it.

² P. 196.

³ All this has been closely followed by Mr. Faber in his *Sacred Calendar*. See his Vol. ii. p. 293—301.

⁴ Compare Mr. Cuninghame's View noticed in my Vol. iii. p. 104. ⁵ P. 126.

Papal supremacy he dates distinctly (and quotes Archbishop Laud affirming the same) from Phocas's Decree A.D. 606.¹—Besides all which points what I deem particularly to be noted in Whiston is his strong stand against Mede's classification of the *Vials*; and assertion that on every principle of consistency and congruity of things, as the seven Trumpets are reckoned to be contained in, and the evolution of the seventh Seal,—so the seven Vials ought to be deemed contained in, and the evolution of, the seventh Trumpet.—A very important and surely most obvious step of progress.²

6. And so I advance towards the conclusion of this Section, and of my Historic Sketch. I do not purpose stopping at the names of *Bengel* and *Bishop Newton*, Whiston's immediate Protestant successors: who, publishing about the middle of the xviiith century,³ served as connecting links, in Germany and England, between the generation of Apocalyptic Expositors just described, and those on whom the French Revolution broke; that epoch of a new æra. *Bengel's* most characteristic principle, viz. of expounding the prophetic periods in the Apocalypse on the scale of a prophetic day to 15 years,⁴ is so totally and plainly arbitrary and groundless, that no one can now think of attaching weight to it; highly valued though *Bengel* himself must be for learning and piety. And as for *Bishop Newton's* Treatise, it is too universally known to need description; besides that, however valuable as a compendium, (and I deem it eminently so,) it does yet scarcely put forth any original thoughts on the subject handled. Nor will the *Roman Catholic* Comment of *Bishop Walmsley*, that soon after followed, need any more to detain us; it being already pretty much forgotten by Romanists themselves.⁵

¹ Pp. 275, 277.

² So Launæus. See pp. 466, 467 *supra*.

³ *Bengel*, A.D. 1740: *Bishop Newton*, A.D. 1754.

⁴ His fundamental principle, one altogether conjectural, was that the Beast's number 666, construed of years, must equal the Beast's numeral period 42 months; in other words that one prophetic month = $\frac{666}{42} = 15\frac{6}{7}$ years. Hence, after various calculations, he inferred that the year 1836 would be the year of the final and great crisis; an expectation, I need not observe, never realized.

⁵ It was published under the fictitious name of Signor Pastorini in the year 1771: was in 1778 translated into French by a Benedictine of St. Maur, and into Latin and German soon after. Its principle is, that the Seals Trumpets and Vials all relate to the same seven ages of the Church: 1. the first 300 years of the Christian æra, to Constantine, the age of Christian purity; 2. the next 100 years, marked by the Arian heresy; 3. from 406 to 620 A. D. marked by God's judgments on ancient Rome and

—But it does need that I call attention, ere ending, to the *German critical School* that was about this time rising more and more into notice and influence : a School characterized by considerable mental acuteness, research, and philological learning ; and at the same time by much of the hardihood and rashness of religious scepticism. I therefore at once proceed to it.

As early then as Bengel's time the celebrated Genevese *Firmin Abauzit*,¹ their precursor and harbinger, had published a work entitled *Discours Historique sur l'Apocalypse*, written to show that the canonical authority of the Apocalypse was doubtful. On reading Dr. Twells' Reply to it² however, he was satisfied ; and honourably wrote (though in vain) to stop the reprinting of his work in Holland. But soon after the middle of the century the sceptical spirit broke out more freely. A work by *Oeder*, which *Semler* published after Oeder's death, about the year 1765, entitled " A Free Investigation into the so-called Revelation by John," denied not only its apostolicity ; but even its literary beauty ; charged it with all the extravagances of its wildest Expositors, and maintained that its real author was the heretic *Cerintus*. So began what has been called the *Semlerian controversy*. Semler was replied to, and opposed by, *Reuss* of Tübingen, A.D. 1767, 1772, *Schmidt* of Wittenberg, in his " Vindictio Canonis," A.D. 1775, and *Knittel* of Wolfenbüttel, A.D. 1773 ; to which works he and his friends made vigorous answer. The controversy lasted to the year 1785.³ The celebrated *Michaelis* was so

the Western Empire ; 4. from 620 to 1520 marked by three great events,—viz. the rise of Mahomet and Mahomedanism, the schism of the Greek Church, and the consequent judgments on it in the fall of Constantinople ; whereon, however, the spared Greek remnant " did not penance to give God glory," but persisted in their schism ; 5. that begun A. D. 1520 in the Lutheran Reformation, which is to last " till the pouring out of the 5th Vial," about 300 years : of which 300 years 250, says Pastorini, are now elapsed ; so that the pouring out of that vial seems soon approaching, and the cry heard, " Come out of her my people." 6. The 6th age is the last of the Church militant on earth ; probably till the end of the world's 6000 years : 7. the 7th age that of eternity.

¹ He was originally French, but became a refugee in Geneva on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. He was in earlier life a friend of Sir I. Newton ; in later life the subject of the eulogies of both Voltaire and Rousseau. His apocalyptic *Discours* was first published in 1730.

² An Answer approved and translated by *Wolf*, and inserted in his " *Curæ Philologicæ*."

³ Professor Stuart particularizes *Corrodi* and *Markel* on Semler's side, against the genuineness and apostolicity of the Apocalypse ; *Storr* and *Hartwig* in defence of it.

far influenced by what had been written by Abauzit and Semler's partizans on the canonical question, that he concluded with Eusebius on reckoning the Apocalypse, not among the undisputed canonical books, but among the *αποκρυφτα*. The work of *Herder*, published 1779,¹ vindicated with great earnestness and ability the literary merits and beauty of the Apocalypse; indeed with such ability and enthusiasm as to act strongly on the literary German mind: yet vindicated it only as Herder might have vindicated a neglected beautiful Poem of classic origin; not as a work of inspiration. In 1786 *Hernschæider* published his Comment on the Apocalypse: explaining it as a Poem describing the three things following;—viz. the overthrow of *Judaism*, the overthrow of *Heathenism*, and the final universal triumph of the *Christian Church*. This was the model, in respect of general plan, of the more celebrated work of *Eichhorn*, published shortly after, viz. A.D. 1791: a work of which Professor M. Stuart, to whom I am indebted for this rapid sketch of the German Apocalyptic Expositors of the last half of the last century, thus reports;—that though not equal to Herder's in respect of the perception or the development of æsthetic beauties, it is yet in regard of philology, and real explanation of words and phrases, far Herder's superior: adding, moreover, that it is substantially *correct* in its exegesis, i.e. in its view of the general tenor and meaning of the Apocalyptic Book; a statement meaning that it is substantially in agreement with Professor Stuart's own views.

Such was the state of Apocalyptic exegesis, (to use the somewhat needlessly Anglo-Americanized Hellenic phrase,) such the different views generally entertained, either in England, where the mental powers seemed all dormant, or in Germany, where those powers seemed all vigorously but badly active, when the thunder-clap of the great French Revolution burst upon a startled world. It was just such an infidel outbreak, tearing and lacerating the Popedom even from its very commencement, as Sir I. Newton had predicted and expected. Was it not the Revolution connected with the sounding of the 7th Apocalyptic Trumpet?—In England very soon the cry

¹ Entitled, "*Maran Atha, or Book of the Coming of the Lord.*" Professor Stuart almost warms into enthusiasm in speaking of this book; and at the end of his Second Volume gives a large specimen of it. It seems to me calculated to excite feelings of a very different kind in the devout Christian.

was raised that such was indeed the fact : and the voices of *Galloway*, and *Bicheno*,¹ and *Faber* and *Cunninghame*, and others too varyingly mingled together proclaiming it. A voice this which, especially in England, has never since ceased.—Meanwhile the difficulties left by older Protestant Apocalyptic interpreters remaining altogether unsolved, and by not a few interpreters of the same general school new mistakes and errors being multiplied, (very much from the circumstance of the English ecclesiastical literature having been at so low an ebb at the end of the last century,) the Rev. S. R. Maitland, with great acuteness, and not a little of the ecclesiastical learning of the Continental schools, dashed in among Expositors of this class (as it has somewhere been said) like a falcon into a dovecote : and made havoc of those obvious errors with such effect, as to prepare the way in England for the rejection to a great extent of the old Protestant anti-papal School of Apocalyptic Interpretation, and the adoption of one on the *futurist* system ; i. e. one that makes all the prophecy to relate to things yet future, as first, or nearly first, suggested by Ribera.—On the other hand, in Germany Alcasar's *præterist* scheme continued to meet with chief favor. And as this is one of the grand rival schemes that now claim the reader's acceptance, I think I cannot better conclude this Historic Sketch than by placing it before the reader's eye, as drawn up by the learned *Professor Hug*, professedly from *Hernschneider* and *Eichhorn* : its characteristic view being this, that the two cities Rome and Jerusalem, whose fate (as they would have it) constitutes the most considerable part of the Apocalypse, are only symbols of *two religions* whose fall is foretold ; and that the third, which appears at the end, viz. the heavenly Jerusalem, signifies Christ's religion and kingdom.

7. *The modern German Præterist Scheme, as sketched by Prof. Hug.*

“ There are three cities in this book, on account of which all the terrible preparations above, and here below, and all the commotions of

¹ Mr. Bicheno, I believe, the first ; his “ Signs of the Times ” being published as early as January 1793. So in his Preface to the 6th Edition in 1808 :—“ It was early in the French Revolution that I commenced writing on these subjects ; and was, for aught I knew, the first who wrote on them at any length.” Mr. B. was one who thought too favorably at first of the French Revolution. But the work is very interesting from its evident sincerity and deep earnestness. His eyes were rivetted on the fulfilment, as it went on, of *the ten kings desolating the harlot Rome*.

the earthly and heavenly powers, take place. One of them is *Sodom*, called also Egypt; the other is *Babylon*; and the third is the *New Jerusalem*, descending from heaven.

“The whole affair of the seven Angels with the seven *Trumpets*, viii—xii, refers to *Sodom*. But we soon see that this city, long since destroyed, only lends its name to denote another. For in this *Sodom* our Lord was crucified: *ὅπερ ὁ κυριος ἡμων εσταυρωθη* xi. 8. In this *Sodom* is the Temple, the outer court of which is said to be abandoned to the Gentiles. Thus it is the Holy City itself, *πολις ἁγία*, of which foreign nations will take possession; xi. 1. As two martyrs have perished in it, its destruction is decided; xii. 1. (Josephus the Jew likewise compared Jerusalem to *Sodom* at the same epoch. *Bell. Jud.* v. 10.)

“After a long episode, in which a matron appears in the pains of child-birth, persecuted by a monster, and after the description of two more monsters, which torment the adherents of this distinguished woman, Apoc. xii, xiii, xiv, the destruction of *Babylon* also is decided in heaven, xiv. 8.

“The seven Angels with the seven *Vials* of wrath are appointed to execute the decision, xvi. 17—19; although indeed *Babylon* had stood for centuries before desert, and amidst but half-distinguishable remains of its magnificence. But *this* *Babylon* is built upon seven hills; *ὅπερ ὀρη εἰσιν ἑπτα* xvii. 9—18. It is an *urbs septicollis*; a mark of distinction renowned throughout the world, which renders it easy for us to guess the city which is peculiarly intended. But the other criterion that it possesses, the *imperium orbis terrarum*, *βασιλεια ἐπὶ βασιλειων της γης*, perfectly assures us, xvii. 18, that this *Babylon* on the Euphrates is *Rome on the Tiber*.

“Consequently *Jerusalem* and *Rome* are the two cities whose destruction is here seen in the Spirit. These cities, however, do not exist in reality as cities, in the poetical composition; but they are images of other ideas. *Rome*, or *Babylon* in particular, is by the author conceived to be opposed to the everlasting gospel, *εὐαγγελιον αἰωνιον*, xiv. 6, 7, 8. In this opposition to Christianity it could hardly signify any thing but Heathenism: to represent which the capital of the heathen world is most eminently and peculiarly qualified. Hence John farther also describes it with such phrases as were used by the

Prophets, to denote false gods and their worship. It is the *habitation of Demons*, the seducer to infidelity to the true God ; i. e. *πορνεία* : from the cup of whose fornication all nations and kings of the earth drink : xviii. 2, 3 ; xvii. 1, 2, 5.

“ If the capital of the heathen world symbolizes the religion of the heathens, we shall easily ascertain what the *capital of the Jews* represented. What else but the Jewish religion ? Therefore Heathenism and Judaism, the two prevailing religions of the ancient world, were destined to perish.

“ And what should now succeed to them ? A *New Jerusalem*, the kingdom of the blessed, after this life ? (xxi—xxii. 6.) The New Jerusalem is certainly so described ; and such is usually considered to be its meaning. But if these cities be religions, and Rome and Jerusalem represent Heathenism and Judaism, the new Sion can only be Christianity ; which has an endless dominion, and blesses mankind. This the unity of the whole demands : nor would it be consistent, if the idea of it was compounded of such an unequal representation of its parts, as Heathenism, Judaism, and Eternal Blessedness.

“ For what purpose should this kingdom of the blessed afterwards forsake that long-beloved abode in the higher spheres, and in heaven ; and descend among men, unless it were an *earthly institution* ? (xxi. 23). It could only descend upon earth as a religion ; for the sake of supplying the place of the two former religions.

“ The previous openings of the graves, and the return of the dead, is here only one of those awfully terrible images, which the prophets sometimes used to represent a total change of things ; the revival of the national state, and of the religious constitution of the Jews. (Ezek. xxxvii ; Isa. xxvi. 19.)

“ And if a last judgment also be connected with it, we well know that such also is figuratively convoked by the prophets, for the purpose of executing the punishment of those who have oppressed and ill-treated the people of God ; or for the purpose of expressing Jehovah’s designs of introducing a new epoch of glory for his religion and his people. (Joel iii. 2 ; Zeph. iii. 8.) This being admitted, the whole passage of the seven *Seals* is only an introduction to the three principal descriptions :—to the dissolution of Judaism, to the abolition of Heathenism, and the occupation of the dominion of the world by

the doctrines of Jesus. (v—vii. 2.) For a prophecy, according to the ancient prophetic language, is a sealed book (Isa. xxix. 11): of which the mysteries can only be developed by the Lamb, who is on the throne of God; the co-Regent with Jehovah, in whose hands the events are. Terrible plagues, famine, pestilence, war, and an entire revolution of states impending; from which those however are exempted, who belong to the chosen of the Lamb.

“ But the *Epistles*, which are preludes to the whole as far as chap. iv, are Dedications or Addresses to those communities which were particularly connected with the author in the district of his ministry.

“ Then, the Episode (xii, xiii), which follows the judicial punishment of Jerusalem, the Episode relating to that noble Woman who struggles in the agonies of labour, and who is persecuted by the Dragon, (Isaiah’s ancient metaphor of idolatry,) exhibits to us *Judaism*, which is still in the act of bringing forth Christianity; as all the circumstances, and the individual traits in the description prove. But the other monsters which ascend from land and sea, and which are in the service of the Dragon, signify according to very recognizable criteria, the Roman land and sea-forces which protect the dominion of Paganism (xiii. 1—xiv. 6).

“ Opposed to this, after the punishment is executed on Rome (xvii. 1—xviii), another Woman appears on a scarlet Beast. The former Woman, after her new-born child had been taken up to the throne of God, henceforth repaired to the deserts and pathless regions; which is an excellent metaphor of wandering Judaism. But the fate of the latter Woman is not so mild. Her destruction is soon after celebrated in jubilees and triumphal songs. That this typifies *idolatry*, as the former the Jewish religion, is evident from the representation.”

§ 7. CONCLUSION.

Thus have I brought down my Sketch of the history of Apocalyptic Interpretation from the earliest times down to the present day. And, as a result and inference from it, I wish in conclusion to make two observations.

My *first* observation is, that after all the thought, learning, and ingenuity that have been brought to bear on the elucidation of the Apocalypse, there appear to be but *three grand Schemes of interpretation*, that can be considered as standing up face to face against each other; with any serious pretensions to truth, or advocacy of any literary weight and respectability. The first is that of the *Præterists*; restricting the subject of the prophecy, except in its two or three last chapters, to the catastrophes of the Jewish nation and old Roman Empire, one or both, as accomplished in the 1st and 2nd, and 5th and 6th centuries respectively: a Scheme originally propounded by the Jesuit Alcasar, as we have seen; adopted with alterations in detail by Bossuet; and now, with their several *mutata mutanda*, urged alike by the more eminent of the later German biblical critics and expositors, by Professor Moses Stuart in the United States of America, and by the disciples of the German School in England, whether among Dissenters or Churchmen.—The 2nd is the *Futurists'* Scheme; making the whole of the Apocalyptic Prophecy, excepting the primary Vision and Letters to the Seven Churches, to relate to things even now future, viz. the things concerning Christ's Second Advent: a Scheme first, or nearly first suggested by the Jesuit Ribera, at the end of the 16th century; and which has been urged, though under a new form, alike by Mr. Maitland, Mr. Burgh, Mr. Newman, Mr. Govett, and others, not without considerable effect and success, in our own times and æra.—The 3rd is what we may call emphatically the *Protestant* Scheme of Interpretation; which regards the Apocalypse as a prefiguration in detail of the chief events affecting the Church and Christendom, whether secular or ecclesiastical, from St. John's time to the consummation:—a Scheme not inconsistent so far with the general views of the earlier patristic expositors: and which, in its particular application of the symbols of Babylon and the Beast to Papal Rome and the Popedom, was early embraced by the Waldenses, Wickliffites, and Hussites; then adopted with fuller light by the chief reformers, German, Swiss, French, and English of the 16th century; and has been thence transmitted downwards uninterruptedly even to the present time.

My *second* observation has respect to the *details* of this last-mentioned *Protestant* Scheme of Apocalyptic Interpretation. The Reader

will be in a position, after reading the Historical Sketch now concluded, to appreciate better the meaning and correctness of what I stated in my Original Preface, as to the defectiveness of this Scheme, so far as it had been up to my own time unfolded, on "the (earlier) Seals, the vision of the rainbow-crowned Angel of Apoc. x, the Witnesses' Death and Resurrection, the Beast's seventh Head, and the Image of the Beast;" also what I there said as to the originality of the solutions proposed in the Horæ "of the three first Seals, of the sealing and palm-bearing Visions, of the rainbow-crowned Angel described Apoc. x, and its included notification on the Death and Resurrection of the two Witnesses; also of the Beast's seventh Head, of the Image of the Beast, and of the Apocalyptic structure itself."

For it is to be understood that on these points the modern Interpreters of the Protestant Scheme had, up to the time of the publication of the Horæ added nothing, at least nothing of importance, to the lucubrations of their predecessors. It seems to me to have been the chief office, and a most important one surely, fulfilled by them, especially by those venerable men *Mr. Faber*, and *Mr. Cuninghame*, (of whom, though so often differing from their opinions, I would wish to speak with all respect and kindness,) to awaken the alarm on the fact of the seventh Trumpet's having sounded at the French Revolution; to bring out more and more into general notice the results of the learned researches of their Protestant predecessors, further fortified in various ways and illustrated; and to arouse and keep up an interest, often too ready to flag, in the great subject of Prophecy. So too, in regard to Messrs. *Bickersteth* and *Birks*, and their joint-propounded Scheme of Apocalyptic Interpretation, if the same want of advance seem to me to be stamped on it, and that it is indeed in character a Scheme singularly fanciful, yet am I well aware, and rejoice to think, how in other ways they have promoted the cause of prophetic truth. How could it but be so, with that spirit of holy love and spiritual-mindedness, which my excellent friend first-mentioned has ever carried into its discussions:—a spirit as congenial with the purer atmosphere of heaven, as it is unsuited to the stormy and lower regions of literary controversy? And Mr. Birks has not only by his masterly work on the First

Elements of Prophecy, advanced the cause of truth, and shown himself its *martel* and *hammer* against what I must beg permission anticipatively to call the reveries of the Futurists : but moreover, by his exquisite description of the City that is to be revealed at Christ's blessed advent, has done much to enlist each hallowed feeling of the heart on the side he advocates ; a description such that one might almost suppose the golden reed to have been given him, with which to delineate it, by the Angel that showed to the beloved disciple the Lamb's bride, the New Jerusalem.—Whether as regards the solution of Apocalyptic enigmas left unsolved by previous interpreters the Author of the present Work has been more successful, it will be for the Reader to consider and judge.¹

¹ I should observe that *Mr. Fry*, in his Works on the *Second Advent* and on *Unfulfilled Prophecy*, has approximated more nearly than any other Expositor I am acquainted with to my explanation of the two first seals : interpreting the *first* of the prosperity of the Roman Empire from Nerva or Trajan to Commodus, the *second* to begin with Commodus, and to include the rebellions of the Prætorian Guards and civil wars consequent. In the details however, he differs essentially ; making Trajan the rider of the first horse, Commodus of the second, Septimius Severus of the third : which third seal he explains not at all as I do, but as Mede and Bishop Newton. The important consideration had not crossed his mind, of the *representative* character of each *rider* ; nor of the significant meaning of the *crown*, (distinctively from the *diadem*,) and *bow*, and *sword*, and *balance*, as *class-badges* designative of *office*, *age*, or *country*.—It may be proper to observe, that I was not aware of these his views until after my own first Volume (including the Seals) had been printed.

APPENDIX.

PART II.

CRITICAL EXAMINATION AND REFUTATION OF THE FOUR CHIEF COUNTER-SCHEMES OF APOCALYPTIC INTERPRETATION; AND ALSO OF DR. ARNOLD'S GENERAL PROPHETIC COUNTER-THEORY.

It was stated at the conclusion of my *Sketch of the History of Apocalyptic Interpretation*, that there are at present *two*, and but two, grand *counter-Schemes* to what may be called the general *Protestant* view of the Apocalypse: that view which regards its prophecy as a prefiguration of the great events that were to happen in the Church and world connected with it, from St. John's time to the consummation; including specially the establishment of the Popedom, and reign of Papal Rome, as in some way or other the fulfilment of the types of the Apocalyptic Beast and Babylon. The first of these two counter-Schemes is the *Præterists'*, which would have the prophecy stop altogether short of the Popedom; explaining it of the catastrophes, one or both, of the *Jewish Nation* and *Pagan Rome*: of which Counter-Schemes there are two variations so considerable as to demand each one a separate and distinct notice. The second the *Futurists'*, which would have it all shoot over the head of the Popedom into times yet future; and refer simply to the events that are immediately to precede, or to accompany, Christ's second Advent. I shall in this second Article of my Appendix proceed successively to examine these two, or rather three, anti-Protestant counter-Schemes; and show, if I mistake not, the palpable untenableness alike of the one Scheme and of the other. Which done, it will be my next duty to consider the chief *Protestant* Apocalyptic Scheme, that runs coun-

ter in its grand outline of arrangement to the one given in the *Horæ* : viz. that which, instead of regarding the seven Trumpets in their natural way as the development of the 7th Seal, just as the seven Vials also of the 7th Trumpet, in continuous evolution of the future, would regard the Seals and the Trumpets as chronologically parallel lines of prophecy, each reaching to the consummation ; the 1st unfolding the fortunes of the Church, the 2d of the world. After which an examination of the late *Dr. Arnold's general prophetic theory* will complete our review of counter-prophetic Schemes, and fitly close the whole.

With regard to the *Præterist Scheme*, on the review of which under its two chief and most accredited forms we are now first about to enter, it may be remembered that I stated it to have had its origin with the Jesuit *Alcasar* ;¹ that it was subsequently with variations adopted and improved (after Grotius and Hammond) by *Bossuet*, the great champion of the Romanists ; then afterwards by *Hernnschneider*, *Eichhorn*, and others of the German critical and generally infidel school of the last half-century, with their several variations ;² finally, still with new points of difference, by *Professor Moses Stuart* of the United States of America.³ In some way or other all these explain the prophecy, so as I just before observed, to have reference to the catastrophes of the *Jewish nation* and *Pagan Rome*. But some advocate a more definite plan of historic explication, within these historic limits ; others a less definite. Some contract the *Jewish* part of the Scheme, so as only to embrace the last Jewish wars, waged after Domitian's time by Trajan and Adrian ; others insist chiefly on Titus' previous destruction of Jerusalem. Again, in regard of *heathen Rome's* part in it, some conceive the prophecy to embrace the whole 400 years of Roman imperial history, from Domitian to Rome's completed destruction by the Goths ; others contract it mainly within the times of Nero, Vespasian, and Titus.—I shall pretty well exhaust whatever can be thought to call for examination in the system, by considering separately, first *Bossuet's* or the *Roman Catholic* most favorite form of the *Præterist Scheme* ; then the favorite *German* form of the Scheme ; as propounded by *Eichhorn*, *Hug*, and *Moses Stuart*.

¹ See p. 456 *suprà*.² See *Ibid.* pp. 480, 481.³ *Ib.* p. 485.

§ 1. EXAMINATION OF BOSSUET'S, OR CHIEF ROMAN CATHOLIC
PRÆTERIST APOCALYPTIC SCHEME.¹

And here at the outset Bossuet's vague generalizing views of the five first *Seals* meet us ; as if really little more than the preliminary introduction on the scene of the chief *dramatis personæ*, or *agents*, afterwards to appear in action ; viz. *Christ the conqueror, War, Famine, Pestilence, and Christian Martyrs* : followed in the 6th by a preliminary representation, still as general, of the impending double, or rather treble catastrophe, that would involve Christ's enemies ; whether Jews, Romans, or those that would be destroyed at the last day. A view this that even Bossuet's most ardent disciples will, I am sure, admit to be one not worth detaining us even a moment : seeing that, from its professedly generalizing character, the whole figuration might just as well be explained by Protestants with reference to the overthrow of one kind of enemy, as by Romanists of another.—Nor indeed is there anything more distinctive in his *Trumpets* : with which, however, he tells us, there is to begin the particular development of events. For, having settled that the *Israelitish Tribes* mentioned in Apoc. vii, mean the Jews literally, and so furnish indication that they are parties concerned in what follows in the figurations, (though the *Temple*, all the while prominent in vision, is both in the 5th Seal before, and in the figuration of the Witnesses' afterwards, construed by Bossuet, not of the literal Jewish Temple, but of the Christian Church,) he coops up these Jews and all that is to be developed respecting them, within the four first Trumpets ;—the hail-storm of Trumpet 1 being Trajan's victory over them ; the burning mountain of Trumpet 2, Adrian's victories : (why the one or the other, or the one more than the other, does not appear :) the falling star of Trumpet 3 figuring their false prophet Barchochebas, "*Son of a Star*," who stirred up the Jews to war ; of course however before the war with Adrian, signified in the preceding vision, not after it : and the obscuration of the third part of sun, moon, and stars, in Trumpet 4, indicating not any national catastrophe or extinction, but

¹ See generally, in illustration of the ensuing Criticism, my sketch of Bossuet's Apocalyptic Interpretation, beginning p. 458 *suprà*.

the partial obscuration of the scriptural light before enjoyed by the Jews, through Akiba's Rabbinic School then instituted, and the publication of the Talmud. As if forsooth the light of Scripture had shone full upon them previously : and not been long before quenched by their own unbelief ; even as St. Paul tells us that the veil was upon their hearts. Did Bossuet really believe in the absurdity that he has thus given us for an Apocalyptic explanation ?—In concluding however at this point with the *Jews*, and turning to *Rome Pagan* as the subject of the following symbolizations, he acts at any rate as a reasonable man ; giving this very sufficient reason for the transition, that they who were to suffer under the plagues of the 5th and 6th Trumpets are marked in Apoc. ix. 20 as *idol-worshippers*, which certainly the Jews were not. A palpable distinctive this which, but for stubborn fact contradicting our supposition,¹ one might surely have supposed that no interpreter of the same, or of any other Apocalyptic School, would have had the hardihood even to attempt to set aside.

So, passing now to the *heathen Romans*, with reference to their history in the times following on Barchochebas and the Talmud, the *scorpion-locusts* of Trumpet 5 are made by our Expositor to mean poisonous Judaizing heresies which then infected the Christian Church : (“ Was it not a piece of waggery” in Bossuet, exclaims Moses Stuart,² so to explain it ?) Trumpet 6, somewhat better, the loosing of the Euphratean Persians under Sapor, that defeated and took prisoner the Emperor Valerian ; though it is to be remarked that Valerian was the aggressor in the war, not Sapor, and his defeat in Mesopotamia, some way beyond the Euphrates.—All which of course offers no more pretensions to real evidence than what went before : indeed its total want of any thing like even the semblance of evidence makes it wearisome to notice it. Yet it is by no means unimportant with reference to the point in hand ; for it shows even to demonstration the utter impossibility of making anything of the Seals and Trumpets on Bossuet's Scheme.—Let us then hasten to what both he and his disciples consider to constitute the real strength of his Apocalyptic Exposition : viz. his interpretation of the *Beast from the abyss*, with its seven heads and ten horns, and of the *Woman*

¹ See my notice of this point, in the critical examination of the *German Præterists* under the next head.

² Vol. i. p. 467.

riding on it ; as symbolizations respectively of the *Pagan* Roman Emperors, and *Pagan* Rome.

The notices of this *Beast* occur successively in Apoc. xi, xiii, and xvii. First in Apoc. xi the *Beast* is mentioned passingly and anticipatively, as *the Beast from the abyss*, the *slayer of Christ's two witnesses*. Next, in Apoc. xiii, it appears figured on the scene as the Dragon's successor, bearing seven heads and ten horns ; (one head excised with the sword, but healed :) another but *two-horned Beast* accompanying it, as its associate and minister ; and its name and number declared further to be 666. Once more, in Apoc. xvii it appears with a Woman declared to be *Rome*, riding on it ; and sundry mysteries about its seven heads and ten horns are then explained.

Now then for Bossuet's explanation. This *Beast*, says he, is the *Roman Pagan Empire*, at the time of the great Diocletian persecution ; its seven heads being the seven Emperors engaged in that persecution, or in the Licinian persecution, its speedy sequel : viz. first Diocletian, Galerius, Maximian, Constantius ; then, Maxentius, Maximin, and Licinius. Of which seven "*five had fallen*" at the time of the vision : "*one was*," viz. Maximin ; another "*had not yet come*," viz. Licinius : and the eighth, "*which was of the seven*," was Maximian resuming the Emperorship after he had abdicated. As to the *name* and *number* it was *Diocles Augustus* ; which in Latin gives precisely the number 666. Further, the *revived Beast* of Apoc. xiii, revived after the fatal sword-wound of the head "*that was*," figured the Emperor Julian ; and the *second Beast*, with two lamb-like horns, the Pagan Platonic priests of the time, that supported him : the time of whose reign, forty-two months, was simply a term of time borrowed from the duration of the reign of the persecutor Antiochus Epiphanes ; signifying that it would, like his, have fixed limits, and be short.—With regard to the *ten horns* that gave their power to the *Beast*, these signified the Gothic neighbouring powers ; which for awhile ministered to Imperial Rome, by furnishing soldiers and joining alliance : but which were soon destined to tear and desolate the Woman Rome ; as they did in the great Gothic invasions, beginning with Alaric, ending with Totilas. At the time of which last Gothic ravager, Rome's desolation answered strikingly to the picture of desolated Babylon in Apoc. xviii.—As to the *Woman*

riding the Beast, the very fact of her being called a *harlot*, not an *adulteress*, shewed that it must mean *heathen*, not *Christian Rome*.

Such is in brief Bossuet's explanation. Now as regards both the *first Beast*, and the *second Beast*, and the *Woman* too, let it be marked how utterly it fails ; and this is not in one particular only, but in multitudes.

Thus as to the *first Beast*.—1. The seven heads, he says, were the seven persecutors of the Diocletian era. But the Emperor Severus, the colleague of Galerius and his co-persecutor, as Bossuet admits, is arbitrarily omitted by him, in order not to exceed the seven. 2. The Beast from the abyss, being the Beast that kills the Witnesses, is made in Apoc. xi to be the Empire under Diocletian : but in Apoc. xvii the Beast from the abyss (and the distinctive article precludes the idea of two such Beasts) is explained of a head that was to come after the head that then was ; this latter being Maximin ; himself posterior to Diocletian. 3. The head that was wounded with the sword being, according to Bossuet, the sixth head that was, or Maximin, its healing ought to have been in the next head in order, that is Licinius. But this not suiting, he oversteps Licinius ; and explains the healed head of one much later, Julian. 4. The Beast with the healed head being Julian, the subject of the description in Apoc. xiii, the Beast's name and number ought of course to be the name and number of Julian. But no solution suitable to this striking him, Bossuet makes it Diocles Augustus ; the name of the Beast under a head long previous. 5. As to this name Diocles Augustus, it is not only in Latin numerals, which on every account are objectionable, and which no patristic expositor ever thought of :¹ but, in point of fact, it is a conjunction of two such titles as never co-existed ; Diocletian being never called Diocles when Emperor, i. e. when Augustus.² 6. The Beast "that was, and is not, and is to go into perdition," being "the eighth, yet one of the seven," Bossuet makes to be Maximian resuming the Empire after his abdication. But the prophetic statement requires that this eighth should rise up after that "which was,"

¹ See Vol. iii. p. 208, Note 7 ; and compare the *Greek* patristic explanations of the Beast's name and number given at pp. 322, 342, 346, 355, 360, *suprà*.—The earliest *Latin* solution that I remember to have seen is that of *Dic Lux*, by Albertus Magnus in the xiiith Century. See p. 404 *suprà*.

² So Rasche on Diocletianus : "Donec imperium sumeret *Diocles* appellatus : ubi orbis Romani potentiam cepit Græcum nomen in Romanum morem convertit, dictusque est Diocletianus." Even after his abdication he still retained the latter name. *Ibid*.

viz. Maximin : whereas Maximian's resumption of the empire was before Maximin.—7. As to the idea of *Julian's* hatred of, and disfavour to Christianity, answering to what is said in Apoc. xiii of the *Beast* under his *revived head* making war on the saints, and conquering them, it seems almost too absurd to notice. In proof I need only refer to Julian's own tolerating Decree about Christians ;¹ and the behaviour of Bossuet's *saints*, i. e. of the professing Christians of the time, at Antioch towards Julian.²—8. The contrast of the Beast's reign of $3\frac{1}{2}$ years, with Diocletian's of 10 years, and Julian's of $1\frac{1}{2}$, might be also strongly argued from : but I pass it over cursorily ; as Bossuet confesses to have no explanation to offer of it, except that it is an allusion to the duration of the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes !³

So as to the Beast's *heads* : and still a similar incongruity strikes one about the Beast's *horns*. Take but two points. *First*, these horns, " having received no kingdom as yet," i. e. at the time of the Revelation, were to receive authority as kings *μὴν ὅραν μετὰ τὸ θῆναι*, " *at one time with the Beast.*" So the doubtless true reading, and true rendering, as Bossuet allows. But how then applicable to the kings of the ten Gothic kingdoms?—kingdoms founded long subsequent to both Diocletian and Julian ; and after the Roman empire under their headships, (which is Bossuet's Beast,) had become a thing of the *past*. To solve the difficulty, Bossuet waves the magician's rod ; and, without a word of warning, suddenly makes the Beast to mean something quite different from what it was before : viz. to be the

¹ Οὐδὲνα γοῦν αὐτῶν ἀκούσα πρὸς βωμοὺς εἶμεν ἔλκεσθαι. It was almost an Edict of toleration. So Gieseler, Second Period, § 76 (Vol. i. p. 184): "He took away the privileges of Christians," (i. e. privileges granted them by former Emperors above Pagans,) "and forbade their teaching publicly in the schools ; but otherwise he promised to leave them unmolested." Bossuet indeed (on Apoc. xiii. 5) very much allows this. "Du temps de Julien il n'y eut aucune interruption dans le service public de l'Eglise :" adding however ; "Au reste il n'y a rien eu de plus dur à l'Eglise que les insultes de Julien ;" &c.—Gieseler thus represents the worst that Julian did. "Afterwards he was guilty of some acts of injustice towards the Christians ; too often provoked by their unseasonable zeal : they suffered most however from the heathen governors and populace." But how little to their destruction or subjugation see in the next Note.

² "At Antioch he endured the scoffs of the Christian populace with philosophical indifference." Gieseler, *ibid.*—See too the account in Gibbon ; who however on subjects connected with Christianity is always to be read with caution.

³ See p. 492, *suprà*.

Roman empire of *a later headship than the 8th*, or latest specified. "Their kingdoms," says he, "will synchronize with the Beast, that is with *Rome*; because Rome will not all at once (*i. e.* not immediately on the Goths' first attacks, begun about A.D. 400) have lost its existence, or all its power!"¹—Yet again, *secondly*, these horns were with one accord to impart their power and authority to the Beast; of course after themselves receiving this authority; *i. e.* as the context of the verse demonstrates, after receiving their kingdoms. But how so? Says Bossuet, because of their giving their men to be soldiers of the Roman armies, and of their settling as cultivators in the empire, and making alliances with the Roman emperors. But, as to *time*, could this be said of the reigns of *Diocletian* or *Julian*, when the Gothic ten kings had received no authority *as kings* to ally with Rome? And, as to the *character* of the thing, were the terrible Gothic settlements in the empire (*e. g.* that of the Visi-Goths under Valens) a *giving their power to the Romans*?

Then turn we to the *second Beast*. And let me here simply ask, How could a set of Pagan Philosophers, zealots that blasphemed Christ as the Galilean, answer to this symbol of a Beast with a *lamb-skin* covering: the recognized scriptural emblem under the *Old Testament* of false prophets who yet professed to be prophets of the true God;² under the *New Testament* of such as would hypocritically pretend to be Christians?³

Once more, as to the *Woman*: 1. Instead of the word *πορνή*, *harlot*, fixing her to be Rome *Pagan*, not *Christian* Rome apostatized, so as Bossuet asserts, the phrase most fitly suits the latter; being applied in the Septuagint to apostatizing Judah,⁴ in Matthew to an unfaithful wife.⁵ 2. What the *mystery* to make St. John so marvel with a mighty astonishment,⁶ if the emblem meant Rome Pagan? Did he not know Rome *Pagan* to be a persecutor; know it alike by his

¹ Mr. Miley overcomes the difficulty by silently adopting the reading *μετα το θηριον*, *after the Beast*; though a reading unauthorized by Greek MSS, and refuted by the very symbol of the horns being *upon the Beast's head*. See, says he, (ii. 122) the marvellous fulfilment! "The destroyers of the Western Empire of Rome were all adventurer kings, daring chiefs from the wilds of the North and North East; who all succeeded in erecting certain fabrics of power *upon the ruins of the Empire*."

² Compare Zech. xiii. 4.

³ Compare Matt. vii. 15, 22.

⁴ Isa. i. 21, &c.

⁵ Matt. v. 32, xix. 9.

⁶ Apoc. xvii. 6.

own experience, and that of all his brotherhood? 3. What of the total and eternal destruction predicated of the Apocalyptic Babylon, "*the smoke of it going up even εἰς τὰς αἰέτας τῶς αἰώνων, for ever and for ever,*"¹ if there was meant merely the brief temporary desolation of Rome Pagan in transitu to Rome Papal? 4. What of its being afterwards the abode of all unclean beasts and dæmons? Would Bossuet, observes Vitringa, have these to be the Popes and Cardinals of Papal Rome? 5. Was it really *Rome Pagan* that was desolated by the Goths; so as Bossuet and his followers would have it? Surely, if there be a fact clear in history, it is this, that it was *Rome Christianized in profession*, I might almost say, *Rome Papal*, that was the subject of these desolations.

As this last point is one that, if proved, utterly overthrows the whole Bossuetan or Roman-Catholic Apocalyptic Præterist Scheme, the Romanists have been at great pains to represent the fact otherwise. So Bossuet in his Chap. iii. 12—16; and Mr. Miley, just recently too, in his *Rome Pagan and Papal*. "It is well nigh a century since the triumph of the Labarum," says the latter writer, in one of his vivid sketches, with reference to the epoch of Alaric's first attack on Rome, "and Rome still wears the aspect of a *Pagan* city:—one hundred and fifty-two temples, and one hundred and eighty smaller shrines, are still sacred to the heathen Gods, and *used for their public worship.*"² On what authority Mr. M. makes such an assertion, I know not. Bossuet takes care not quite so far to commit himself. The fact of the case are, I believe, as follows. Constantine did not authoritatively abolish Paganism: but he so showed disfavour to it that it rapidly sunk into discredit in the empire; less however at Rome than elsewhere. With Julian came a partial and short-lived revival of Paganism; followed on his death by a reaction in favour of Christianity. But "from that period up to the fall of the empire a *hostile sect*, which regarded itself as unjustly stripped of its ancient honours, invoked the vengeance of the gods on the heads of the Government, exulted in the public calamities, and probably hastened them by its intrigues." So Sismondi, with his usual accuracy, as quoted by Mr. Miley.³ Of this *sect* were various members of the Roman senate. On Theodosius' becoming

¹ Apoc. xix. 3.² *Rome Pagan and Papal*, Vol. ii. p. 103.³ *Ibid.* p. 108.

sole Emperor, i. e. Emperor of the *West* as well as East, one of his first measures, A.D. 392, was *to forbid the worship of idols on pain of death*.¹ At Rome, however, by a certain tacit license, or connivance, heathen worship was still in a measure permitted : until in 394 himself visiting Rome, and finding a reluctance to abolish what remained of Pagan rites on the part of many of the senators, Theodosius *withdrew the public funds* by which they had been supported. On this the old Pagan worship was discontinued :² and, the Pagan temples having in many places soon after been destroyed by the zeal of Christians, the very fact of Pagan *worship* having been discontinued was given by Honorius, the Western Emperor, as a reason for not destroying the temple *fabrics*.³—Such was the state of things when Alaric first invaded Italy : and it was only in 409, after he had begun the siege of Rome, and *God's judgment began to be felt*, that the Pagan *faction* or *sect*, spoken of by Sismondi, stirring itself up : and, raising the cry that the calamity came *in consequence of the Gods of old Rome having been neglected*,⁴ prevailed on the authorities, including Pope Innocent himself, to sacrifice to them in the Capitol and other temples.⁵ But this was a comparatively solitary act. As the judgment of the Gothic desolations went on, it was only *in secret* that the worship of the heathen Gods was kept up ; and this in reference to such more trivial

¹ So Gieseler, Vol. i. p. 187 : to whom I beg generally to refer the reader on this subject.

² So Zosimus v. 38 : Τὴν δημοσίαν δαπάνην τοῖς ἱεροῖς χορηγεῖν ἀρνήσαντες, ἀπηλαυνόντο μὲν ἱερεῖς καὶ ἱερεῖαι, κατελιμπαρέτο δὲ πάσης ἱεροργίας τὰ τεμενῆ.

Prudentius says as to the number of the *Pagans*, that they were about the year 406, ten years after Theodosius' death, " vix pauca ingenia, et pars hominum rarissima." Compare Baronius' statement of the effect of Theodosius' Anti-Pagan edicts and acts, as quoted already by me Vol. iii. p. 111, Note. " Idololatriam, ut percussum multis ictibus anguem, caput rursus extollentem penitus extinguendam curavit Theodosius."

³ " Ut profanos ritus salubri lege submovimus, ita festos conventus non patimur submoveri : " and again ; " Ædes, illicitis rebus vacuas, nostrarum beneficio sanctionum, ne quis conetur evertere."

⁴ So Zosimus iv. 59 : Τὰ θνητοῦ θεοῦ λήξαντος, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα τῆς πατρὸς παραδόσεως ἦν ἐν ἀμελείᾳ κείμενων, ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἐπικρατεία βαρβαρῶν οἰκητηρίον γέγονε. So too Augustine in his C. D. v. 23.

⁵ Ἀναγκάσιον εἶδοκε τοῖς ἐλληνίζουσι τῆς Συγκλήτου θύειν ἐν τῇ Καπιτωλίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ναοῖς ὁ δὲ Ἰννοκεντίος, τὴν τῆς πόλεως σωτηρίαν ἐμπροσθεν τῆς οἰκείας ποιησάμενος δοξῆς, λαθρὰ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ποιεῖν ἄπερ ἴσασι. Ib. v. 14. Where mark the ἐλληνίζοντες, as characterizing those of the Senators who were most bent on sacrificing to the ancient gods ; and the εἶπεν, as marking the Pope's authority even at that time in Rome. His consent was needed, asked for, and indeed given.

Pagan rites, as taking auguries.¹ The dominant religion, that which was alone legalized in Rome, as well as elsewhere throughout the empire, and whose worship was alone celebrated openly and with pomp, was the Christian religion with the Pope at its head. Insomuch that in 450, just at the epoch of Genseric and Attila, Pope Leo, in an address to the people of Rome on St. Peter and St. Paul's day, thus characterized Rome and the Roman people :—These are they that have advanced you to the glory of being a holy nation, a chosen people, a priestly and royal city : so as that thou shouldest be, through the seat of Peter, the head of the world ; and with wider rule through religion than by mere earthly domination."²

Was it then *Rome Pagan*, or *Rome incipiently Papal*, that was the subject of Alaric's first attack, and of the subsequent ravages of Genseric, Odoacer, and Totilas ?³ I think the reader will agree with me that *Pope Leo* himself has pretty well settled that question ; and therewith given the *coup de grace* to Bossuet's and Miley's *Roman Catholic Version* of the Præterist Apocalyptic Scheme.⁴

¹ So Salvian, A. D. 440 : " Nunc quid non consulibus et pulli gentilium sacrilegiorum more pascuntur ; et volantis pennæ auguria quærentur ? "

² " Isti sunt qui te ad hanc gloriam provexerunt ; ut gens sancta, populus electus, civitas sacerdotalis et regia, per sacram beati Petri sedem caput orbis effecta, latine præsideres religione divinâ quàm dominatione terrenâ. " I have quoted this elsewhere ; Vol. iii. p. 129.

³ Were the continuance of certain old *Pagan rites and customs* by the Roman populace an evidence of Rome's Paganism, Mr. Miley must date its *Christianization* far later than the times of the Goths, or of Pope Gregory. In A.D. 743 we find Boniface writing to the Pope Zachary, (see Maitland's *Dark Ages*, p. 155,) that reports were brought from Rome of *heathenish customs celebrated in Rome hard by the Church of St. Peter* ; and that, seeing these things performed at Rome, he could not persuade the Germans or Franks that they were sins, or without ecclesiastical sanction. Zachary acknowledges in his Reply, that " through the Devil's instigation these evils had indeed ever and anon sprouted afresh. "

⁴ *Professor Lee* is very much of the Apocalyptic school of *Bossuet* ; or, as he would doubtless prefer to say, *Hammond*. It may seem due to him, before quitting this head of the Præterist Section, distinctly to sketch his view : which however needs but to be done very briefly ; on account both of its general vagueness, and of its general similarity to *Bossuet's*. The refutation of *Bossuet* is in fact the refutation of *Professor Lee*.

The general subject then, according to him, is *Christ's coming*, as predicted *Matt. xxiv. &c.* : i. e. his coming to destroy both the Jewish Polity and the heathen power, and so to establish his kingdom on earth ; which is the *restitution of all things*, spoken of by Peter, *Acts iii. 21*.

The five first *Seals* depict the Apostolic warriors, wars, famines, pestilences, and martyrdoms, all " *of these times* ; " (*Professor Lee's* perpetually repeated phrase :) i. e.

§ 2. EXAMINATION OF THE GERMAN PRÆTERIST APOCALYPTIC COUNTER-SCHEME.

The reader has already been made acquainted with the main common features of this *German* form of the Præterist Apocalyptic Scheme.¹ Differing on points of detail, (yet with the exception that Hartwig, Herder, and Zullig pretty much confine themselves to the *Jewish* catastrophe, and Ewald, Bleek, and De Wette to that of *heathen Rome*²) it may generally be described as embracing *both* catastrophes: the fall of Judaism being signified under that of Jerusalem, the fall of Heathenism under that of Rome; the one as drawn out in Symbol from Apoc. vi to xi inclusive, the other from Apoc. xii “during the first ages of the Church,” from Nero to Diocletian:—the 6th the “beginning of sorrows,” and “fall of kings and great powers,” &c; but what precisely, is not said.—Then the Sealing and Palm-bearing Visions, depicting a limited number of Jews, and unlimited number of Gentiles, gathered in to the Church and its privileges, shows that the Gospel of the kingdom had at the time figured been preached to all nations; and thus that the end might come.

Of the *Trumpets* the two first, he proceeds to observe, depict certain judgments “in these times;” the third, that of the falling star, “undoubtedly the fall of heathen Rome:” the darkening of the sun in the 4th Trumpet some visitation “in these times;” the locusts of Trumpet 5 undoubtedly the Roman power, and its destiny to plague men for five months, i. e. an indefinite time; also the four Angels loosed of Trumpet 6, Daniel’s four Beasts or Empires loosed from the great sea. (Surely there is almost a contempt for all order and chronology manifested in these explanations.)

And so comes the Vision of the *two Witnesses*, explained to be the *Law* and the *Gospel*: slain (as Bossuet also, we have seen, interprets it) by the Beast Diocletian; revived under Constantine.—Further, in Apoc. xii the figured war of the Dragon against the woman having signified Satan’s ineffective earlier attempts against Christ and Christianity, Apoc. xiii exhibits his instrument the Beast, or heathen Roman Empire, arrayed against them: the *five fallen* out of his seven heads, being the chief Roman persecutors after Nero, (which Nero was the precursor of Antichrist meant by Paul, and had been previously taken out of the way,) viz. Domitian, Decius, Valerian, Aurelian, Diocletian: after whom followed Maximian and Galerius, making up the seven bestial heads; then Maximin, as the eighth; who was also “*of the seven*,” as being appointed by one of the former, viz. Galerius! The *ten kings* are explained (just as by Bossuet) of the Gothic kings, first Rome’s allies, then Rome’s destroyers: the *woman riding the Beast* being “*heathen Rome* beyond all possible doubt;” and the *two-horned Beast*, or False Prophet, the heathen priesthood.

As to the *first resurrection*, it means a *spiritual* one, during the *παλιγγενεσία* (Matt. xix. 28) of the first preaching of the Gospel; and the *New Jerusalem* is the Christian Church on earth, depicted in its beauty and privileges.

Such is, in brief, Professor Lee’s Apocalyptic Scheme; and, I must say, it makes me much marvel that such a man should have written such a Comment!

¹ See p. 480—484 *suprà*.

² So M. Stuart, i. 161.

to xix.¹ Whereupon comes thirdly in Apoc. xx a figuration of the triumph of Christianity. So Wetstein, Hernnschneider, Eichhorn, Hug, &c. in Germany ; M. Stuart in America, and in England Dr. Davidson.

In regard to which School, let me first advert for a moment to what I have indeed already much earlier remarked on,² the singular *dogmatism* by which it is too much characterized. Instead of discussing and disproving the *strongest*, or at least the *essential* points of other interpretative systems, the law is almost *à priori* laid down that they are all totally wrong, and the Præterist Scheme alone conformable to the discoveries and requirements of "*modern exegesis*:"³—a dogmatism the more remarkable, when exhibited by a man of calm temperament and unimpassioned style, like Professor Stuart.⁴ On certain weaker minds it is likely that this may be

¹ Eichhorn makes his *Judaic* division of the Apocalypse to extend into Apoc. xii ; and the *Roman* division only to begin with the Dragon's going to persecute the remnant of the woman's children, Apoc. xii. 18. ² *Viz.* in my Preface, p. xx.

³ A favorite phrase, and almost argument, with many of this class of interpreters.

⁴ i. e. in the body of his Work. His Preface is in the undogmatic style that one might expect from such a man as Professor Stuart. Elsewhere however, not only does he dogmatically pass sentence of condemnation on Expositions of the usual Protestant view, (e. g. i. 161, "It is time, high time, for *principles* to take the place of *fancy*, for *exegetical proof* to thrust out *assumption*,") but even warms into such a burst as the following:—"In the name of all that is pertinent and congruous in prophecy, what has a history of civil commotions and literal famines, &c. to do with the object John had before him? Are we to suppose him in a state of hallucination when he wrote the Apocalypse? Away with all such surmises: and away too with all the expositions that are built upon them!" i. 208, 209.

In Dr. Davidson, with whom of English expounders of the system I am best acquainted, the characteristic can scarcely fail to strike his readers. So, when speaking of myself and the Horæ, among other Protestant Expositors, in the Eclectic Review for December 1844, p. 644; "As an exposition of the Apocalypse it is a total failure; it is essentially and fundamentally erroneous." A sentence this repeated at the conclusion of his Article on the "*Revelation*" in Kitto's Cyclopædia: yet without the slightest attempt at encountering the evidence and arguments in the Horæ: to which however he will now find himself called, in my Preface to this Edition, p. xix.—So again of Protestant Expositors generally, in the same Review, p. 649: "That the Revelation exhibits a prophetic view of the Church from the close of the Apostolic age to the end of time, is a position that can never be rendered probable. All who have attempted to expound it on this principle have totally failed." (Also Kitto p. 623, &c.) And on his own, or German view, *ibid.* 644; "The recent German works on the Apocalypse have served to point out the *true* path of interpretation:" and p. 648; "For the *right* interpretation of the mystical number 666, or 616, see Ewald's Commentary." Again in the Article in Kitto, this German Præterist Scheme is given in considerable detail, not as a suggested interpretation, but authoritatively, and *ex cathedra*, as beyond a doubt the true interpretation.

imposing. But to others the question is sure to arise, What the grounds of this strange presumptuousness of tone? What the new and overpowering evidence in favor of the modern Præterists? What the discovery of such unthought-of-coincidence between the prophecy on the one hand, and certain facts of their chosen Neronic æra on the other, as to settle the Apocalyptic controversy in their favour at once and for ever? And then the surprise is increased by finding that not only has no *such* discovery been made, not only no *such* discovery been even pretended to, but that in fact they put it forward as the very boast of the Præterist system, that coincidences exact and particular are not to be sought or thought of: that the three main ideas about the three cities, or three antagonist religions represented by them, so as above mentioned, are pretty much all that there is of *fact* to be unfolded: and that, with certain exceptions, (of which exceptions more presently,) all else is to be regarded as but the poetic drapery and ornament.¹—Now in *German rationalists*, like Eichhorn and so many others, men professedly disbelieving the inspiration of the writer of the Apocalypse, all this is quite natural and consistent. For he wrote, they take for granted, as a mere dramatist and poet; whether at the time of the Neronic persecution, or in Domitian's reign thirty years later, matters not: seeing that in either case he is supposed to have thrown himself in spirit into Nero's times; and introduced into his drama, with all a true poet's skill and effect, the thoughts, hopes, and anticipations, especially of the *Christian* mind, then known to have been prevailing. As to details, what the limit ever assigned to *a poet's fancy*, except as his own taste or critical judg-

¹ So Stuart, i. 179:—"Substantial facts lie at the *basis* of the Apocalypse. But what the *drapery* or *costume*? All symbol is of course drapery. It is the thing signified which is the person; the way and manner of signifying it is merely the *fashion* of the *costume*." Then at p. 200 he proceeds to state, with reference to the Apocalypse as "a book of poetry," "that Oriental Poetry, especially the Hebrew, follows out the detail of symbol and allegory, to give vivacity to a representation, much beyond what we do in the Western world:" and, at p. 203, reprobates those who "seek for *historical events* and *facts*, in remote ages, as the fulfilment of these so-called predictions." For "what defence can be made for converting *episode* into the main body of the work; or symbols of assurance that the Beast shall be overcome, into pictures of veritable historical events?"—Similarly Dr. Davidson in Kitto, p. 627, adopts Hug's remark: "The particular traits and images in the Apocalypse are by no means all significant: many being introduced only to enliven the representation, and for the purpose of ornament."

ment might impose one?—But that *Christian writers*, like Professor Stuart and Dr. Davidson, men professing to believe in St. John's inspiration as a prophet, should deliberately so view and pronounce on the matter, so resolve even what seems most specific into generalizations,¹ and what seems stated as fact into mere poetic drapery, is to my mind most astonishing.

It is of course due to these writers to mark by what process of thought they arrive at this conclusion; and on what principle, and by what reasons, they have justified it to themselves. *First*, as might be anticipated, the *discrepant and unsatisfactory interpretations given by former Expositors*, of the school that seeks in the Apocalypse anything like a prophetic "epitome of the civil and ecclesiastical history of Christendom," figure, in allusion at least, in their announcement at the outset. (On which let me just observe in passing that Professor Stuart does not seem to have seen my own Commentary, when he published his;² and so cannot include it in his condemnatory reference.³)—*Next*, the *intended use and object* of the Apocalypse, at the time it was written, has seemed to the learned American Professor to furnish forth the true principle of exegesis, whereby to interpret it,⁴ And, supposing it proved that it was written during

¹ "Scarcely inferior in importance is the plain principle that *generic* and not *specie* and *individual* interpretations are to be sought for in the Apocalypse." So Professor S. at p. 203, after the extract given in my Note preceding.—As a striking example of the extent to which this is carried by him, I may refer to his Vol. ii. p. 146; where, after setting forth the destruction of Jerusalem and Judaism as the first grand theme of the Apocalypse, from Apoc. vi. to xi, he says; "If no history by Josephus existed, the arch of Titus at Rome would tell the story that Apoc. vi—xi. had been fulfilled. Nay! "Equally well would it have been fulfilled, had the Jewish persecuting power been crushed in *any other way*, or by *any other means*." So too in his Vol. i. p. 205.

² Though Professor Bush at New York had seen and noticed it some time before Professor Stuart's publication.

³ At Vol. i. p. 204, after mention of the *Gothic invasions* of the Empire, &c, as subjects supposed to be figured by the Protestant interpreters, he adds; "The misfortune is that what applies to this particular battle, &c, would apply equally well to every particular battle that has been fought." If this Edition of the Horæ fall into his hands the Professor will see, by what is stated in the Note at p. xix of my Preface, that the direct contrary to this is asserted as characterizing the specific historical interpretation in the Horæ; and if he will test my explanations, he will, I think, soon find how little the above statement can apply to them. I think I may say, with regard to all the chief and detailed interpretations, that they are shewn to be applicable to *nothing else whatsoever* with the same exactitude, as to that which they are applied to.

⁴ So in the Preface p. 4; "I take it for granted that the writer had a *presset* and

Nero's persecution, and that the Church, then "bleeding at every pore,"¹ could take little interest in information as to what was to happen in distant ages, (excepting of course the final triumph of Christianity,) or indeed as to anything but what concerned their own immediate age and pressure, whether in Judæa or at Rome, therefore that to this the subject-matter of the Apocalypse must be regarded as confined. And whereas, on *this exegetic hypothesis*, scarce anything appeared in the actual historic facts of the particular period or catastrophe in question, which could be considered answering to the prophetic figurations, therefore that all idea of any particular intent and meaning in these prophetic figurations must be set aside; and that they must be regarded as the mere drapery and ornament of what was indeed but an *Epopœe*, albeit by one inspired.—*Finally*, for this generalizing view of the Apocalyptic imagery, Psalm xviii, which was David's song after his deliverance from Saul, and Isaiah xiii, xiv, on the fall of Babylon, (the former more especially) have seemed to the Professor to furnish a sufficient precedent.²

The reader has here, I believe, a fair and sufficiently full sketch of the main principles, origin, and justificatory view of his Exposition put forth by the learned American Professor: as also very much, though less consistently, by Dr. Davidson.³ And on this the following observations naturally suggest themselves.—1. As to the *date of the Apocalypse*, how unfortunate are these *Christian* Professors and Critics, as compared with the *infidel* critics of German rationalism! To the latter the Domitianic date serves quite equally well with the Neronic; seeing that a poet may make a Poem about times past, quite as well as about times present: and that thus Irenæus' decisive testimony, one corroborated from so many other quarters, may be received, as Eichhorn in fact receives it,⁴ without the slightest trouble *immediate* object in view; and that he spoke *intelligibly* to those whom he addressed." And so again and again, i. 156, 159, 162, 194, 197, 208; ii. 310, 472, &c.

¹ A favourite expression of the American Professor. So i. 159, 207, 209, &c.—But how does this square with what is intimated of the state of the Laodicean Church; "Thou sayest, I am rich, and increased with goods," &c? ² So Stuart i. 170, &c.

³ For Dr. D. in Kitto, p. 623, cannot refrain from the just observation: "The Apocalypse was designed to promote the instruction of God's people in *all ages*. It does not belong to the class of ephemeral writings. Its object was not merely a local or partial one." Adding, however: "This general characteristic is perfectly consistent with the fact that it arose out of specific circumstances; and was primarily meant to subserve a definite end."

⁴ See his Preface, p. xlv.

or inconvenience. Whereas with these other interpreters of the same prophetic school, if this their foundation fail, the whole fails : and on what a mere quicksand, in this respect, their structure is raised, and in what imminent danger of being engulfed, the reader of my sketch of evidence on the Apocalyptic date will, I think, soon see.¹—

2. As to the very limited *use* and *object* which they assign to the Apocalyptic prophecy, as if only or chiefly meant for the Christians then living,—by them to be understood, and by them applied in the way of encouragement and comfort, as announcing the issue of the trials in which they were then personally engaged,—what right has Professor Stuart thus to limit it ? Was it not accordant with the character of God's revelations, as communicated previously in Scripture, especially in Daniel's prophecies, which are, of all others, the most nearly parallel with the Apocalypse, to foreshow the future *in its continuity* from the time when the prophecy was given, even to the consummation : and this, not with the mere present object of comforting his servants then living, but for a perpetual witness to his truth ; to be understood only partially, it might be, for generations, but fully in God's own appointed time ? So, for example, in the prophecies already fulfilled, concerning Christ's first advent ; prophecies which even the disciples understood not, till Christ himself, after he had actually come, explained them. So in Daniel's, extending to the time of the end ; and which, *till the time of the end should come*, were expressly ordered to be sealed up.²—Besides which what historic evidence have we of Christians of Nero's time having so understood the Apocalypse, as the American Professor would have it that they *must* have done ?³ Not a vestige of testimony to the fact of such an understanding exists ; albeit quite general, according to him, among the more intelligent in the Christian body. On the contrary, the early testimony of Irenæus, disciple to Polycarp, who was himself disciple to St. John, indicates a then totally different

¹ See especially my examination of Professor Stuart's evidence and argument in the Appendix to my Vol. i.

² Dan. xii. 9. The sealing was evidently with reference to that part of the prophecy which concerned the distant future.

³ See the extract from his Preface, Note 4, p. 502 *supra*. So again i. 126 ; " John wrote in order to be read and understood ; and therefore intelligent persons of his day might understand him." Also ii. 326, &c.

view of the Apocalyptic Beast from Professor Stuart's, as if the only one ever known to have been received : a view referring it, not to the previous persecutions by Nero and the Roman Empire under him, but to an Antichrist even then future ; one that was to arise and persecute the Church not till the breaking up, and reconstruction in another form, of the old Empire.—Moreover the whole that our Professor would have to be shown by the Apocalypse, viz. the assured triumph of Christianity over both Judaism and Paganism, instead of being any new revelation specially suited to add comfort to the Christians of the time, had been communicated, the one by Daniel, the other by Christ himself, *much more fully and particularly* long before.¹—3. As to the Professor's grand *precedent of Psalm xviii*, urged again and again in justification of his explaining away nearly all the more particular symbolizations of the Apocalypse, as if mere poetic drapery and ornament, is the parallel a real one, or the argument from it valid ? Let us hear the Professor. See then, says he,² how though the subject of the Psalm be at the heading declared to be David's deliverance from Saul, yet under what varied imagery this is set forth :—how in depicting them he makes the earth to shake and tremble, and the smoke to go forth from God's nostrils, and his thunderings to be heard in the heaven, and his lightnings shot forth to discomfort the enemy : all mere poetical ornament ; not particular circumstantial fact ; much less fact in chronological order and development. But, let me ask, does the Psalmist profess, as his very object, to tell the facts that had occurred in the period of David's suffering from Saul, so as the Apocalyptic revealing Angel does to tell the things of the coming future ?³ Or with any such orderly division, and arrangement for chronological development of facts, as in the singularly artificial Apocalyptic division into its three septenaries of Seals, Trumpets and Vials, (each of the latter subordinate evidently to the former,) and the various chronological periods so carefully interwoven ? —Again, as to the symbolizations in the Psalm, is Professor Stuart

¹ The only new point communicated, I believe, according to Stuart and Davidson, is the enigma about Nero, as a head of the Roman Beast, answering to a certain mystic number : and this indeed no discovery of the future about him, but only a riddle about the then present.

² i. 170, ii. 141, 146.

³ "Come up, and I will shew thee *ἀ μέλλει γινέσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα*, the things that are to happen after the things now present." Apoc. iv. 1.

quite sure that they refer only to David and Saul ; and that David is not carried forward in the Spirit, beyond his own times and his own experience, to picture forth the future triumphs of a greater David over a greater Saul ; triumphs not to be accomplished in fine without tremendous elemental convulsions, and the visible and glorious interposition of the Almighty ? Surely what is said in verse 43, of his (the *chief* intended David's) "being made the head of the heathen," tells with sufficient clearness that such is indeed the true *esegesis* of the Psalm ; and so most Expositors of repute, I believe, explain it.

So much on the *general principles* of the German Præterist School. Let me now proceed, more in detail, to consider the *two grand catastrophes* laid down by it, as the two main particulars unfolded in the Apocalypse ; and show, as I trust I shall, both in respect of the one and the other, the many and indubitable marks of error stamped upon them.

And, *first*, as to the catastrophe of *Judaism* and *Jerusalem*, depicted in the figurations from Apoc. vi. to Apoc. xi inclusive.

Says Professor Stuart in brief thus.¹ "It is for some considerable time not unfolded who the enemy is against whom the rider of the White Horse in the first Seal has gone forth conquering, followed by his agencies of War, Famine,² and Pestilence ; him against whom the cry is raised of the Christian martyrs slain under the 5th Seal, and the revolution of whose political state is evidently the subject of Seal the sixth. But in Apoc. xii the enemy meant is intimated. For when it is stated that 144,000 are sealed, by way of protection, out of all the tribes of Israel, meaning evidently those that have been converted from among the Jews to Christianity, it follows clearly that it is the unsealed ones of those tribes, or *unconverted Jews*, forming the great body of *Israel*, that are the destined objects of destruction. A view this quite confirmed in Apoc. xi ; where the *inner Temple* is measured, as that which is not to be ejected : in other words, that whatever was spiritual in the Jewish religion was to be

¹ See the Professor's Introduction to the First Catastrophe, Vol. ii. pp. 133—145.

² Let me not omit to remind the reader, in passing, of the proof given under my 3rd Seal that the symbols of that seal *cannot* have been meant to figure *famine*.

preserved in Christianity : while the rest, or mere external parts of the system, as well as the Holy City Jerusalem itself, was to be abandoned and trodden down." So substantially Professor Stuart ; and so too his prototype Eichhorn, and his English follower Dr. Davidson. This is the *strength* of their first Part ; the details of Seals and Trumpets being of course little more in this system than intimations of something awful impending altogether general, or indeed mere "poetic drapery and costume." Let us then try its strength where it professes to be strongest.

The enemy to be destroyed, it is said, was shown to be the *Jews* ; because it was the *Jewish tribes* (all but the sealed few from out of them) that were to have the tempests of the four winds let loose on them ; and because it was the *Jewish Temple* (all but the inner and measured part of it) that was to be abandoned to the Gentiles. Let us test this conclusion by what is shown us, 1. as to the *intent of the Jewish symbolic scenery elsewhere in the Apocalypse* : 2. as to the *religious character of the people actually destroyed in the Trumpet-judgments* ; 3. as to the *intended people's previous murder of Christ's two Witnesses, in their thereupon doomed City*.

1. Already in the opening Apocalyptic vision a chamber as of the Jewish Temple had been revealed ; with seven candlesticks like those in the old Jewish Temple,¹ and one in the High Priest's robing that walked among them. Was its signification then Jewish or Christian ; of Judaism or Christianity ? We are not left to conjecture. The High Priest was distinctively the *Christian* High Priest, Christ Jesus : the seven candlesticks the seven Christian Churches. This explanation at the outset is most important to mark ; being the fittest key surely to the intent of all that occurs on the scene afterwards of similar imagery.—Further, in Seal 5 a Temple like the Jewish, at least the temple-court with its great brazen altar, is again noted as figured on the scene. Now we might anticipate pretty confidently, from the previously given *key* just alluded to, that the Temple was here too symbolic of the *Christian* worship and religion, not the *Jewish*. But there is, over and above this, independent internal evidence to *affix* to it the same meaning. For the souls under the altar, who

¹ So Stuart allows, ii. 46 : that "The writer had doubtless in his mind the passage in Zech. iv. 2, where the prophet sees a candelabrum of gold, with seven lamps thereon ;" with reference to the "light of the (Jewish) temple, its ritual, and services."

confessedly depict *Christian martyrs*, appear there of course as sacrifices offered on that altar: their place being where the ashes of the Jewish altar-sacrifices were gathered. Which being so, could *the altar* mean that of the literal Judaism; and the vision signify that the Jews, zealous for their law, and thinking to do God service, had there slain the Christian martyrs, as if heretics? Certainly not; because on their altar the Jews never offered human sacrifices, and would indeed have esteemed it a pollution. Therefore we have independent internal evidence that the Jewish temple and altar, figured on the Apocalyptic scene, had here too a *Christian* meaning; depicting (as both St. Paul, and Polycarp after him, so beautifully applied the figure¹) the Christian's willing sacrifice of himself and his life for Christ.—Further in Apoc. viii the Temple is again spoken of as apparent; with its brazen sacrificial altar in the altar-court, its golden incense-altar within the Temple proper, and one too, habited as a Priest, who received and offered incense, according to the ceremony of the Jewish ritual. Was this meant literally of *Jewish* incense and *Jewish* worship? Assuredly not. For the incense of the offering priest, is declared to be "the prayers of *all the saints*;" i. e. as all admit,² of *Christians* distinctively from *literal Jews*.—All which being so, what, I ask, must by the plainest requirements of consistency and common sense follow, but that as the *offerers of Jewish worship in the Jewish temple* depicted on the Apocalyptic scene meant in fact *Christians*, so they that are *called Jews* or *Israelites* in the Apocalyptic context must mean *Christians* also, at least by profession.

It might seem needless that I should proceed further, in corroboration of this view of the Apocalyptic Jewish scenery, to show the similar *Christian* purport of the Temple figuration connected with the story of the Witnesses in Apoc. xi. For our Professor himself admits, nay argues, that the inner and most characteristic part of it (the same that was measured) signified that spiritual part of Judaism *which was to be preserved in Christianity*, as contrasted with the mere externals of Jewish ritualism:³ thus construing it, not literally, with

¹ See my Vol. i. pp. 183, 184, 199.

² So M. Stuart ii. 182: "It goes up before God bearing along with it on its fragrant clouds (so to speak) the prayers of persecuted Christians."

³ "The design seems plainly this, viz. to prefigure the *preservation of all that was*

reference to the worship of the national Israel, but symbolically, with reference to that of the Christian Israel.¹ I cannot however pass over it without directing attention to the evident erroneousness and consequent confusedness and inconsistency of the reasoning, by which he yet advances *so far* towards what I must beg to call the right conclusion. For he makes the Jewish temple proper, to figure Christianity, simply as being *the inner part*; at the same time that its outer court, *as the outer*, figured Judaism. That is, he makes the connected part of *the same temple* to symbolize two *professedly different and opposed religions*: and moreover makes that part of it which contained all that was visibly and by use ritualistic, (the sacrificial altar, the laver, the incense-altar, the shew-bread, the candlesticks, &c.) to symbolize the unritualistic religion of the two; while the other part, which had none of the ritualistic materiel, was to symbolize the religion of ritualism!² Surely St. Paul might have taught him a very different and more consistent mode of interpreting the symbol. According to this apostolic teaching the Jewish Temple on the Apocalyptic scene figured the Christian visible worshipping Church and its worship, on the principle of construing the old Jewish *types* to mean their answering spiritual *antitypes*. Which being so, the Gentile outer court figured necessarily the professing proselytes of the same Christian worship and religion: whether proselytes consistent in life and doctrine, and who thus worshipped in the altar-worship; or pro-

fundamental and essential in the ancient religion, notwithstanding the destruction of all that was *external*, in respect to the temple, the city, and the ancient people of God. Is not the preservation of the sanctum of *the temple* an appropriate emblem of this? "Stuart ii. 214. "*Christians*," he adds, p. 218, "are kings and priests unto God; and to them the inmost recesses of *the temple* are opened." So too i. 184.

¹ Dr. Davidson is as brief here, and shuns the difficulty as much, as in the case of the witness-laying; of which more under the next head. He only says: "After this the *interior* of the temple is *measured* by the prophet; while the *outer court* is *excepted*, and given over for 42 months to the Gentiles."—I suppose in Stuart's sense; as I can divine no other.

² Professor S. indeed seems inclined to view *the altar* spoken of as the *incense altar*: yet he includes the *priest's court* in the part measured; which court was the one that had the great brazen altar in it.—I believe moreover that *the altar*, when thus simply designated, means always in the New Testament the *brazen altar* of sacrifice. See Matt. v. 23, xxiii. 18, 25, 1 Cor. ix. 13, x. 18, Heb. vii. 13, Apoc. vi. 9. Nor again, I believe, were there ever said to be worshippers, *προσκυωvτες*, at the *incense altar*. Compare Luke i. 10, 11; where the people are spoken of as praying, while the priest at the incense-altar offered incense: also 2 Kings xviii. 22. See too my Vol. ii. pp. 180, 181.

selytes false at heart, and false to the altar, and so to be at length openly cast out as apostates and hypocrites. Methinks, had this single point been carefully considered, the American Professor would not have so laboriously spent his strength on such plain error!

2. As to the *religious profession* or *character* of those that were to suffer through the plagues of this first great act of the Drama, (or rather *Epopée*, as Stuart would prefer to call it,¹) the character is most distinctly laid down in Apoc. ix. 20, as *actual idolaters*. For it is there said, "that the rest of the men, which were not killed by these plagues, yet repented not of the works of their hands, that they should not worship dæmons, and idols of gold, and silver, and brass, and stone, and wood:"—a description so diametrically opposed to the character of the Jews in Nero's time, and ever afterwards, that one would have thought with *Bossuet*,² and indeed *Ewald* too,³ that it settled the point, if anything *could* settle it, that *Jews* were *not* the parties meant. And how then do the German Præterists, that take the Judaic view, overcome the difficulty? Few and brief are the words of *Eichhorn's* paraphrase:—"It means that they persevered in *that same obstinate mind*, which *once* showed itself in the worship of *idols*!"⁴ Says *M. Stuart*:⁵ "In the Old Testament, Jews that acted in a heathenish way were called heathens: and moreover in the New Testament *covetousness* is called idolatry: and moreover in the times of Herod *theatres*, and such like heathen customs, had become common in Judæa."⁶ But surely such observations, when put forward in explanation of the descriptive clause that spoke of men "*worshipping idols of gold, and silver, and brass, and stone, and wood*," must be felt to be rather an appeal *ad misericordiam* in the Expositor's difficulty, than an argument for the fitness of the descriptive clause, to suit the Jews of the times of Nero and

¹ See Stuart i. 151—155, controverting Eichhorn's view of it as a *Drama*. He dwells on it himself, i. 190, &c. as an *Epopée*. It really seems to me a controversy on matter of little worth. In either case he would have his resource of "*drapery*."

² "Cela fait voir que le Prophète a passé des Juifs aux idolâtres: car on ne peut assez remarquer, que comme les afflictions des Ch. vii et viii regardoient les Juifs, il n'y est point parlé d'idolâtrie." Bossuet ad loc.

³ I learn this from Professor Stuart. "Ewald considers this as decisive in respect of those who are the objects of attack by the horsemen." ii. 201.

⁴ "Hoc est, perseverarunt in *mente obstinatâ*, quæ olim in Hebræis antiquis in cultu idolorum cernebatur." Eichhorn, ii. p. 41.

⁵ Stuart, *ibid.* 201, 202.

⁶ "Enough this," says he, "to satisfy the demands of *exegesis*."

Vespasian : especially when coming from one who is led elsewhere in his comment to state (and state most truly) that the Jews were ready, one and all, rather to submit their necks to the Roman soldiers' swords, than to admit an image that was to be worshipped within their city.¹ Indeed it is notorious that they regarded images altogether as abominations ; and that the Roman attempts at erecting them more than once threatened desperate rebellions.—As for Dr. Davidson, he here exhibits more at least of discretion than the American Professor. He passes over the difficulty, as if *re desperatâ*, in dead silence.

3. Try we next then the *Judaic* view of our German Præterists by the test of the *Witness-slaying* prophecy, including the *place*, *time*, and *author of their slaughter*.—This is put forth as one of the strongest points in the *Judaic* part of their view : it being stated to occur in the city “where their Lord was crucified ;” i. e., say the Præterists, in *Jerusalem*.—But first, we ask, what witnesses ? “The Jewish chief priests Ananus and Jesus,” answer *Herder* and *Eichhorn* ; “mercilessly massacred, as Josephus tells us, by the Zealots.”² But how so ? May they not be *Christ's* witnesses, justly exclaims *Stuart* ;³ (as it is said, “I will give power to *my* witnesses ;”) and therefore *Christians* ? Of course they must. Which being so, the next question is, Who then the notable *Christians* that *Stuart* considers to have been slain in Jerusalem, in the witness character, at this epoch ; i. e. during the Romans' invasion of Judea ? Does he not himself repeat to us the well-known story on record, that the Christians forthwith fled to Pella, agreeably with their Lord's warning and direction, as soon as they saw the Romans approach to beleaguer Jerusalem ? But, says he in reply,⁴ “Can we imagine that all would be able to make their escape ? Would there not be sick and aged and paupers to delay to fly ; and faithful teachers too of Christianity, that would choose to remain, to preach repentance and faith to their countrymen ? *These* I regard as symbolized by the two Witnesses ;” and these therefore as answering in their history at this crisis to the

¹ “When Pontius Pilate undertook to hoist the standard of Tiberius in the city of Jerusalem, the Jews, knowing the obligation that would follow to pay homage to it, one and all remonstrated ; and offered their necks to the swords of his soldiers, rather than submit to its erection.” *Stuart* ii. 275, from Josephus.

² *Stuart* ii. 220.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Stuart* ii. 227.

most extraordinary and circumstantial prediction about the Witnesses' testimony, miracles, death, resurrection, ascension. But what the historic testimony to support his view? Alas! none! absolutely none! In apology for this total and most unfortunate silence of history he exclaims; "The Jew Josephus is not the historian of *Christians*; and early ecclesiastical historians have perished:" adding however, as if sufficient to justify his hypothesis; "But Christ intimates, in his prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem, that there would be *persecution* at the period in question." A statement certainly quite unjustified (if he means persecution unto death in *Jerusalem*, and at *the time of the siege*) by the passage he refers to.¹ At last he condescends to this: "At all events it is clear that the Zealots, and other Jews, did not lose *their disposition to persecute* at this period!!" Such is the impotent conclusion of Professor Moses Stuart: such the best explanation he can devise, on his hypothesis, of the wonderful Apocalyptic prophecy respecting the Witnesses.—Nor is his need supplied by Dr. Davidson. "Notwithstanding God's long-suffering mercy," says this latter, "*the Jews continue to persecute the faithful witnesses.*" This, I can assure the Reader, is the *sum total* of his observations on the point before us.²—Nor is it here only that the *Judaic* part of the Præterist Scheme, applied to the Witness-story in the Apocalypse, breaks down. For, further, the *city* where the Witnesses' corpses were to be exposed is declared to be *the city the great one*; ³ that which is the emphatic title of the seven-hilled Babylon or *Rome*, in the Apocalypse; never of *Jerusalem*.⁴ (How it might be *Rome*, and yet the city where the Lord Jesus had been crucified, the Reader has long since seen!⁵)—Nor this alone. For the Beast that was to slay them was το θηριον το αναβαινον εκ της

¹ Matt. xxiv. 9—13.

² Ap. Kitto, p. 624.

³ Εν τη πλατεια της πολως της μεγαλης. This, as the best reading, is given by Tregelles. The omission of the first της, as in other editions, makes no difference in the point of the designation.

⁴ Five or six times is the phrase used in the Apocalypse, and always with reference to the great Babylon. See Apoc. xix. 8, xvi. 19, xvii. 18, xviii. 10, 16, 18, 19, 21. So Jerome of old, and others also; remarking moreover that Jerusalem is never called Egypt. So too Bossuet.

Dr. Davidson, on Apoc. xi. 13, explains the city of which the tenth part fell, as the "*Holy City*;" whereas it is evidently the same *Great City* (the one last before mentioned, viz. in verse 8) as that where the Witnesses had fallen.

⁵ See my Vol. ii. p. 385, 391.

αβυσσος, the *Beast that was to rise from the abyss*; ¹ a Beast which, with the distinctive article prefixed, (as I have before observed,) ² cannot but be one and the same with that which is mentioned under precisely the same designation in Apoc. xvii. 8; ³ and there, as all the Præterists themselves allow, designates a power associated some way with *Rome*.—Indeed alike the declared fact of the *witness-slaying*, and of the *great city* as *the place of their slaughter*, and of the *Beast from the abyss* as *their slayer*, (as also, let me add, the period of the 1260 days, assigned alike to the Witnesses' sackcloth-propheying first, and to the Beast's reign afterwards,) do so interweave the first half of the Apocalyptic prophecy, from Apoc. vi to xi, with the part subsequent, that as to any such total separation, in respect to subject, of the one from the other, as the Præterists urge, on the hypothesis of a double catastrophe, it is, I am well persuaded, and will be so found by one and all who attempt to prove it, an absolute impossibility.⁴

4. I might add a word as to the comparative *time* of the supposed *Jewish* catastrophe and the *Roman*: the former supposed by the Præterists to be first set forth, and the *Roman* figured afterwards; whereas the chronological order of the two events was in fact just the reverse: the Roman persecution of Christians, and quickly consequent fall of Nero, preceding the fall of Jerusalem. But the argument (which indeed might well be spared *ex abundanti*) will occur again, and somewhat more strikingly, under our next Head.—To this let us then now pass onwards; and consider, as proposed,

Secondly, the German Præterists' *second* grand division of the Apocalypse, and *second* grand catastrophe; viz. that affecting *Pagan Rome*.

And here, as before, I shall not stop at minor points; but hasten rapidly to that which is considered by the Præterists as their strongest ground. It is to be understood that they generally make Apoc. xii regressive in its chronology to Christ's birth, and the Devil's primary attempts to destroy both him, and his religion, and his early Church

¹ Apoc. xi. 7.

² At p. 493, *suprà*.

³ Θηριον ὃ εἶδες ἤν, καὶ ἐκ ἐστὶ καὶ μελλεῖ ἀναβαίνειν ἐκ τῆς ἀβυσσοῦ.

⁴ Strange that in such a case Prof. S. should thus speak, i. 276: "If there be any thing certain in hermeneutics, it is the reference in Apoc. vi—xi to Judæa and its capital."

in Judea ; though in vain. Then, after note of the Dragon's dejection from his former eminence, and the song, " Now is come salvation, &c.," we arrive at the Woman's flight into the wilderness, meaning the Church's flight to Pella, on the Romans advancing to besiege Jerusalem : some outbreak of Jewish persecution at the time, the same indeed under which the Witnesses were to fall within Jerusalem, answering *probably*¹ to the floods from the Dragon's mouth ; and the $3\frac{1}{2}$ years, predicated of the Woman in the wilderness, answering also sufficiently well to the length, not indeed of the siege, but of the Jewish war. (Mark, in passing, how the symbolic *Woman*, first made to be the *Theocratic Church* in its *Jewish* form, travailing with, and bringing forth Christ,² has now become not the *Church Catholic*, which in Nero's time had indeed spread over the Roman world, but the little Section of it which remained stationary in Judea !)—Then the Dragon, being enraged at the Woman, " went away to make war with the remainder of her seed, who keep the commandments of God, and hold fast the testimony of Jesus." That is, enraged that the Jews, his original instrument of persecution, should be destroyed and fail him, he leaves the Jewish scene of his former operations, and goes elsewhere to stir up a new persecutor against Christians in Nero.—But did not Nero's persecution occur before the Jews' destruction ? No doubt ! The anachronism is honestly admitted by Professor Stuart.³ An anachronism the more remarkable, because he makes the vision of the 144,000 in Apoc. xiv to be a vision of encouragement to Christians, suffering under Nero's persecution ; depicting as it did, according to him, the Christian Jews occupying Jerusalem as a now Christian city :⁴

¹ What facts to verify this "*probably*?" The answer is ; " It is not improbable," (so Stuart, ii. 263,) " that St. John had in his mind some extraordinary machinations of the persecuting Jews, about the time when the Witnesses were giving their testimony !!" An hypothesis upon an hypothesis ! Then, he adds, the *Romans* answered to the earth helping the Woman, and swallowing up the flood. *Ibid.*—Of course the Earth, or *Romans*, did not swallow up the flood of Jewish persecution, in so far as the *Witnesses* were concerned *within* Jerusalem !

² Is the Church ever represented in Scripture as Christ's *mother* ?

³ " Nero began his persecution, A.D. 66. An attack was made on Jerusalem at the same period : but the Jewish war did not really commence until early in the spring of 67. And Jerusalem was taken and destroyed in August, A.D. 70." Stuart ii. 250.

⁴ *Ibid* i. 186. At p. 187, after observing that before John wrote the Apocalypse, the great body of Christians had probably fled in safety to Pella, he adds ; " That he presents them here on *Mount Zion* (the *earthly* Mount Zion) belongs to the *tact* of the writer."

an event this which could not have happened till Jerusalem's destruction, some four years after the commencement of Nero's persecution; and did not in fact take place till some years after.¹ "But in an *Epopée*, like the Apocalypse," says Stuart, "we are surely not bound to the rigid rules of a book of Annals!"²

Thus then we come to consider Apoc. xiii, the Chapter on the Beast; and, connectedly with it, (for it does not need to enter on the intervening chapters,) the further explanatory symbolizations about the Beast in Apoc. xvii.

Behold us then now before the very citadel of the German Præterists! "And see," they say, "how impregnable it is! For not only is *the Woman that rides the Beast* expressly stated to be the *seven-hilled imperial city Rome*, so that the *Beast ridden* must be the persecuting *Roman Empire*; but the *time* intended is also fixed. For it is said that the Beast's seven heads, besides meaning seven hills, meant also *seven kings*, or rather *eight*: of whom *five had fallen* at the time of the vision; which must be the five first Emperors, Julius, Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius; and one, the sixth, *was*; which of course must be the next after Claudius, i. e. *Nero*. Nay, to make the thing clearer, the Beast's name and number 666 are specified; or, as some copies read, 616. And so it is that in Hebrew נְרוֹן קֶסֶר, *Neron Cæsar*, has the value in numbers of 666, which is one frequent Rabbinical way of writing Nero's name; or, if the Hebrew be that of *Nero Cæsar*, without the *final n*, then it gives the number 616."⁴

¹ For the Christians only came to resettle at Jerusalem by degrees, and in small numbers, after its destruction. It was, I believe, several years before Simeon fixt his Episcopate there.

² Ib. ii. 251.

³ The figurations between Apoc. xiii and xviii are thus explained by Professor Stuart. In Apoc. xiv the visions of the 144,000 on Mount Zion, of the three flying Angels, and of the Harvest and Vintage, are mere general *anticipative* intimations, or "pledges and tokens" (ii. 304) by way of encouragement, of results of triumph to the Church, that would be depicted more fully afterwards. Also in the Vials outpouring Apoc. xvi, where one might surely have expected to find specific prophecy of fact, all is still mere generalization: notwithstanding the Professor's singular preliminary remark, that St. John does here not only "by the variety in his composition satisfy *æsthetics*," (p. 309,) but, what is better, communicate also "a sketch (qu. *historic* sketch?) corresponding in good degree to the state of facts. Save indeed that the seventh vial, that under which the air is affected, and a third part of the great city seen to fall, "is construed to signify that the power of the Beast is paralyzed, or persecution arrested when Nero dies." (ibid.)

⁴ So *Moses Stuart* and *Dr. Davidson*, after Benary. See the Excursus iv. p. 457 in

No doubt the *numeral* coincidence is worthy of note, and the whole case, so put, quite plausible enough to call for examination. It is indeed obvious to say as to the *name* and *numeral*, that a *Greek* solution would be preferable to one in *Hebrew*; and a *single* name to a *double* one: principles these recognized, as we have seen, by Irenæus, and all the other early fathers that commented on the topic.¹ But in this there is of course nothing decisive. A graver objection seems to me however to lie against the suggested numeral solution, in that a part of the name being *official*, I mean the word *Cæsar*, this agnomen, though fitly applicable to Nero *while the reigning Emperor*, would hardly be applicable to him when *resuscitated* after his death-wound, and so become the Beast of Apoc. xiii of whom the name was predicated. But this involves inquiry into *the Beast's heads*; to which inquiry, as the decisive one, let us now therefore at once pass on.

The *heads* then, as they assert, meant certain *individual kings*. This is not surely according to the precedent of Daniel vii. 6, where the third Beast's *four heads* would seem from Dan. viii. 8. to have signified the *monarchical successions* that governed the four kingdoms into which Alexander's empire was divided at his death.—But, not to stop at this, the decisive question next recurs, What the *eighth* head of the Beast, on this hypothesis of the Præterists: Nero being the *sixth*; and, as they generally say, Galba, who reigned but a short time, the *seventh*? It is admitted (and common sense itself forces the admission) that this *eighth head* is the same which is said in Apoc. xiii. 3, 12, 14, “*to have had a wound with a sword and to have revived:*” and it is this *revived head*, or *Beast under it*, (let the Reader well mark this,²) that is the subject of all the prophecy concerning the first Beast in Apoc. xiii, and all concerning the Beast ridden by the Woman in Apoc. xvii. What then, we ask, this *eighth head* of the Beast? And, in reply, first Eichhorn, and then his copyists Stuart and Davidson, all three refer us to a rumour prevalent in Nero's time, and believed by many, that after suffering some reverse, he would return again to power: a rumour Professor Stuart's 2nd Volume.—Eichhorn, ii. 134, gives Irenæus' old solution *ἀντεivos*.

¹ See my Vol. iii. p. 97.

² For it is said in xvii. 8; “The Beast *which thou sawest* (i. e. ridden by the woman) was not, and is to rise from the abyss:” and in verse 11, “The Beast *which was, and is not, he is the eighth, and is of the seven.*” Professor Stuart in his Excursus iii (Vol. ii. p. 434) admits the identity of the 8th head in Apoc. xvii, and revived head of the Beast in Apoc. xiii.

which after his death took the form that he would revive again, and reappear, and retake the empire.¹ Such is their explanation. The *eighth head of the Beast* is the *imaginary revived Nero*.—But do they not explain the Beast (the revived Beast) in Apoc. xiii, and his blasphemies, and persecution of the saints, and predicated continuance 42 months, of the *real original* Nero, and *his* blasphemies, and *his* three or four years' persecution of the Christians, begun November 64, A.D. and ended with Nero's death, June 9. A.D. 68? Such indeed is the case; and by this palpable self-contradiction, (one which however they cannot do without,) they give to their own solution its death-wound: as much its death-wound, I may say, as that of the Beast itself to which the solution relates.

So that really, as regards the truth of the solution concerned, it is needless to go further: nor shall I stop to expose sundry other absurdities that might easily be shown to attach to it.² But I cannot feel it right to conclude my critical examination of the system without a remark as to something on this head far graver, and more to be reprobated, than any mere expository error, however gross or obvious. The reader will have observed that as well Prof. Stuart and Dr. Davidson, as the German Eichhorn, explain the repeated direct statements, "The Beast *had* a wound with the sword, and *lived*," "The Beast that thou sawest is not, and *shall be*, and *is to ascend from the abyss*," &c, &c, to be simply allusions to a *rumour* current in Nero's time, but which in fact was an altogether *false* rumour. That is, *they make St. John tell a direct lie*: and tell it, with all the most flagrant aggravation that fancy itself can suppose to attach to a lie; viz. under the form of a *solemn prophecy received from heaven*! Now of Eichhorn, and others of the same German rationalistic school of theology, we must admit that they are here at least open and consistent. Their declared view of the Apocalypse, is of a mere uninspired poem by an uninspired poet. It was but a recognized poetical license in St. John to tell the falsehood. But

¹ Eichhorn, ii. pp. 209—221; Stuart, ii. Excursus 3; Davidson, ap. Kitto p. 621.

² E. g. The *second Beast*, with the *lamb-skin covering*, is made by these expositors (as well Stuart, ii. 283, and Davidson in Kitto p. 624, as Eichhorn) to be "the *heathen idolatrous priesthood*:" how unscripturally I have shown at p. 495 *suprà*.

Stuart adds that John in Apoc. xvii, xviii, insensibly passes from the *specific* to the *generic*, from Nero to the Roman Pagan persecuting power; which after Nero's death rose up again from the abyss, and renewed the contest till Constantine. ii. 309, 351.

that men professing belief in the Christian faith, and in the inspiration as well as apostolic origin of this holy Book, should so represent the matter, is surely as surprising as lamentable. It is but in fact the topstone-crowning to that *explaining away* of the prophetic symbols and statements, as mere *epopee*, of which I spoke before ¹ as characteristic of the system. And how does it show the danger of Christian men indulging in long and friendly familiarity with infidel writings! For not only are the Scriptural expository principles and views of *Christian men* and *Neologists* so essentially different, that it is impossible for their new wine to be put into our old bottles, without the bottles bursting; but the receiver himself is led too often heedlessly to sip of the poison, and bethinks him not that death is in the cup.²

§ 3. EXAMINATION OF THE FUTURISTS' APOCALYPTIC SCHEME.

The *Futurists'* is the *second* or rather *third* grand anti-Protestant Apocalyptic Scheme. I might perhaps have thought it sufficient to refer the reader to Mr. Birks' masterly Work in refutation of it,³ but for the consideration that my own Work would be incomplete without some such examination of this futurist Scheme, as of the Schemes preceding: moreover that on more than one point (chiefly as regards

¹ P. 502.

² Let me beg the reader to observe that I have in my examination of the German Præterist Scheme, here concluded, tested it simply by *Apocalyptic* evidence, and shown how little it will bear that testing. The proof is only the stronger against it, if we add the additional tests of the cognate prophecy in Daniel. For the identity of Daniel's *Little Horn* of the fourth of his four Beasts, with the last head of the Apocalyptic Beast, is a point clear and irrefragable. And it is on its destruction that Messiah's universal and everlasting kingdom is declared to be established; and that "the kingdom and dominion and greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven is given to the people of the saints of the Most High." A prophetic declaration which is indeed repeated in the Apocalyptic figurations: but which, on their own mode of reasoning, the Præterists must, I think, find it more difficult to escape from, than even from those to the same effect in the Apocalypse. I have not spoken in this Section of the *day-day* principle of explaining the Apocalyptic chronological periods; a principle of course espoused by, and essential to, this class of interpreters. In my Chapter on the *year-day* (Vol. iii. Part iv. Chap. ix) I have, I hope, sufficiently vindicated that principle. An additional remark or two, with reference to any later assailants of it, is reserved for the Section following.

³ The Work referred to at p. 486, 487 *suprà*.

the 6th Seal and the Apocalyptic Beast) Mr. Birks' own views, of some of which more in the next Section, must necessarily, in my mind, have prevented his doing full justice to the argument.—Besides which there is otherwise abundantly sufficient difference between us to prevent all appearance of my trenching on his ground.—It may be right to add that the main part of the present Section formed the conclusion of my Chapter on the *Year-day* in the former Edition :¹ which Edition, though *published* after Mr. Birks' work, was, up to the end of Part V, including the Chapter spoken of, *printed* some considerable time before it ; and indeed, in that incomplete state, was in Mr. Birks' hands, as well as Mr. Bickersteth's, while the former was engaged in writing his book.²

The *futurist* Scheme, as I have elsewhere stated,³ was first, or nearly first, propounded about the year 1590 by the Jesuit Ribera ; as the fittest one whereby to turn aside the Protestant application of the Apocalyptic prophecy from the Church of Rome. In England and Ireland of late years it has been brought into vogue chiefly by Mr. Maitland and Mr. Burgh ; followed by Mr. Newman, in some of the Oxford Tracts on *Antichrist*. Its general characteristic is to view the whole Apocalypse, at least from after the Epistles of the Seven Churches, as a representation of the events of the *consummation* and *second advent*, all still future : the Israel depicted in it being the *literal Israel* ; the days in the chronological periods *literal days* ; and the Antichrist, or Apocalyptic Beast under his last head, a *personal infidel*⁴ *Antichrist*, to reign and triumph over the saints for just 3½ years, until Christ's coming shall destroy him : of which *advent*, moreover, the symbols of the 6th Seal in particular are supposed to be a clear and decisive prefiguration. Thus, while agreeing fully with the Præterists on the *day-day* principle, and partly with them as to the *literal Israel's* place in the prophecy, they are the direct antipodes of the Præterists in their view of the *time* to which the main part of the Apocalypse relates, and the person or power answering to the symbol of the Apocalyptic Beast : the one assigning all to the long

¹ From p. 982 to p. 1007 of that Edition.

² Mr. Birks however made a point, as he has told me, of not reading that particular Chapter ; in order that his testimony and statement might be altogether independent of mine.

³ See p. 456 *suprà*.

⁴ Mr. Burgh's peculiar way of stating this will be noted presently.

distant past, the other to the yet distant future. And here is in fact a great advantage that they have over the Præterists, that instead of being in *any measure* chained down by the facts of history, they can draw on the unlimited powers of fancy, wherewith to devise in the dreamy future whatever may seem to them to fit the sacred prophecy.

On the subject of the *year-day* principle itself, it does not appear to me necessary to add anything of consequence to what will be found in my chapter on that subject. It is there shown that the *general* principle of figuring the longer times of the thing symbolized by correspondent shorter times of the symbol, is one not only suggested by nature, but recognized in Scripture; the longer youth and maturity of Israel, for example, having been beautifully figured by Ezekiel under the shorter youth and maturity of a woman:¹—moreover, as to the *specific year-day* scale of proportion, that just before Daniel was appointed to receive and publish his symbolic prophecies about the great Gentile nations, involving the specific periods of 1260, 1290, 1335, and 2300 days, as attached to the symbol, his brother prophet Ezekiel had been directed to act out a figuration concerning the Jewish nation, involving specific periods of days also; and with the distinct announcement from God that the scale and proportion of time was to be a *day* for a *year*.—It was also shown that, instead of the common sense of the Christian Church having been arrayed against this year-day principle, so as that it was in fact unheard of for some thirteen centuries, the principle was recognized by a complete catena of Expositors, from Cyprian down to Wicliff and the Reformation. Thus, if I mistake not, not only was answer given on each point to the *anti-year-day futurists*; but, on their own chosen ground, the argument was shown to be directly against them.² Nor

¹ See my Vol. iii. pp. 223, 224.

² The latest work of this kind that I have seen is Dr. Davidson's *Essay in the Eclectic Review* of December, 1844. And it may perhaps be well to subjoin a passing notice of one or two points in it: especially as it was evidently an elaborate one; and referred to as such in his Article in *Kitto's Cyclopædia*. (P. 627, Note.)

1st, then, he states (p. 632) that though an *animal* may properly represent a *nation*, "when a shorter space of time is used as a representation of a longer, there is in that case no symbol, but merely a *part of the whole*. I am not sure whether I understand Dr. Davidson's meaning. But if I do, let me ask, would he say that such is the case, in my examples from Ezekiel, under the *woman's youth* depicting *Israel's*

has anything subsequently written, by any of the anti-year-day controversialists, seemed to me in the slightest degree to have answered or disturbed my conclusions.

This premised, let me proceed to show the insuperable difficulties that attend the futurist scheme, with respect to most, I might almost say to all, of its most prominent and characteristic features :—viz. 1. *As regards the distant and still future æra to which it refers the fulfilment of the whole Apocalyptic prophecy, a view whence its appella-*

youth?—Of this example however Dr. D. takes no notice ; though he had my Book before him.

2. On Ezekiel's precedent of acting out Israel's iniquity, by lying on his side *a day for a year*, he says, p. 632, that the day was a representative of a year, because it was so affirmed by God ; and argues that where this is not similarly affirmed, so as in Daniel and John, the precedent is worth nothing. An argument which is to the effect, as I have stated elsewhere, that wherever a symbol in a figuration has been *once* explained, it is in all similar figurations, *unless explained again*, to be construed *literally* : for example, that the sun, moon, and stars having been explained in Joseph's dream, of the heads of a nation, (the nascent nation of Israel,) but not so explained in Apoc. vi. 13, xii. 1, the stars falling on this earth in Apoc. vi must mean the *literal stars* falling on it, though not so as to destroy it or its inhabitants ; and the woman clothed with the sun, with the moon under her feet, a woman clothed *literally* with the *solar orb*, and with the *literal moon* for her sandal or footstool. (See my Answer to Arnold, p. 70.)

3. As to the *year-day* theory he thus strangely repeats Mr. Maitland's completely refuted assertion of its having been unknown in the Church till Wicliff. "The theory was unknown in the early age of the Church. The Jews, if we may judge from Josephus and Aben Ezra, were ignorant of it ; and not till the middle of the 5th century do we find it unequivocally applied to the 3½ days by Prosper. This obscure Bishop of Rhegium seems to have had the merit of the discovery :—a discovery against which is arrayed 'the spiritual common sense of the Church in every age, from the days of Daniel to those of Wycliffe ; for it considered the days as literal days.'" Eclectic Review, p. 641.

On which I observe : 1. The Jews were not ignorant of it ; but gave both an early testimony to it, and one too in the middle ages. (See my Vol. iii. p. 240, Note 2.)—2. Prosper was not the first discoverer : for, as I have shewn, (ibid.) Cyprian recognized it ; yet as no *discovery*.—3. Prosper was not (though here I am responsible for the mistake, having copied the old error into my 1st Edition) Prosper, I say, was not Bishop of Rhegium, or any Bishop. Also, instead of being an "*obscure*" man, by which epithet Dr. D. wishes to lower his authority, apparently knowing nothing himself about him, except from the notice in the Horæ, he was famous as one of the most learned men of his day. So Cave, Hist. Litt. i. 348 : "Vir certè erat magnæ eruditionis : " adding from Photius that he was in fact the grand champion of orthodoxy in his day against Pelagianism.—4. For a complete catena of authorities for the year-day principle, from Cyprian to Wycliff, see my Vol. iii. pp. 227.

On the Futurists' favorite argument from the differences and unsatisfactoriness of Protestant year-day Expositors, and the challenge to them on the evidence of the Horæ, see my Vol. iii. 245.

tion : 2. As regards *that representation of the 6th Seal as a clear prophecy of Christ's second coming and the consummation*, which is urged by the Futurists as a strong primary confirmation of their theory : 3. As regards their *literal construction of the Apocalyptic Israel* ; whence the link that is essential to them, whereby to connect the course of events Apocalyptically prefigured with those predicted in Old Testament prophecy as attendant on the ultimate and yet future conversion and restoration of the Jews : 4. As regards *their propounded views on various points respecting the Antichrist of the Apocalypse and other cognate prophecies* ; whereby they seek to gainsay the evidence of identification that has been urged between this Antichrist and the Roman Popes, and to prove an *alius* and an *alibi*. No doubt, as a little while since observed, the Futurists have an immense advantage in controversy over the Præterists, in their independence of past history, and immunity from its stern testing by facts. But I doubt not also that the stringency of the *internal tests* of this extraordinary prophecy will be found abundantly sufficient to strangle the crude system.—It will be my object, in proceeding with my examination of it, to mark carefully, on one or two important points, the difference between the views thus put forth by our modern Futurists, and those of the ancient Fathers : with whom however they have often associated themselves, as if in fact of very much the same futurist school.—And,

1st, as to *the then far distant, and even now still future æra of the consummation*, to which they refer the fulfilment of the whole Apocalyptic prophecy figured out to St. John in Patmos.

Now were there no direct statement of inspiration on the point, this would be so contrary to the precedents of other parallel prophecies, that the idea might almost *à priori* seem scarcely credible. For, looking to the very similar prophecies in Daniel, we see that they, one and all, prefigured events that were to commence immediately, or very nearly, from the date of the vision. So in that of the symbolic *image*, Dan. ii ; which began its figurations with the head of gold, or Nebuchadnezzar. So in that of the *four Beasts*, Dan. vii ; which also began from the Babylonian Empire then regnant. So in that of the *ram and the goat*, Dan. viii, which began from the Persian

Empire's greatness ; the vision having been given just immediately before the establishment of the Persian kingdom in power. So, once more, in Dan. xi, where the commencement is made so regularly from the Persian Prince, "Darius the Mede," then reigning, that it is said, "There shall stand up yet three kings in Persia ; and the fourth shall be richer than they all, and shall stir up all against Greece," &c : i. e. Xerxes. Strange indeed were there here such a contrast and contrariety as the Futurists suppose to such precedents !—But, besides this, it is in fact expressly declared by the revealing Angel, at the commencement of the heavenly vision in Apoc. iv, "Come up, and I will (now) show thee *what must happen meta tauta, after these things.*" A statement evidently referring to Christ's own original division of the subjects "of the revelation into *the things which St. John had first seen*" in the primary vision, "the things that *then were*," (viz. the then existing state of the seven Churches,) and "the things *which were to happen after them.*"—Thus our inference as to the immediate sequence of what the Apocalypse first prefigured upon the time when the Apocalypse was actually exhibited, seems to me not only natural, and accordant with all the nearest Scripture precedents, but necessary. And it both agrees with, and is confirmed by, the other divine declarations, made alike at the first commencement and final close of the Apocalypse ; to the effect that the things predicted were quickly to come to pass, the time of their fulfilment near at hand.¹

Now there was nothing at all inconsistent with this view of the continuity from St. John's own time of the subject-matter of the Apocalyptic prefigurations in the expectation, *as held by the early Fathers*, of a future personal Antichrist, of but 1260 literal days'

¹ Apoc. i. 1 ; "The revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave him, to shew to his servants what must shortly come to pass : " Apoc. xxii. 10 : "Seal not the sayings of this Book, for the time is at hand."

Let me quote the famous critic Michaelis on this point. "If it be objected that the prophecies in the Apocalypse are not yet fulfilled, that they are therefore not fully understood, and that hence arises the difference of opinion in respect to their meaning, I answer, that if these prophecies are not yet fulfilled, it is wholly impossible that the Apocalypse should be a divine work ; since the author expressly declares, Chap. 1, that it contains 'things which must shortly come to pass.' Consequently either a part of them, I will not say all, must have been fulfilled ; or the author's declaration that they should shortly be completed, is not consistent with matter of fact."—Introduction to the New Testament, Marsh's Edition, Chap. xxxiii. § v. p. 503.

duration. For supposing, as they did, that the whole interval from St. John's imprisonment in Patmos to the end of the world and Christ's coming would be but small, they might, without any great violence to the prophetic figurations, on this supposed brief duration of the whole, explain such of the visions prior to that of the anti-christian Beast as admitted of any thing like that general construction, to mean the commotions, wars, famines, pestilences, heresies, &c.,¹ that might more or less, and in one place or other, have partially marked the interval between St. John's time and their own : and, on the quickly-expected dissolution and division of the old Roman Empire, anticipate in some brief crisis of Antichrist's coming and reign the fulfilment of the rest.—In fact, though *literalists* as to Antichrist's 1260 predicted days, so as our Futurists are, (and the impression seems to have been permitted in their case for a very important purpose, so as I have shown elsewhere,²) yet were they in their general Apocalyptic views altogether at variance with the Futurists : holding in the main, as they did, what have been well called by Mr. Birks both the *law of commencement* and *law of continuity*. But what when, after 1700 years, not the Beast's figuration only, but the whole Apocalypse, is expounded to be still unfulfilled ? Surely it must be felt that there meets such expositors at the very outset the embarrassing fact, not merely of a departure in their Scheme from all the analogy of similar prophetic Scriptures, but also from the Apocalyptic revealing Angel's own explicit intimations ; at least if taken in their literal and simple acceptation.

And what then their escape from the difficulty ? On the argument from the analogy of Daniel's prophecies no answer that I know of has been given.³ With regard however to those statements, " To show

¹ E. g. the wars and commotions which in Adrian's time marked the final destruction of the Jews, the famine noted by Tertullian, the Gnostic heresies, &c.

² See my Vol. iii. p. 28.

³ I cannot except Mr. Burgh ; who at p. 431, seems to make reference to Daniel's prefigurations of the *Image* and the *Four Beasts*, as if almost constituting a precedent for such a mighty prophetic gap, *because of the last Empire being most dwelt on in the explanation*. For at p. 248 he admits them to figure the four Antichristian empires, that were to last *from Daniel's own time to Messiah* ; and consequently that there is in these two prophecies no prophetic gap whatsoever.—As to the longer dwelling on the fourth Empire in Daniel, there is just the same in the Apocalypse, on the usual Protestant explanation of its symbol of the ten-horned Beast as that Empire in its last and Papal form.

to his servants *what must shortly come to pass*," and again, "Seal not the sayings of this Book, *for the time is at hand*," Mr. Maitland makes answer,—that as *Christ's coming* is said in Scripture to be *quickly*, and the *Lord's day* to be *at hand*, though very far distant, we may similarly suppose the whole subject of the Apocalyptic predictions to be distant, though prophesied of as "shortly to come to pass."¹ An answer little satisfactory, as it seems to me. For the principle it goes on seems to be this;—that because two predictive phrases have the word *quickly*, or its tantamount, attached to them, to each of which phrases a double meaning attaches,—a lesser and a greater,—a nearer and a more distant,—the former typical perhaps of the latter, which last is avowedly veiled in mystery, in order to its being ever looked for by the Church,—that because *these* have the word *quickly* attached in dubious sense to them, therefore events that are altogether most distant in time, may be also so spoken of: a principle this on which all direct meaning of such words as *quickly* or *at hand* in sacred Scripture might, I conceive, be gainsayed. Nor indeed is it from these expressions, insulated and alone, that the chief difficulty arises. For we have further to observe that the events Apocalyptically prefigured to St. John as first and next to happen in the coming future, are connected and linked on in a very remarkable manner with the then actually existing state of the seven Asiatic Churches; even as the *terminus à qua* of all that was to follow: it being said by the Angel, forthwith after the detailed description of them in Christ's seven dictated Epistles to the Churches, "Come up, and I will show thee what things are to happen *after these things*;" *ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα*. What then Mr. Maitland's answer on this point? It is really curious. As if by sleight of hand that sets language, grammar, and context alike at defiance, he shifts the scene itself of the seven Asiatic Churches, which constituted, as I said, the *terminus à quo* of all that followed in the prophecy, some

¹ Answer to Digby, pp. 46, 47.—I need hardly remind the reader that the *day of the Lord* is frequently used in the Old Testament of God's interposition to inflict some remarkable judgment on a guilty nation; as that of the *locusts*, noted in Joel i. 15, which is one of the passages cited by Maitland:—also that in the New Testament *Christ's coming* is used sometimes (as in Matt. xxiv) of his coming to destroy Jerusalem; and sometimes (subordinately) of his coming to take his saints to himself at death. So we may perhaps *primarily* construe it in the passage, "Behold I come quickly! Amen! Come quickly!"

two thousand years, or nearly so, forward in the world's history. "I was in the Spirit on the Lord's day,"¹ he explains to mean, "I was rapt by the Spirit into the great day of the Lord:"² and so not merely sets aside all idea of sequence in the Apocalyptic visions of the future from the definite commencing æra of St. John and his seven Churches, but makes *the final judgment-day* the avowed subject of all that followed that announcement; including *first and foremost*, of course, the Epistles to the seven Churches themselves. But were not those Churches the Asiatic Churches existent at the time of St. John; not Churches that are to have existence at the time of the end? Assuredly. The Apostle's salutation is presented to them, just as St. Paul's to the then existing Churches of Thessalonica or Philippi; "John to the seven Churches in Asia, Grace be unto you!" Besides which the violence done by Mr. Maitland to the Greek original in construing its simple *verb substantive*, with the preposition *in* and *ablative* following, "*I was in the Spirit on (or in) the Lord's day*,"³ as if it were a *verb of motion*, with *into* and an *accusative* following,⁴ can scarce, I think, but have struck even a superficial

¹ Apoc. i. 10.

² "In reply to this," (viz. the objection against Mr. M. of making things *still* future of which it was declared that they should *shortly* come to pass) "I must say that I believe the great subject of the Apocalypse to be the events of that period which is called in various parts of sacred Scripture *the day of the Lord*, and by St. John *the Lord's day*; and the Apostle was carried forward 'in spirit' to that day, and enabled and directed to describe what shall then come to pass." He adds in a Note: "A principal and, as it appears to me, sufficient reason for this opinion is, that this title (*the Lord's day*, ἡ Κυριακή ἡμέρα) is not used for the first day of the week in the New Testament, or in any writer that I can find before the time of Constantine: and in fact Nicophorus tells us that it was he who directed that the day which the Jews considered the first day of the week, and which the Greeks dedicated to the sun, should be called the *Lord's day*." Answer to Digby, p. 46.—"Must he not have been carried forward in spirit into the day of the Lord," says Mr. M. elsewhere; "when in the verses preceding he exclaimed, Behold he cometh with clouds?" Jewish Expos. Aug. 1823.—R. D. a correspondent of the Dublin Christian Examiner, of this same school, has urged very much the same translation, and same explanation of the Apocalyptic text. See the number for February, 1845, p. 381. Mr. Burgh, p. 18, also speaks of it approvingly, but doubtfully.

³ Εγενόμην ἐν Πνεύματι ἐν τῇ Κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ. Apoc. i. 10.

⁴ Compare Matt. iv. 1; Then was Jesus led up by the Spirit into the wilderness; ἀνῆχθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματος εἰς τὴν ἔρημον or the parallel passage Luke iv. 1, ἦγετο ἐν τῷ Πνεύματι εἰς τὴν ἔρημον—also 2 Cor. xii. 4; "He was caught up to Paradise;" ἠρπάγη εἰς τὸν Παραδεισον: Apoc. xvii. 3; Ἀπηνεύκε με εἰς ἔρημον ἐν Πνεύματι Apoc. xxi. 10; Ἀπηνεύκε με ἐν Πνεύματι εἰς ὄρος μέγα &c.

reader. As to the chief, if not only reason, offered in favor of so harsh a rendering of the clause, viz. that the *Sunday*, or Christian sabbath, was not then, or till two centuries afterwards, called *the Lord's day*, (ἡ Κυριακή ἡμέρα,) it will be found, I believe, on examination altogether incorrect.¹ Rather it will appear that the *great day*

¹ See the extract from Mr. Maitland in the Note preceding.—*Swicer*, on the word *Κυριακή*, after quoting the passage from Nicephorus to which Mr. M. refers,—‘Ἦν Ἑβραῖοι πρώτην εἶχον ἡμέραν, Ἕλληνες δ’ ἡλὶφ ἀνεθεντο, Κυριακὴν κατωνόμασε, (sc. ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος,)—observes; “Hoc falsum esse evincunt testimonia Patrum Constantino antiquiorum:” and adds a suggestion that Nicephorus may perhaps have only meant that Constantine brought the appellation into public use, and set it apart as a holiday; a fact noted by Sozomen in his Ecclesiastical History, Book I. Ch. viii.

In proof of Fathers more ancient than Constantine applying the Apocalyptic appellation to the Sunday, or Christian sabbath, he quotes *Ignatius*, calling it in his Epistle to the Magnesians τὴν κυριακὴν, τὴν ἀναστάσιμον, τὴν βασιλίδαν, τὴν ὑπατοῦ πάντων ἡμερῶν also an inscription of the age of Alexander Severus;

Εἰτε Ἀλεξάνδρου Καίσαρος
Τῷ Α Ἀρχῇ
Ἀι Κυριακαὶ τὸ Πάσχα
Κατὰ εἶτος.

To which I may add, that *Ignatius*, in his Epistle to the Philadelphians, speaks against fasting on *the Lord's day*, Εἰ τις Κυριακὴν ἢ σαββατὸν νηστεύει, πλην ἑνὸς σαββάτου—that *Irenæus* states, Το ἐν τῇ Κυριακῇ μὴ κλίνειν γόνυ, the not bending the knee on the *Lord's day*, to be a symbol of the resurrection: that *Clement of Alexandria* (Strom. vii. 12) speaks of the true Gnostic observing *the Lord's day*; Κυριακὴν ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν ποιεῖ—that the Commentary on the Gospels by *Theophilus* (Patriarch of Antioch under the Second Antonine, as Jerom informs us) reports the third day from that of Christ's crucifixion to have been, from the resurrection of Christ on it, called *the Lord's day*; “à resurrectione Domini *Dominicus* appellatur:” (I quote from the Latin translation, B. P. M. ii. P. ii. p. 171:)—that *Melito*, Bishop of Sardis, a cotemporary of Theophilus, is said to have written a Treatise Περὶ Κυριακῆς, on *the Lord's day*; (so Whitby states in his Comment on Matt. xxvi; and *Origen* (against Celsus, 8); Εὰν δὲ τις πρὸς ταῦτα ἀνθυποφέρῃ τα περὶ παρ’ ἡμῶν κυριακῶν, ἢ τὸ πᾶσχα, ἢ τῆς πεντηκοστῆς’ also Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth, Τὴν σημερον τὴν Κυριακὴν ἁγίαν ἡμέραν διηγούμεν’ and the Pseudo-Justin Martyr Quæst. 115. —I may add that *Tertullian* in sundry places, given by Bishop Kaye, p. 408, calls it *Dies Dominicus*; and *Commodian*, a cotemporary of Cyprian, or immediate successor, (Lardner iii. 134,) also uses it; “De die *Dominica* quid dicis?”—Thus, instead of no writer before Constantine calling the first day of the week the *Lord's day*, there is a chain of patristic writers, both Greek and Latin, that do so, from after St. John's time downward, through the second and third centuries.

In turning to Mr. Maitland's Paper in the *Jewish Expositor*, Aug. 1823, to which he refers for a fuller discussion of the subject, I find that he sets aside the quotation from *Ignatius* to the *Magnesians* (and probably with reason) as interpolated; also that from *Irenæus*; (though here, I believe, without reason,) under a doubt of the word *κυριακή* being that of Irenæus himself. As to *Tertullian's* and *Clement's* examples, unnoticed by him, they are indisputable; and so too, I conceive, many of the others cited.—Bingham's view corresponds: Antiq. xx. 2. 1.

of the Lord, or judgment-day, to which Mr. M. would apply it, has never either in the Septuagint or New Testament the peculiar appellation κυριακή in the *adjectival* form; nor, I believe, in the early Greek Fathers.¹—Thus the verbal argument is against, not for, Mr. Maitland: and the difficulty remains, as it was, a millstone about the neck of the *Futurists'* principle of Apocalyptic interpretation.

2. As to the *Futurists'* construction of the sixth Seal, as a clear figuration of Christ's advent, and the day of judgment.

It is to be understood that a grand point is made of this view of the 6th Seal by the Futurists; and as having a very important bearing on their argument. Says Mr. Maitland: "Can any unbiassed reader doubt that this passage refers to the *day of judgment*?"² And Mr. Burgh: "This Seal so obviously refers to the *second coming of the Lord Jesus Christ*, . . . that I must say there is *no room for difference of opinion*."³ So too a well-known Correspondent of the Christian Examiner, signed R. D. in its Number for December, 1844; "*If there be a day yet future*, it is the day of the *wrath of the Lamb*, (i.e. as in the 6th Seal,) when he shall be revealed from heaven in flaming fire:"—with declaration added of the impossibility of rightly expounding the imagery of the 6th Seal, where his wrath is spoken of, except with reference to that day. And so almost all other Expositors, I believe, of this School. I observed that they regard this construction of the 6th Seal as a grand step towards the establishment of their general Apocalyptic theory. Nor without reason. For, if granted, it establishes a figuration of the judgment-day *early in the Apocalyptic visions*. And supposing the theory of a triple chronological parallelism of Seals, Trumpets, and Vials, each reaching to the consummation, which has been espoused by certain Expositors of the opposed Protestant school, to be discarded as untenable, so as some at least of the Futurists agree with myself in doing,⁴ and the more continuous construction of the Apocalypse to be regarded as the only natural one, then if the *day of judgment* be figured in the 6th Seal,

¹ It is called in the Septuagint ἡ ἡμέρα Κυρίου, or ἡ ἡμέρα Κυρίου ἡ μεγάλη, but never, I believe with the adjective ἡ Κυριακή ἡμέρα. Of the early Fathers I can only say that, in my limited reading of them, I have not met with the phrase.

² On Antichrist p. 21.

³ P. 157, 4th ed.

⁴ So, for example, Mr. Burgh.

whatever follows, and indeed what precedes too,¹ thus including the whole prophecy, must, they consider, be necessarily deemed to have also a direct reference to, and close chronological association with, the day of judgment.

Now, in order to understand here the real value of the Futurists' argument, it is essential to enquire at once very distinctly, whether by *Christ's coming* they really, like R. D. mean his *personal visible coming* to judgment; and, if so, on what construction of the imagery of the 6th Seal, *literal* or *figurative*? If *literal*, does it not seem strange à priori that we should have nothing represented of the flaming fire that is to accompany Christ's second coming; nothing shown or said, of his own glorious epiphany; nothing of the rapture of the saints to meet him? Besides which negative evidence against the view, may we not say that there seems to be that expressly stated that sets aside the supposition of a literal construction of the figures? For were the stars literally to fall, so as in the vision they appeared to do, then the earth would not only reel to and fro like a drunkard, but be altogether dissolved and destroyed: whereas it appears from the vision of the Sealing which immediately follows, and that of the Angels of the four winds preparing to blow upon it, that the earth still existed afterwards, and that men were still living on it, just as before, as its inhabitants. What then remains but to construe the symbols *figuratively*? But let us hear the Futurists themselves. And as Mr. Maitland, the most eminent leader, I presume, in this school, has maintained a careful silence on the point enquired into, it may be well to look for explanation to Mr. Burgh, another popular writer on the same side. And, strange as it may seem to the reader, it will be found that if the passage quoted a little while since in part from him be completed, and the hiatus represented by the *dots* filled up, it will read thus:—"This Seal so obviously refers to the

¹ For, on the hypothesis of the Seals Trumpets and Vials following each other chronologically, (a true hypothesis I doubt not,) if all that *follows* the 6th Seal in the Apocalypse occupy so little time as to be intimately and altogether connected with the event pictured in the 6th Seal, à fortiori the preceding five Seals must also be of very brief chronology, just before it. *Triumphant Gospel preaching, war, famine, pestilence, and christian martyrdoms*, all to happen just before the consummation, offer, they judge, a ready solution of the five previous seals, on their view of the Apocalypse. But let me again here, as elsewhere, enter my protest against the construction of *the third seal* as by any possibility a prefiguration of *famine*.

second coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, containing as it does *the very signs and omens of his coming*, that there is no room for difference of opinion." Does Mr. Burgh then mean, after all, that instead of depicting Christ's coming itself, this Seal merely depicted certain *signs and omens* showing that it was *near*? Such is indeed the case. So at p. 159. "When the several signs of Christ's coming shall have been developed, (viz. in the Seals preceding) then the sixth Seal opens with *the day itself of his coming*, OR (I pray the reader to mark this significant little word, OR) with *the signs by which it is more immediately announced!!*" And what then, we next ask, as to the precise signs thus *immediately* announcing the advent;—the sun becoming black as sackcloth, the moon like blood, the stars of heaven falling to the earth, and heaven itself removing like a scroll rolled up? Is the description to be taken *literally* or *figuratively*, of *physical* and *elemental*, or only of *political* change? For a direct plain consistent answer to the question, I look into Mr. Burgh in vain. In one place he seems to assign a *literal* meaning to the 6th Seal.¹ But, judging from the sequel, this can hardly be. For he considers the Sealing Vision, 7th Seal, Trumpets, &c. all chronologically to carry on the subject.² And as the first depicted the sealing of a Jewish remnant, to be preserved from the judgments about to fall from the tempest-angels on the godless of the nation, and the others similarly had reference to the existing earth, and men dwelling on it, I infer that he cannot suppose any physical changes to have been intended by the sixth Seal's vision, such as to have destroyed earth, and sky, and earth's inhabitants. The rather since I observe that he explains the palm-bearing vision next following, as only, at that point of advance in the sacred drama, an *anticipative prospective* representation of the heavenly blessedness of the saints; and infer consequently that their translation, and therefore Christ's second coming, will not, even at this epoch, in Mr. Burgh's opinion, an epoch *subsequent to the sixth Seal*, have yet taken place: nay that at a much later epoch, that of Apoc. x. 7, the consummation will not have occurred; "judgment having followed on judgment, but *the end not*

¹ P. 186, reprobating all *figurative* interpretation of *the Trumpets*, he refers to *similar* expositions of the 6th Seal as "yet more needing confirmation."

² He says p. 164; "The remainder of the book must be admitted to be *subsequent in order of fulfilment to the opening of the seals*." So too p. 170, &c.

being yet."¹ Hence it seems evident that Mr. Burgh, like myself, must construe the symbols of the sixth Seal *figuratively*; and if figuratively, then, according as the figure is elsewhere used in Scripture prophecy, of *political* change and revolution. In which case all argument for its having any thing to do with Christ's second advent vanishes; and together therewith all aid from it to the Futurists' Apocalyptic Scheme.

3. Let us consider what is another essential point in the Futurists' system; viz. their *literal* construction of *the Apocalyptic Israel*.—I say essential point in their system: for it is by this, as I before observed, that they identify, or link on, much of this prophecy with those in the Old Testament respecting the ultimate restoration and conversion of the Jews: insomuch, I believe, that if the *Apocalyptic Israel* be found not to be the *literal* Israel, there is not a Futurist but would admit that their cause was lost.

"*The Jew*," says Mr. Burgh, emphatically, (p. 432,) "*is the key to prophecy.*" And again (p. 165) on the same Apoc. vii, "I can understand (though I do not think an undoubted instance of it exists) how the name *Israel* may be supposed to be figuratively applied to the Gentile Church in Scripture; but to suppose that not merely the name of *Israel* is so applied, but that the names of *every one of the twelve tribes* have also a spiritual meaning, and apply to the Gentile Church," this he would have to be incredible indeed. Again, on Apoc. xi. 1, "Rise and measure the *temple* of God, and the *altar*, and them that worship *therein*; but the court without, measure not, for it is given to the Gentiles, and they shall tread under foot the *holy-city* forty-and-two months," he observes to this effect;—that every word marks to an unprejudiced reader that the passage concerns the *Jewish nation*; and that it is matter for astonishment that the passage should have been so allegorized by most of the Protestant expositors, as to exclude all reference to the Jewish people. And so too Mr. Maitland, and, I believe, all the chief writers of this

¹ P. 203.—I may add, as an inference from Mr. Burgh's explanation of Apoc. xxi. 1, that the passing away of the heaven as a scroll, and other cotemporary elemental changes figured in the 6th Seal, will in his judgment have nothing whatever to do with that passing away of the old earth and heaven which is described Apoc. xxi. 1, as the event that is to be succeeded by a new heaven and new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness.

school. Now in my chapter on the *Præterists*,¹ I showed 1st, that a *figurative explanation* of the Jewish apocalyptic symbols was not only accordant with St. Paul's application of them to the Christian Church, but accordant also with our Lord's own express explanation of the apocalyptic figure of seven candlesticks, in what seemed like the *holy place* of the *Jewish temple*, to signify the seven Asiatic *Christian churches*: 2nd, and in *objection to their literal system of explanation* of these Jewish symbols, that the *Præterists* are forced into inconsistency by it; explaining, as they do, the temple symbol and its adjuncts, elsewhere in the Apocalyptic drama, to signify things *Christian*. And so it is also with the *Futurists*.—Let me turn to *Mr. Burgh* for illustration of the inconsistency of the Futurist system, on *this* as on the *former* head. And with regard to the Jewish *temple, altar, &c.*, it may suffice to observe first, that he makes the *temple*, and *altar*, and *them that worship in it*, to designate a “*converted*” remnant of the Jewish nation, (pp. 172, 208); that is, in other words, (I pray the reader to mark this) a *Christianized* remnant; whose *worship* consequently will *not* be *Jewish*,² but *Christian*. Further, with regard to the *twelve tribes of Israel*, that he makes the *New Jerusalem* of Apoc. xxi,—that same city “which had twelve gates, and *the names written thereon of the twelve tribes of the children of Israel*,” viz. of Judah, Reuben, Gad, &c., the very same that were noted in Apoc. vii originally, and that are here re-mentioned just as fully and as specifically, he makes it mean what? “No doubt,” thinks the reader perhaps, “the blessed and glorious state of the *Jewish* nation in the millennium.” Nothing of the kind, (Mr. Burgh well knows certain stringent reasons, of various kinds, against this:) but as the polity of the *Christian Church*, completed and beautified; “the same,” he observes, “that St. Paul meant in that magnificent passage addressed to the Hebrew Christians, “Ye are come unto *Mount Zion*, and unto the *city of the living God*, the *heavenly Jerusalem*, to the *general assembly*, and *church of the first-born*, which are written in heaven.” “I view it,” says he (p. 380) “as identical with the final consum-

¹ See pp. 507, 508 *suprà*.

² Mr. Burgh indeed at p. 138, strangely makes it “a Jewish service;” and, still more strangely, on Apoc. xi makes Antichrist to be sitting in this Temple. But this only the more illustrates the difficulties of his theory.

mated blessedness of *the whole Church*." I doubt not he is here perfectly correct. But what an astounding exemplification of the inconsistency of the Futurists! Of course, if under the names of the twelve tribes of Israel, written respectively on the gates of the heavenly Jerusalem, there be meant the Christian Church in its heavenly completeness and beatification, then the 144,000 sealed ones on earth, out of all the tribes of Israel, must mean the completeness at any particular period of God's own Israel, or true Church on earth; and the Holy City, and the Temple, still the same mystical body in regard of its polity, and of its worship respectively.—Such is the general Protestant view: and on it all seems harmonious; as well as all accordant with Christ's own most illustrative explanation of the Jewish symbol of the candlesticks, at the beginning of the Apocalypse. Whereas on the other hand, enough, I think, has been said to show that, in the Futurists' system, let the advocate be able as he may, its most eminent and essential characteristic will prove on *real* examination to be confusion, inconsistency, and self-contradiction.

4. I have to set forth the difficulties which beset the Futurist system on the subject of *the predicted Antichrist*; and the contrast between the Scriptural statements, with regard both to his *political or local relations* and to his *religious profession*, and those whereby they seek to set aside the usual Protestant identification of the Popes of Rome with Antichrist, and to refer the predictions to a personal Antichrist yet future.—The subject is one of so much importance that I shall have to dwell on it, in either point of view, somewhat at length: and I purpose on either head to show the difference of our modern Futurists' notions from those of the early Fathers.

First, then as to the *local and political relations of the predicted Antichrist*.¹ Now the *Roman* political origin and connexion of Antichrist is a fact, as I have elsewhere had occasion to observe, strongly and in various ways set forth in prophecy. First, forasmuch as the *let or hindrance*, which, in St. Paul's time, prevented, and was still for some certain time after to continue to prevent Antichrist's manifestation,

¹ I assume in all that follows, as a point long since proved, the identity of the Antichrist with the Little Horn of the fourth of Daniel's four Beasts, the eighth or last head of the Apocalyptic Beast, and St. Paul's Man of Sin.

was understood by the early Church to be the then regnant *Roman Empire* and *Emperors*,¹ (and for the correctness of this its understanding of the point as of one avowedly revealed, there was almost apostolic voucher,²) the inference might seem sure and to be depended on, that Antichrist would be a power elevated in their place, as well as on their falling. Secondly, the *fourth Beast* of Daniel, from whose head in its last or ten-horned state the little horn of Antichrist was seen to sprout, could only, (according either to the acts of history, or the declared judgment alike of the best classical writers and chief of the early Fathers,) be construed of the *Roman Empire*.³ Thirdly, the *city of Antichrist*, Apocalyptically called *the great city*, and *Babylon*, was by the indubitable marks of a seven-hilled locality, and a supremacy in St. John's time over the kings of the earth, signified to be *Rome*; and moreover its transfer marked as all but immediate from being the seat or capital of Paganism to being that of Antichrist.⁴ Such, I say, was the triple scriptural foreshadowing of the *Roman* political relations and local connexion of Antichrist. And the Fathers that lived in God's providence before the Gothic invasion and division of the Empire, with a unanimity almost complete, formed their expectations accordingly. It might be that they were inconsistent with themselves in expecting the Antichrist, as many did, to be a *Jew*, though a *Latin*, and to magnify himself in the *temple of Jerusalem*.⁵ Still, on his *Roman* political origin and connexion, and on his restoring the empire to Rome, at but little interval of time from its great expected dissolution and division, they bore a generally explicit testimony.⁶ Nor did their view of him as an *individual*, or of his duration as to be measured on the literal *day-day* scale, at all interfere with this their expectation.

But what when the theory of a still future Antichrist, (in opposition to that of the Papal Antichrist) is held at the *present* time? There is nothing, I think, that can more strikingly show the extent and insuperability of the difficulties with which these various pro-

¹ See my Vol. i. pp. 203—206, 209, 364—366.

² 2 Thess. ii. 6.

³ Ibid.

⁴ See my Vol. iii. p. 98, 111.

⁵ See my remarks on this point at the end of the present Section.

⁶ So Irenæus, Hippolytus, Tertullian, Cyril, Chrysostom, Jerome, &c. See my Vol. i. ubi suprâ.—The name *Latinus*, supported by Irenæus and Hippolytus, was a further evidence of the same expectation; and the *Sybil* expressly assigned his local seat to the *banks of the Tiber*.

phacies encompass it, than the multiplied inconsistencies and self-contradictions which mark the attempt of him who, of all others of the literalist school, has set himself most fully and elaborately to meet them ; and to whom Mr. Burgh refers with satisfaction, as furnishing important corroboration to his Scheme :¹—I mean the Oxford Tractarian of the Four Sermons (Tract, No. 83) on Antichrist.

To begin with the Thessalonian prophecy, and the difficulty from the fact of its *let* (which with the Fathers he feels constrained to interpret of the Roman Empire)² having full thirteen centuries ago past away, and so too the time for Antichrist's manifestation,³ the confident answer given in his first Sermon is this,—that, whatever the apparent *historic fact*, in the *eye of prophecy* the Roman Empire is regarded as not past away, but still existing, and the *let* with it ; viz. in its predicted ten horns or kingdoms, the Romano-Gothic constituency of modern Western Christendom.⁴ But scarce has he made the answer than he contradicts it, forced by the strong facts of history : confessing in his third Sermon that the self-same breaking up of the Roman Empire that was foretold *did* take place, at the time of the Gothic irruptions.⁵

Which however being admitted by him, and the admission also made, as we have seen, and must well remark, of the ten Romano-Gothic kingdoms of modern Western Christendom answering to the

¹ P. 447.

² “ I grant that he *that withholdeth*, or *letteth*, means *the power of Rome* ; for all the ancient writers so speak of it. I grant that as Rome, according to the prophet Daniel's vision, succeeded Greece, so Antichrist succeeds Rome, and our Saviour Christ succeeds Antichrist.” p. 5.

³ “ He that letteth shall let until he be taken away : and *then* shall that Wicked One be revealed,” &c. 2 Thess. ii. 7, 8.

⁴ “ But it does not hence follow that Antichrist is come ;” (this extract follows continuously, it must be observed, on the one preceding) “ for I do not grant that the Roman empire is gone. Far from it. The Roman empire remains even to this day.” . . . Then, speaking of the ten horns of the prophetic symbol, he adds ; “ As the ten horns belonged to the Beast, and were not separate from it, so are the kingdoms into which the Roman empire has been divided part of that empire itself ;— a continuation of that empire in the view of *prophecy*, however we decide the historical question. And as the horns or kingdoms still exist, we have not yet seen the end of the Roman empire. That which *withholdeth* still exists, though in its ten horns.” pp. 5, 6.

⁵ “ The Roman empire *did* break up, as *foretold*,” p. 31. See my Note ² p. 536 *infra*. So again Tract No. 90, p. 77 : “ God promoted in the way of Providence, and *He cast down by the same way* the Roman Empire. The Roman power *ceased to be* when the barbarians overthrew it : for it rose by the sword, and it therefore *perished* by the sword.’

ten horns of Daniel's and the Apocalyptic prophecy,—not only does the first difficulty from the Thessalonian Epistle remain unanswered, but a new one rises out of these other prophecies before him. For nothing can be clearer from them than that Antichrist was to be a power *contemporary with the ten horns* of the symbolic Beast :—like a *little horn* (of rapid enlargement) ruffling it, as Mede says, among the ten ; or a common head supporting, and furnishing a centre of union to them :—that is, according to these admissions, a power contemporary with the Western Kingdoms of the middle and the modern age. He seems to feel the difficulty ; and, reckless of the new self-contradictions that it involves, casts away both the one and the other of these previously made admissions : asserts,—on the ground of the Romano-Gothic kingdoms of the 5th and 6th centuries not having been clearly and exactly ten,¹—that the real decuple division intended by prophecy did not then take place, but is yet future ;² and further, as to the breaking up of the Empire, that it was *not* then really effected, but only had a bare beginning :—the commencement of a long process of dissolution which has in fact been ever since going on ; and which, after full thirteen centuries, is not yet completed.³—Is this a thing credible ?

And then there is yet another difficulty that here meets him. For both Daniel's and the Apocalyptic symbol depict the Roman Empire as *a bestial monster until* the precise predicted division into ten, as well as *under* the ten and Antichrist afterwards : and thus his interpretation

¹ So Maitland, earlier. Also Burgh, p. 249.

² “ The Roman empire did break up as foretold. It divided into a number of separate kingdoms, such as our own, France, and the like.—Yet it is difficult to number ten accurately and exactly. . . We must suppose therefore that it” (the decem-regal division) “ is yet to come. With this accords the ancient notion that they were to come at *the end of the world*, and last but a *short* time ;—Antichrist coming upon them.” p. 31.

It is quite curious to observe the differences of Romanist Expositors one from another, as well as of our Tractarian Expositor from himself, on this terribly perplexing difficulty. Thus, while *Bellarmino* stakes his whole defence of the Popes against the charge of being Antichrist, on the fact of *the uninterrupted existence*, even to his own time, of the Roman Empire, it is admitted by *Bossuet* and *Miley*, accordantly with the Tractarian in his *later* mood, as the very principle of their solution of the prophecy, that the Roman power *ceased to be*, and *perished*, when the Gothic barbarians overthrew it.

³ “ Such were the scourges by which the fourth monster of Daniel's vision was brought low : such the process by which that *which letteth* (in St. Paul's language) *began* to be taken away, though not *altogether removed* even at this day.” p. 34.

seems to involve the consequence of *Papal Rome* (the object in no slight degree of his esteem and reverence) having been a *Beast*, or impious and persecuting Empire, in the view of inspired prophecy (even though not under Antichrist) throughout the long and (as he would have it)¹ still uncompleted period before the grand predicted decem-regal division. As if to get rid of this difficulty, he cites the two Apocalyptic notices of the Beast in its last or antichristian form, as “the Beast that *was and is not and yet is*,” and as that which had “received a *deadly wound* but revived :” intimating that it is the very interval of the “*is not*,”—the very interval of the *death* from the deadly wound of the Gothic sword,—that has been filled up by the Papacy and its contemporary subject-kingdoms of Western Christendom : the bestial Roman Empire (I presume he means its bestial principle) being all the while *torpid, prostrate, dying* ;² and the long long protracted parenthesis of Papal rule one in character not bestial, but Christian.³ He adds, in answer to the objections of the incredibility of this torpor of the Beast’s dying or death extending through so many ages, that it

¹ See the extract Note ² p. 536.

² So at pp. 32, 50, &c. So somewhat similarly the *Lyra Apostolica* :

The floodgates open wide ;
And madly rushes in the turbulent tide
Of lusts and heresies : a motley groupe they come :
And old Imperial Rome
Looks up, and lifts again *half dead*
Her seven-horned head :
And schisms and superstitions, near and far,
Blend in one pestilent star,
And shake their horrid locks against the saints to war.

³ At p. 31 the writer says, that with regard to “any seduction or delusion to be practised on the world, it has not been fulfilled in *Rome*,” since the division of the empire or the Gothic invasion : and at p. 45 that Rome has not, since that time, been a persecutor of the Church ; for he speaks of the Church “having been sheltered from persecution for 1500 years.” Again at p. 37, after stating the guilt of old *Pagan* Rome in persecuting the saints, and the consequent guilt and doom of the city, he asserts that the only assignable reason why Rome has not thus suffered the fulness of God’s wrath, is because a “Christian Church is still in that city, sanctifying it, interceding for it, saving it.”—In a Note at p. 38, he intimates indeed that “no opinion, *one way or the other*, is here expressed as to the question how far, as the local Church has saved Rome, so Rome has corrupted the local Church ;—or whether the local Church in consequence, or again, whether *other Churches elsewhere*, may or may not be types of Antichrist.” But the first clause in italics (and we may shrewdly suspect too the *Churches* meant in the last clause italicized) will shew that there is little in this note of qualification to the writer’s previously quoted statements in favour of Papal Rome.

was the opinion of the early Church that the monster would lie torpid for centuries, and not revive or wake up again till near the end of the world.¹ But what the authority of the early Church, unsupported by Scripture? And where moreover the early patristic authority to any such effect? Instead of *patristic opinion* on the matter being such as he has represented, the reader will see by reference to notices on the subject in other and earlier parts of this work,² that, although the primitive Fathers slightly differed among themselves as to the nearness of Antichrist and the consummation,—some two or three thinking it distant perhaps one perhaps two centuries, the rest much closer and even at the doors,—yet that, on the point of any *long interval of ages* occurring between the expected breaking up of the old Roman Empire and Antichrist's revelation, during which the Roman Beast was to be torpid,—the idea seems never to have entered their imagination.³—As to *Scripture prophecy*, forasmuch as in Daniel

¹ “Another expectation of the early Church was that the Roman monster, *after remaining torpid for centuries*, would wake up at the end of the world, and be restored in all its laws and forms.” He gives, however, *no patristic authority* for this statement. Perhaps he had reference to the idea of Nero's revival mentioned p. 505 in my last Section: which however was an idea that gained but little hold on the Christian Church. Our Tractator's next quotation is from Hippolytus, (the same that I have given Vol. i. p. 204) which however says nothing either of the torpor of the Roman Beast for centuries, or of its restoration in *all its laws and forms*:—the laws and forms of old Pagan Rome being evidently meant by the Oxford writer. The purport of Hippolytus' observation is to the effect that Antichrist would be a reviver and restorer of the Roman Empire as notably as Augustus' was: not however by Augustus' or the old Roman laws; but by *his own new law*; δια τον εν' αυτω επιζουμενον νομον.

² See my Vol. i. pp. 204, 205; where the expectations to this effect are set forth of Justin Martyr, Judas, Tertullian, Cyprian, &c. Hippolytus too (after Irenæus) thus express the same expectations: “What more remains? what, but the passing of the iron legs of the image into the ten toes; or Roman Empire into ten kingdoms?” Lactantius and Hilarion are the only Fathers, so far as I know, who regarded the consummation as at the distance of one century or two: unless we include that Hippolytus of whom Photius speaks, as reckoning that the end would be in the year A.D. 500.

The idea of the *seventh millennium* being the *sabbatism* may have a little modified the expectations of Irenæus, Hippolytus, &c. But there was not enough of definiteness of opinion at that time on the mundane chronology materially to affect their looking for Antichrist as near at hand.

³ Even Augustine, though an innovator to a considerable extent in Apocalyptic interpretation, at the epoch of the Gothic invasion, so as I have shown in an earlier part of my Book, Vol. iii. p. 233, and introducer of the idea of the *Beast* being (secondarily at least) a symbol of the *world* and *its city*, in opposition to the City of God, and likely to last some uncertain time longer, yet never, so far as I know, suggested the probability of any long interval of torpor affecting the *Roman Beast*, before the last paroxysm of persecution and wickedness under Antichrist.

the *bestial character* of the fourth Wild Beast, or Roman Empire, is represented symbolically as continuing uninterrupted even to the time of its destruction, and in the Apocalypse the transition-period between the Empire in its *Pagan draconic form* and the Empire in its *anti-christian and bestial* (i. e. between the Beast as it "*was*," and the Beast as it "*is*,") is both declared to be *brief*,¹ and also described as all filled up by the Pagan Dragon's still, though fallen, persecuting the woman, the Church, in active hostility, and so driving her into the wilderness,²—it is evident that the Tractarian's hypothesis meets in it a negative altogether decisive, and from which there can be no appeal.

Yet once more the difficulty meets him of *Babylon the Great*, the *city of the seven hills*, being the predicted seat of Antichrist :—which local connection of Antichrist with Rome as his capital, constitutes of course a very strong and palpable corroboration of the Protestant view of the *Roman Pope's* being Antichrist. And what then the Tractarian answer? Overlooking altogether the decisive fact of the woman riding the Beast when in its *last* and *Antichristian* form,³ he first alludes to the circumstance of the Angel's speaking to St. John about the woman-city symbolized being one that was *then* in existence and power, as if probable evidence that it was simply *Rome Pagan* to which the guilt attached of the harlotry spoken of, and the being drunk with the blood of the saints,⁴—albeit declared a bloody harlot *to the very end of her career*;⁵—then passes to the Angel's other statement about the ten kings hating and burning her with

¹ See Apoc. xii. 12.

² See Apoc. xii; and my Commentary on it in Chapters 1 and 2 of Part iv.

³ Compare verses 3, 8, and 11 of Apoc. xvii; "I saw a woman sit upon a scarlet-coloured Beast, having seven heads and ten horns :"—"The Beast that thou sawest was and is not :"—"The Beast that was and is not, even he is the *eighth*, and goeth into perdition."

⁴ "This great city (Rome) is described under the image of a woman cruel, profligate, and impious. I need not relate how all this answered to the character and history of Rome at the time St. John spoke of it." p. 29.—With regard to the Beast ridden by the woman, he says; "The Beast on which the woman sate is the *Roman Empire*. And this agrees very accurately with the actual position of things in history : for Rome, the mistress of the world, might well be said to sit upon the world which she had subdued and made her creature." Ibid. Of the monster figured being the Beast not under its *sixth* head,—that which ruled in St. John's time,—but under its *eighth and last head*, according to the Angel's explanation, he says not a word. And Burgh even expressly makes it the sixth ! See his p. 325.

⁵ Apoc. xviii. 24.

fire,¹ as direct evidence that Rome could not be the city of Antichrist: the order of things being (such is his statement of the prophecy), that the ten kings were to rise first, and, after rising, to destroy Rome; then Antichrist to appear, and supersede or subdue the ten kings; and so Rome to have fallen before Antichrist rose.²—But how Antichrist altogether posterior to the ten kings, when they are declared, as the Tractator admits,³ to receive their power at one and the same time with the Beast Antichrist? And how Antichrist the restorer of the *Roman* Empire, which the Tractarian also admits him to be, and the bearer too of the Roman appellative *Latinos*,⁴ if locally altogether unconnected with Rome, and only rising after Rome's final destruction? In fact he admits, a little after, both that Rome *was* to be his local seat; ⁵ and, as to his final destruction, that it would not be by the ten kings' agency, but, according both to Scripture prophecy and the expectation of the Fathers, through the agency of earthquakes, lightnings, and the fury of the elements:⁶—an admission based on prophetic truth;⁷ and in which he furnishes his own answer to his own argument.

Thus, look where he may to escape from the difficulties of his pro-

¹ Apoc. xvii. 16; "The ten horns which thou sawest on the Beast, these shall hate the whore, and shall make her desolate and naked, and shall eat her flesh, and burn her with fire."

² "Rome is to fall before Antichrist rises: for the ten kings are to destroy Rome; and Antichrist is then to appear, and supersede the ten kings. As far as we dare judge from the words, this seems clear." p. 30. So again p. 39.

³ "We are expressly told that the ten kings and Antichrist's empire shall rise together." p. 32.

Let me observe, with regard to Dan. vii. 24,—“The ten Horns are ten kings that shall arise, and another shall rise *after* them,”—that the Septuagint translation is *οπισθεν αυτων*, *behind*, or *locally after* the ten. Thus Daniel's statement need not be considered at all inconsistent with that of the Apocalypse, xvii. 12, “The ten Horns are ten Kings that receive power as kings at one time with the Beast;” i. e. according to the Angel's explanation, the Beast under its last head. See my Comment on the Apocalyptic verse in my Vol. iii. p. 63, 68.

⁴ Admitted p. 25. He adds p. 26, “He will knit the Roman Empire into one.”

⁵ “He will earn the title of the *Latin* or *Roman* King, as best expressive of his *place* and character.

⁶ He cites Gregory in particular: “Rome shall not be destroyed by the (barbaric) nations; but shall consume away internally, worn out by storms of lightning, whirlwinds, and earthquakes.” p. 35. He might have cited further to the same effect Tertullian, Lactantius, and others.

⁷ This will be found explained and illustrated in the last Part of my Commentary. See p. 227 *suprà*.

phetic theory, and substitution of a personal Antichrist yet future for the Papal Antichrist of the old Protestant interpreters, the prophecy meets, and stops, and proves too strong for him. At last, in the spirit of the *ancient Academy*, he takes refuge in doubt and scepticism. Perhaps, he says, after all it may be that not *Rome* literally is intended in the prophecy, but rather *the world*, or *some other great and wicked city* : ¹—or perhaps, if *Rome* be the city intended, her sufferings from the Goths &c, in time past may be considered sufficient punishment ; or the Church within her may prove her preservative, and so the final threatened judgments be averted.² Again, as regards Antichrist and Antichrist's persecution of the saints, perhaps we may have been wrong in supposing such things to have been foretold ; and they may, after all, never arise.³—Such I say is the conclusion of the writer ;—a not unfit conclusion to a Treatise so marked by inconsistency and self-contradiction. Now it is mainly doubtless to the insuperable difficulties of his anti-protestant futurist theory of Antichrist, that these inconsistencies and self-contradictions are to be attributed.⁴ And it is in this point of view that it has been my duty to exhibit them. At the same time, considering that it is no vulgar or inferior hand of the Tractarian school that has penned the Tract, and that the palpable failure of his attempt

¹ “ As Babylon is a type of Rome, and of the world of sin and vanity, so Rome in her turn may be a type also, whether of some other city yet to come, or of a proud and deceiving world.” p. 38. See on this point my examination of Dr. Arnold's prophetic theory, in Section v, *infra*.

² “ Rome's judgments have come on her in great measure, when her empire was taken from her ; her persecutions of the Church have been in great measure judged ; and the Scripture predictions concerning her fulfilled. Whether or not she shall be further judged depends on two circumstances ;—first, whether the righteous men in the city who saved her when her judgment first came,” (that from the Goths,) “ may not through God's mercy be allowed to save her still ; next, whether the prophecy in its fulness relates to *Rome*, or to some other object or objects of which Rome is a type.” p. 39. “ Perchance, through God's mercy, it ” (Rome's destruction) “ may be procrastinated even to the end, and never be fulfilled. Of this we can know nothing, one way or the other.” p. 38.

³ “ If such a persecution ” (that of Antichrist) “ has been foretold, it has not yet come, and therefore is to come. We may be wrong in thinking that the Scripture foretels it, though it has been the common belief of all ages : but if there be, it is still future.” p. 39 ; and so too p. 52.

⁴ Perhaps in part too from *intentional obscurity* :—for such is avowed by some of the Tractarians. Though surely on important theological questions, if on any other, obscurity is above all things to be deprecated, and light sought :

Εν δε φαι και ολεσσει.

at diverting the prophecies respecting Antichrist from application to the Roman Papacy involves it in the most conclusive disproof and condemnation of the general Tractarian system of religious doctrine,—allied as it is so closely to that of Rome,—must not the thought also force itself on the mind, Is this the *logic*, this the *theology*, that half Oxford has been wondering after? ¹

Thus much as to the Tractarian's vain attempts to escape from the difficulties of the Futurist Scheme, on the point now under consideration: nor am I aware of any more successful attempts on the part of any other of its advocates. Mr. Maitland indeed by his singular, and I may surely say, most untenable theory, respecting the intent of the *quadripartite Image* and of the *four Beasts* in Daniel,—as if the *latter* prefigured four *cotemporary* Empires of the *latter day*,² and in the *former*, which the Prophet himself defines to commence from *Babylon*, the *Macedonian Empire* was the *second*, not *third* symbolized, the *Roman* the *third*, and *Antichrist's empire* (still future) the *fourth*,³—I say, by this singular theory Mr. M. may perhaps seem to escape from the argument of the ten subordinate kingdoms of Antichrist's Empire being figured in prophecy as originating out of, and dating from, the breaking up of the old Roman Empire: which Empire he fully admits to have perished under the Goths' destroying power, and past away.⁴ But (not to urge the untenableness of his view of the *four Beasts* of Daniel ⁵) is it credible that that can be the right explanation of the *Image*, which makes a gap of not less than *thirteen centuries* intervene between its *third* prefigured Empire and its *fourth*? ⁶ Besides which the argument from St. Paul's pre-

¹ This was written in my first Edition; I think in 1843. What has past since only furnishes reason for my letting it stand as it was. (2nd Ed.)

² The fourth and most terrible, he supposes, being that of Antichrist.—On Antichrist, p. 9. In this view Mr. Maitland is opposed, I believe, to nearly all the *day-day*, as well as the *year-day* prophetic interpreters. ³ *Ib.* p. 5, 6.

⁴ "The Roman empire has surely long ceased to exist. . . . The empire founded by themselves, and ruled by Augustus and Constantine, has past through a regular decline, and fallen to absolute extinction." On Antichrist p. 6.

⁵ In Dan. vii. 7. the other Beasts are spoken of as "*before it*," i. e. prior in time: and how indeed could these other Beasts have had "dominion," as the third, or *leopard*, is said to have had, if cotemporary with the *fourth* which brake all other powers in pieces? Besides which the correspondence of the fourth Beast's ten horns with the ten toes of the Image seems obvious, and suggests a similar correspondence between the symbolization in other points.

⁶ Let me add a few further remarks on this singular opinion of Mr. Maitland.

dedicated *hindrance* or *let*, (viz. of the Old Roman Empire,¹) as the hindrance whose removal was to make way for Antichrist's manifestation, and that from the Apocalyptic designation of *Rome's seven-hilled city* as Antichrist's imperial seat, still remains in full force against him.—Nor let me omit to observe, ere concluding this part of my argument, that the Apocalyptic notices just referred to respecting Antichrist's capital tell with decisive effect against the Futurists' other notion of his connection with *Jerusalem* and its *temple*, as the chief seat of his empire and worship:² a view equally irreconcilable indeed with those views of theirs concerning the Apocalyptic Israel and temple which have been the subject of our consideration under a former head.³ For never let it be forgotten by the reader, that in the Apocalypse the Beast Antichrist is absolutely tied and bound, by notice after notice, to *Rome* as his imperial seat and capital. It is to the *great*, the *seven-hilled city* that the Beast is depicted

1st. As to Mr. Maitland's argument for considering the *Persian Empire* as a mere continuation of the Babylonian *under a new dynasty*, because of Babylon not being destroyed on the Persians taking it, but continuing one of the capitals of the Persian empire, the same argument might be used to show the identity of the *Macedonian* empire also with both the Persian and Babylonian. For Alexander, after the conquest of Persia, similarly made Babylon one of its capitals. In fact the Bible everywhere represents the overthrow of Babylon by Cyrus as the overthrow of its *empire*.^{*}—2. His statement of the Persian empire being not (according to the divine description of the *second* empire of the Image) inferior, but equal to or greater than Nebuchadnezzar's, is most questionable; if we take the account which *Berosus* gives us of the latter kingdom, as extending westward even to the straits of Gades.—3. As to his argument that the *universal* sovereignty ascribed to the *third* empire of the Image was not attributable to *Alexander's* empire, was it in the strictest sense of the word attributable any more to that of Rome? The unquestionable limitation of the meaning of that expression in sacred Scripture must be taken into the account, of which I have before spoken: (compare the similar statement made respecting Nebuchadnezzar's. Dan. iv. 22, "Thy dominion, O king, reacheth to the end of the earth:") and, as to the *common* use of it, the story of Alexander weeping because he had no more worlds to conquer, sufficiently shows its appropriateness.—See too the confirmatory argument in my Vol. i. p. 405.

It should be observed that the uninterruptedness of continuity *known* to have existed between the first, second, and third empires symbolized, is of course the strongest confirmation of uninterrupted continuity being intended in the prefiguration between the third and fourth.

¹ At p. 18 of the same Treatise on Antichrist, Mr. M. acknowledges that the meaning of this *let* was revealed to the early Church; and, as I have often said, the early Church understood it of the old Roman Empire or Emperors.

² Thus on Apoc. xi. Mr. Burgh makes Antichrist to sit in the Jewish temple, and receive worship.

³ See pp. 518, 519 *suprà*.

^{*} e. g. Isaiah xiv, Jer. l. li, &c.

as united, when existent under his last head, and with the title of the *Beast from the abyss*.¹ It is in this same city, "*the city the great one*," that this same *Beast from the abyss* slays Christ's two witnesses, and with his gathered congress triumphs over their dead corpses.² It is still in the same *great city* that there was found, at the time of her destruction, the blood of all that had been slain on the Apocalyptic earth;³ including of course that of the saints slain by the Beast Antichrist. It is *she* (not *Jerusalem*) that, as the world's religious mistress and apostatizer, holds out to it, during the Beast's figured union with her, the cup of her harlotry.⁴ Throughout it is this *Great City* (not *Jerusalem*) that we find opposed in the Apocalyptic visions to the city of God, the *Holy City*.

Our *second* proposed point under the present head had reference to the Futurists' views respecting *the profest religion*, or rather *irreligion* of Antichrist: a view inculcated by them as if accordant alike with *Scriptural* and with *patristic* authority; but which may be easily shown, I believe, to be alike repugnant to the one and the other.

For it is their general habit to speak of Antichrist's religion (if I may use the phrase) as *open avowed infidelity* and *atheism*,⁵ together with *licentiousness as open* accompanying; the latter in legalized re-

¹ Apoc. xvii. 8, 5, 18.

² Apoc. xi. 7, 8.

³ Apoc. xviii. 24.

⁴ Apoc. xvii. 4.

⁵ "The blasphemy of the Little Horn seems to be *downright barefaced infidelity*: something more like what was exhibited in France during the Revolution, than like anything ever seen in the Church of Rome." Second Enquiry, p. 105. So again in his Answer to Cuninghame, p. 57: "I must repeat over and over again, that the spiritual common sense of the Church of God in every age, from the days of Daniel to those of Wicliff, is set in array against the fundamental point of Mr. Cuninghame's system: for it considered the *days as literal days*; and knew nothing, and looked for nothing, in the *character* of Antichrist, but an *individual infidel persecutor*."

So too the Oxford Tractarian on Antichrist, p. 16; "Both St. Paul and St. John describe the enemy as characterized by *open infidelity*, and the *blasphemous denial of God*: and St. Paul adds that he will oppose all existing religion, true or false." He illustrates at p. 21 by reference to the *atheism* professed at the French Revolution. (Though indeed at p. 15 he thus differently expresses himself; "Antichrist will be led on from rejecting the Son of God to the rejection of God altogether, either by *implication*, or *practically*;" and, at p. 18, remarks that he was, according to the Fathers, "to observe Jewish rites."—Mr. Burgh too, p. 265, effectively agrees in this *atheistic* view of Antichrist; though with the peculiarity of making it a *most religious* system from Antichrist's requiring the *worship of himself*. So too p. 248.

nunciation of the restraints of marriage, according to the prophecy, (for so they interpret it,) "forbidding to marry:"¹—very much in short as at the French Revolution. And they make this the groundwork of a new argument against our reference of the prophecies concerning Antichrist to the Popes and Papacy.—But how little this representation of the thing accords with *Scripture prophecy*, appears sufficiently, as it seems to me, from the very name *Antichrist* meaning either *Christ's Vicar, or an opposing and usurping Christ*:²—from St. Paul's designation of Antichrist's religious system as that which would contain in it "the *mystery of iniquity*" and "*all deceivableness of unrighteousness*:"³ expressions surely most remarkable, as implying that it would have *much show of religion*, while in reality altogether at variance with it:—and from the Beast Antichrist's conjunction with *the two horned lamb-skin-clothed False Prophet* in the Apocalypse.—All this I have illustrated at large before. How little it accorded with the *early Fathers'* views on the subject shall now be shown; with reference alike to the *preparatory apostacy* which they expected to usher in and ally itself with Antichrist, and to the *religious profession* that they supposed he would himself make after his manifestation.

Now as to *the apostacy* (the apostacy spoken of by St. Paul,) they considered it, and not without good reason, as both the *προδρομος* or *preparative* of Antichrist, and that too which Antichrist on his manifestation would, as it were, sum up in himself, as its professor, inculcator,

¹ "The Scripture warrants us to expect that this apostate power shall *forbid to marry*. Those who have any acquaintance with the real doctrines of apostates from Christianity (whether French philosophers, German illuminati, or liberal infidels of England) will require no proof that such *law* may be expected, if an infidel apostacy should become dominant.....Three years have not elapsed since one of our most notorious political economists is reported to have publicly denounced the institution of marriage, as one of three great evils to which the misery of mankind might be attributed." Maitland, *Ib.* p. 130.—So too the *Tractarian* (p. 21) illustrates his views on this point, by reference to "the annulling of the divine ordinance of marriage," at the French Revolution; "and resolving it into a mere civil contract, to be made and dissolved at pleasure."

Can Mr. M. reconcile his notion of Antichrist's thus universally forbidding marriage in his universal reign of 3½ years, immediately before Christ's advent, and enforcing the prohibition by a power as irresistible as universal, with what Christ says of men marrying and giving in marriage at the time of his coming?

² See my Vol. i. pp. 67, 68, with the Note on the etymology.

³ 2 Thesa. ii. 7, 10.

and head. So *Justin Martyr*, for example, and *Irenæus*, and *Cyril* ¹—Then, as to the *nature* of this preparatory apostacy, instead of anticipating with Mr. Maitland that it would be “a falling away *from all profession of Christianity, into open blasphemous and persecuting infidelity*,”² I find *Irenæus* heading his general sketch of *heretics* with note of their wearing the garb of Antichrist’s Apocalyptic associate, the wolf in sheep’s clothing: prominently setting forth their making a Christian profession,³ and their often inculcating their tenets under falsified words of Scripture; or where Scripture failed, asserting a *peculiar unwritten tradition* committed to them as their authority.⁴ I find *Clement of Alexandria*, about the end of the 2nd century, objecting to Tatian and other heretics of the time, who on principles of *asceticism*, and as a *Christian virtue*, inculcated a *rule of continency and celibacy*, that in *thus* “forbidding to marry,” contrary to the liberty allowed in Holy Scripture, (so entirely does his view of that prophetic clause agree with the common Protestant interpretation of it,) they answered to the apostates of the last days described by St. Paul, and shewed themselves to be of the spirit of *Antichrist*.⁵ I find *Cyprian* speaking of separatists that profest the

¹ *Justin Martyr* calls Antichrist $\delta \tau\eta\varsigma \alpha\nu\omicron\sigma\tau\alpha\varsigma \alpha\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma$. Op. p. 336 (Ed. Colon.)—*Cyril* (Catech. xv. 9) calls the apostacy $\pi\rho\omicron\delta\rho\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma \text{ Antichristou}$.—*Irenæus* (De Hæres. v. 25) speaks of Antichrist as “*diabolicam apostasiam in se recapitulans*.”

The Tractarian (p. 11) writes on this point in accordance with the Fathers. “The man of sin is born of an apostacy; or at least comes into power through an apostacy; or is preceded by an apostacy; or would not be except for an apostacy. So says the inspired text;” i. e. 2 Thess. ii. 7, 8.

² “The *early Church* conceived of the apostacy as an actual departure, not merely from the purity of the Christian faith by *professed Christians*, but from *Christianity itself*;—a falling away from all profession of Christianity into open, blasphemous, and persecuting infidelity.” Maitland on Antichrist, p. 2. He had just before said: “The opinions which I here attribute to the early Church were held, I believe, by all Christian writers until the xiith century.” Ib. p. 1. And again: “The language of Scripture warrants us to expect a *real* apostacy; openly denying the truth of Christianity, openly and avowedly denying the Father and the Son.” Second Enquiry, p. 129.

And so too the Oxford Tractarian, p. 16, &c. And Burgh p. 248.

³ Lib. i. ad init. “Lupos ob externum ovillæ pellis integumentum haudquaquam agnoscentes; ut qui eadem loquuntur, sed non eadem sentiunt.”

⁴ “Falsantes verba Domini mendacium abscondunt sub verbis Scripturæ.” So i. i. 6. And iii. 2: “Non enim per *litteras* traditam illam, sed per vocem.”

⁵ “Adversus alterum genus hæreticorum, qui speciosè per *continentiam* impiè se gerunt tum in creaturam, tum in sanctum Opificem qui est solus Deus omnipotens, et dicunt non esse admittendum matrimonium et liberorum procreationem, hæc sunt op-

Christian name, and appeared *ministers of righteousness*, as on *Antichrist's* side, though *under the name of Christ*.¹ I find *Cyril* insisting on the less palpable heresy of *ύιοπατρια*, or *Sabellianism*,² as well as on that so palpable of *Arianism*,³ and on errors secretly admitted in the Christian Church at the time, as well as those that were open and avowed,—moreover on the then too general departure from the love of truth to the love of oratory and doctrines plausible and pleasing, and from the practice of good works to the mere semblance of goodness,—as altogether of the nature of the great predicted apostacy. “This is the apostacy,” he wrote; “and the enemy (*Antichrist*) is to be expected.”⁴—I find both *Jerome* and *Augustine* speaking of false teachers and bad livers as of *Antichrist's* spirit; while professing to be servants of Christ:⁵ and *Chrysostom*

ponenda:—primùm quidem illud Jeannis; ‘Et nunc Antichristi multi facti sunt, unde scimus quòd novissima hora est: ex nobis exierunt, sed non erant ex nobis.’—... Jam de iis qui matrimonium abhorrent dicit Paulus, ‘In novissimis diebus deficient quidam à fide, attendentes spiritibus erroris et doctrinis dæmoniorum, prohibentium nubere,’ &c.” Strom. Lib. 3. pp. 125, 127, Ed. Paris, 1842.

Compare *Irenæus* i. 30; also 23: “Per fictam hujusmodi continentiam seducentes multos.” On which *Feuardentinus* observes that while thus discrediting marriage, under profession of continence, these heretics allowed “promiscuos concubitus.” An observation well illustrated by *Czerski's* notice of the encouragement given to the young priest of the Church of Rome, to make his vow of continence: “Non unam (mulierem) habebis; sed mille pro una habebis.”—*Czerski's* Justification, p. 77.

The reader will contrast *Clement's* exposition of the text “Forbidding to marry,” with *Mr. Maitland's*, given Note ¹ p. 545 *suprà*.—*Tatian's* austerity of life, and rule of ascetism and celibacy, are noted by *Mosheim* ii. 2. 5. 9.

¹ De Unit. Eccl. “Sub ipso Christiani nominis titulo fallit incautos Diabolus, et ministros subornat suos velut ministros justitiæ; *Antichristum* asserentes sub vocabulo *Christi*.”

² *Suicer* on *Υιοπατρις* and *Υιοπατρια* thus observes: “Hæretici quidam in Scripturarum Trinitate Patrem, Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum non tres personas, sed unam duntaxat trinominem, esse docebant. Illis Filius erat *ύιοπατρις*. Sic *Cyril Alexandr.* Lib. ii. in *John viii*; *ἡμειωτεον ὅτι κατ' ἰδίαν ὑποσασιν ἄλλος εἶναι ὁ Πατήρ παρὰ τὸν ὕιον καὶ οὐχ, ὥσπερ εἶδε τις τῶν ἀπαιδευτῶν ἁρετικῶν, ὕιοπατρις εἰσφερεται.* In the 7th Canon of Constantinople, he adds, they were called *Σαβελλιανοί*.

³ Noted also by *Athanasius* and *Hilary* as the apostacy that was to precede *Antichrist*. And so too *Ambrose* in *Luc. xxi*.

⁴ Catech. xv. 9. *Cyril's* conclusion follows on the enumeration of these various kinds of apostacy, all in the professing Church: *Νυνὶ δὲ εἰσιν ἡ ἀποστασία· ἀπεστησαν γὰρ οἱ ἄνθρωποι τῆς ὀρθῆς πίστεως. Αὕτη τοίνυν εἰσιν ἡ ἀποστασία· καὶ μέλλει προσδοκασθαι ὁ ἐχθρὸς.*

⁵ *Jerome* in *Matt. xxiv.* after mention of *Simon Magus*, and of *St. John's* prophecy of *Antichrist*, proceeds thus; “Ergo reor omnes hæresiarchas *Antichristum* esse; et sub nomine *Christi* ea docere quæ contraria sunt Christo.”—*Augustine* writes in *Epist.*

(or a nearly cotemporary writer under his name¹) speaking of false teachers, such as he then discerned in the Church, (teachers with *hidden* deceit in their doctrine,) as forerunners of Antichrist: adding moreover these remarkable warning words: "When thou seest the Holy Scriptures regarded as an abomination by men that outwardly profess to be Christians, and them that teach God's word hated,—when the people rush to hear fable-mongers, and genealogies, and φυλακτογραφες, and teaching of dæmons, then bethink thee of the saying, 'In the last days there shall be an apostacy from the faith,'"²—In addition to all which I may remind the reader also even of *Pope Gregory's* intimation, two centuries later, that in the ambitious pride and rapacity of the established Christian Clergy of his day there were discernible signs of that apostacy which was to be the immediate forerunner of Antichrist.³

Further,—as to *Antichrist's own religion* after his manifestation,—besides the general fact of his adopting and heading the previously existing apostacy to which I before alluded,⁴ I find the following ideas thrown out by the Fathers:—that he would not at first unfold the true diabolical iniquity of his character, but for a while keep up a show of temperance and humility;⁵ coming as a lamb, though within a wolf;⁶ yea, with semblance of an angel of light;⁷ being, said Hilary, in profession a Christian;⁸ and Hippolytus, in every thing affecting a likeness to our Lord Jesus Christ:⁹—that he Joh. Tract 3; "Invenimus multos Antichristos esse qui *confitentur Christum*." Both he and Jerome must here mean *preparatory* Antichrists, as they expected the chief Antichrist at the end of the world.

¹ So the Benedictine Editor of Chrysostom judges.

² Ὅταν ἴδῃς τὴν ἁγίαν γραφὴν βδελυχθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τῶν εἶναι δοκούντων Χριστιάνων, καὶ τοὺς λαλῶντας τὸν λόγον τῆς Θεοῦ μισηθέντας, τότε ὑπομνησθήτι τὰς Κυρίας εἰρηστούς, Εἰ δὲ κόσμος ὑμᾶς μισεῖ γινώσκετε ὅτι ἐμὲ πρῶτον μεμίσηκεν, &c. Κἀν ἐκ τῶν δοκούντων εἶναι ποιμένων ἴδῃς ταῦτα πράσσοντας (viz. hating the Holy Scriptures, and them that teach them, and themselves giving heed to fables, &c.) τότε ὑπομνησθήτι, Ἐν ὕσταταις ἡμέραις ἀποστήσονται τινες τῆς πίστεως, &c. Homily Περὶ ψευδοπροφητῶν.—I do not understand his exact meaning in the φυλακτογραφες.

³ See my Vol. i. p. 405.

⁴ See Note ¹ p. 546.

⁵ So Cyril ib. xv. 12: "At first he will put on a show of mildness, as though he were a learned and discreet person, (λογίος τις καὶ συνετός), and of soberness and benevolence." Oxford translation. See too Victorinus quoted p. 549.

⁶ Hippolytus de Antichristo, § 6; quoted p. 311 *supra*.

⁷ Cyril xv. 4: "Satan is transformed into an Angel of light. Therefore put us as our guard, that we may not worship another instead of thee." This is said introductorily to the notice of Antichrist. ⁸ See my Vol. iii. 83. ⁹ Hippolytus, *ibid*

would be professedly an enemy¹ (not friend, as the Tractarian would have it²) to *Paganism* and avowed Pagan idolatry; and, attaching himself rather to *Judaism*, would appear (so some thought) as a zealous vindicator of the Jewish law: ³ that he would thus conciliate the Jews: and then, showing himself as THE CHRIST (a title the very assumption of which implied a recognition of the Old Testament as inspired Scripture) would in that character sit in the reconstructed Jewish Temple, and exact the divine worship due to *the Christ*,³—or else (as Jerome, Chrysostom, and others preferred to interpret the prophecies) that his sitting and arrogating divine worship would be in the *Christian Church*,⁴ wherein he would claim the *προεδρεία*, or highest rank,⁵ and wherein he would show his Christ-superseding authority by asserting his own voice to be the Word and the Truth,⁶ by changing and adding to the number of the

¹ “*Idola quidem seponens.*” *Irenæus* *ibid*, on which see the Note of Feuarden-
tius: also *Cyril*, &c.

² On Antichrist, p. 22.—He illustrates the (so represented) patristic idea of Anti-
christ restoring *Paganism*, from the institution of something very like it at the French
Revolution; *Liberty* being then worshipped as a goddess, and a temple dedicated, and
incense offered, “*Aux grands hommes.*”

Let me observe in passing, that in Note * Vol. iii. 199 the Reader will see how
singularly the Pope and his associates in the apostacy, while solemnly sanctioning what
was *virtually* a revival of *Paganism* in the worship of the *images* of saints, made pro-
fession as solemnly, at the very time, of detestation of *Pagan idols*.

³ So *Irenæus*, *Hippolytus*, *Victorinus*, *Cyril*, and other early Fathers. “*Ipsæ est
iniquus Judex,*” says *Irenæus*, “*ad quem fugit vidua terrena Jerusalem, &c.:*” an
application to Antichrist and the Jews of the parable of the unjust judge, and the
widow calling on him for vengeance, that was made by *Hippolytus*, § 57, also.—Let
me add too the statements of *Victorinus* and *Bede*.

1. *Victorinus*. He, expecting *Nero* to be the Antichrist, thus writes: “*Hunc
suscitatum Deus mittet, regem dignum dignis, et Christum qualem meruerunt Judæi.
Et quoniam aliud nomen allaturus est, aliam etiam vitam instituturus, ut sic eum
tanquam Christum excipiant Judæi. Ait enim Daniel, Desideria mulierum non cog-
noscet,* cùm prius fuerit impurissimus; et Nullum Deum patrum cognoscet.† Non
enim seducere populum poterit circumcisionis nisi legis vindicator. Denique et sanctos
non ad idola colenda revocaturus est, sed ad circumcisionem colendam, si quos poterit
seducere. Ita demum faciet ut Christus ab eis appelletur.*” B. P. M. iii. 420.

2. *Bede*, writing on Apoc. xiii, says: “*Ante tres semis annos non aperto ore blas-
phemat, sed in mysterio facinoris; quod, factâ discessione, et revelato homine peccati,
nudabitur. Tunc enim dicet, Ego sum Christus: nunc vero, Ecce hîc Christus, et ecce
illic.*”

⁴ See my Vol. i. 365—367, and Vol. iii. p. 82, Note ⁵.

⁵ So *Theodoret*. See my Vol. i. p. 370.

⁶ So *Origen*, on St. John, Vol. ii. 53. ‘*Ὁτ’ ὁ ὑποκρινόμενος εἶναι λόγος, ἢ λόγος*

* This explanation of a controverted passage deserves observation.

† That is, none of the gods of Pagan Rome.

sacraments, &c. : ¹—that then at length (on either hypothesis of the temple of his enthronization) he would begin to display his real spirit of cruelty, as well as blasphemy ; and commence that terrible persecution of the 1260 days against Christ's two witnesses and the saints, which prophecy had so fearfully depicted, and which would be marked with the very energy of Satan.

Such I believe is a tolerably correct abstract of the general patristic expectations in regard of the *religion of Antichrist* :—expectations how different from the views of those of the Futurist school, who with Mr. Maitland would represent it as the openly-avowed and legalized atheism and rejection of Christianity, and the as openly avowed and legalized licentiousness of the French Revolution ! Further,—*after one important and evidently necessary correction*,—how consistent both with Scripture prophecy as predicting, and with the Roman Papacy as fulfilling !

The point on which I conceive correction clearly necessary has reference to the supposed *connection of Antichrist with Judaism and the Jews* ;—his origin out of, and re-establishment of, it and them. And, considering its importance, perhaps it may be permitted me to deviate a few moments from my immediate controversy with the Futurists, (if indeed it be a deviation,) in order to its explanation.—It is justly observed by the Oxford Tractarian, that there seems little in Scripture prophecy to sanction such an idea.² In truth the whole tendency of the prophecies concerning Antichrist is to shew that he was to be an enemy both springing out of, and reigning within, the pale of the professing Christian Church. For how could he be an *apostate*, and *head of the apostacy*, and *antitype of the apostle Judas*, (not to say how *the Latin man* also, and *horn out of the old Roman Empire*,)³ if by nation and profession a Jew ? Or again, as before

ων, και η εκ Αληθεια τυγχανουσα, αλλα ψευδος, φασκει ειναι εαυτην την Αληθειαν, τοτε καθοπλισαμενος ο Λογος κατα τα ψευδεις, αναρει αυτο το πνευματι του σωματος αυτου, και καταργει τη επιφανεια της παρουσιας αυτου. (Ed. Huet.)

¹ So *Jerom* ; “ Mutabit, et augere tentabit (Antichristus) sacramenta ecclesie.”

² “ At first sight we should not suppose that there was much evidence from the sacred Text for Antichrist taking part with the Jews, or having to do with their temple.” p. 19. Nor does he proceed to give any such evidence : but only refers to the fact of Julian's attempting to rebuild the Jewish temple, as a remarkable coincidence with the patristic expectations.

³ *Irenæus*' idea seems to have been that, after gaining supremacy in the empire.

observed, how with a false prophet for his abetter that had *horns like a lamb's*, unless professedly of *Jesus Christ's* religion; the Messiah of Jewish expectation being the *lion-like* Messiah, and the *lamb-like* Messiah an abomination to them?—It is difficult fully to account for the patristic error on this matter. Did we judge simply from the statements of Irenæus, and Hippolytus, it might seem to have originated, in part at least, from a singular misunderstanding of Christ's prophecy respecting the *abomination of desolation* standing in the Holy Place at *Jerusalem*, (a prophecy which doubtless had reference to the Roman besieging army and its idolatrous standards gathering into the sacred precincts of the Jewish City,¹) as if intended of Antichrist's later and very different abomination.² Hence, it might be, their construction of *the temple* in which St. Paul said that Antichrist would exalt himself, as the Jewish Temple: hence perhaps their supposition of his being himself a Jew; and that the exclusion of Dan, as one accursed, from the twelve tribes out of which God's true servants were sealed in the Apocalypse, marked his tribe.—But the reasons for a different view of these prophecies were too strong and obvious to allow of a general concurrence in the misunderstanding of them. By Chrysostom, Jerome, Augustine, and others of the Fathers, the prophecy respecting *the abomination of desolation* was explained to have been then already fulfilled by the *Roman armies* that destroyed Jerusalem;³ and the *temple* in St. Paul's prophecy construed, as a little while since said, of the *Christian Church*.⁴

though a Jew,—he would transfer the seat of empire from Rome to Jerusalem; “*Transferet regnum in eam (Jerusalem) &c.*” p. 46. And so too I suppose *Lactantius*; “*Nomen imperii sedemque mutabit.*” B. P. M. iii. 669.—But the incompatibility of the two suppositions is apparent.—Victorinus and others, as we have seen in Note ³ p. 549 *supra*, expected Antichrist in the first instance to be of *Roman* extraction; being *Nero* raised from the dead: and that his connexion with the *Jews* would follow afterwards.

¹ See Bishop Newton in illustration.

² Irenæus v. 25, Hippolytus § 43.

³ *Chrysostom* on Dan. ix refers it to the Roman armies of *Adrian*, that effected the ultimate destruction of the Jewish city and nation: *Jerome* and *Augustine* more properly to the Roman besieging army under *Titus*.

⁴ See my Vol. i. 365—367 and Vol. iii. 82 just before referred to p. 549. It will be seen that *Chrysostom* asserts unreservedly the fact of Antichrist sitting in *the Christian Church*; and that *Jerome* decidedly prefers that view of the *Temple* prophesied of; “*Antichristus sedebit in templo Deo: vel Hierosolymis, ut quidam putant; vel in ecclesiâ, ut verius arbitramur.*” *Augustine* mentions the two interpretations without deciding between them: and *Cyril* only decides in favour of the literal interpretation from the feeling, “*God forbid that it should be the Christian Church!*”

Moreover a *Christian* application was made by others of the Apocalyptic symbol of the *twelve tribes of Israel*.¹ So that on the whole there appears to have been nothing in these prophecies sufficiently Judaic, according even to patristic views, to account for the first origination of this idea of Antichrist being a Jew.

Which being so, and *conjecture* permissible in the want of a satisfactory explanation on historic testimony, I would venture to suggest one thing, *upon conjecture*, as a *possible, probable*, and I think I may say, *adequate* originating cause of the error. It is well known with how much earnestness and solemnity St. Paul warned the early Church of the *Judaic heresies* that were even then stealing into it; —the Judaist's will-worship of asceticism and abstinence from meats and marriage, their observance of days, undue and erroneous views of the benefit of mere outward circumcision, attachment to the Levitical ritual, and worshipping of angels with voluntary humility; —the latter, I presume, under profession of unworthiness to make direct use of the mediatorship of Christ.² Now it is difficult to suppose but that St. Paul in all this spoke with reference to more than the dangers of the time then present: and denounced *therein* the first elements (*Judaic elements*) of *the great apostacy* of prophecy, and leaven of that *deceivableness of unrighteousness* which was first to *prepare for*, and then to constitute the *religion of, Antichrist*. If so, and this be the right account of the origin of the patristic notion respecting Antichrist's *Judaism*, then there is a residuum of important truth hidden in it. And adopting it, so expounded and corrected, we shall find it to supply almost all that was wanting of correspondence between the patristic anticipations concerning the apostacy and Antichrist's religion, and the actual religious history and character of the Roman Papacy, as history afterwards evolved it.

For we know,—and indeed have traced in history,³—how these Judaizing errors increased continually in the Church, though under a more seemly and professedly Christian form; ⁴—including the veneration of that austerity, asceticism of life, and celibacy that Clement

¹ E. g. Augustine and Primasius.

² Col. ii. 16—29. See Macknight *ad loc.*

³ See Vol. i. pp. 259, 306, 380, &c.

⁴ I mean that whereas the Judaizers of the first age magnified the outward forms of *Jewish* rites and ceremonies, the successors of their *spirit*, in the next age, magnified the outward forms of *Christian* rites and ceremonies.

objected to Tatian,—the corruption of the simplicity of the Christian ministry and service into resemblance to the Levitical priesthood and Levitical ritual,—the undue and erroneous estimate of mere outward baptism, as before of outward circumcision,—the perversion of Scripture and substitution of the authority of an unwritten tradition in the priest's keeping,—and the looking into things unseen, and worshipping departed saints as mediators, to the supercession of Christ.—We know how, with all this, there was also more and more a departure on the part of the *people* from the love of gospel truth to the love of exciting pulpit oratory, and then of fables and legends about saints; as also from real holiness of life to a fictitious and mere ceremonial righteousness, somewhat like what Cyril and Chrysostom deprecated; and how a departure moreover (according to Chrysostom's forewarning,) on the part of *priests* and *teachers*, from love to neglect and dislike of the written word; together with a spirit of worldliness, lucre-loving, and ambition.¹—We know once more that then, and thereby, a preparation having been made for him,—viz. by the establishment of this irreligious system of religion, this unchristian kind of Christianity, with all profession of righteousness, and much of the deceivableness of unrighteousness,—the Pope of Rome,—at first prudent, like the first Gregory, respectable in morals, professedly humble,² but crafty and politic,—adopting this whole system of apostasy as its head and patron, and so gathering round him as subjects the great body of the apostates of Christendom, did, conjointly with them, not only *establish* the Apostacy in the new Romano-Gothic kingdoms, which constituted the body of the Apocalyptic Beast, but as it were authoritatively *consecrate* it; proclaiming *it*, with its ceremonies of an almost *Judaic* ritual, to be the only *orthodox Christianity*, and *Rome*, (the Apocalyptic Babylon,) now vacated of its Emperors and become the Papal capital, to be the *Jerusalem* of Christianity: ³—at the same time that he shewed himself in its temples and churches as not merely antitype to the High Priest of the Jews, but *Christ's* appointed *representative and Vicar* for the rule of

¹ See the abstract of patristic views pp. 546—550 *suprà*.

² “*Servus servorum Dei*,” was the title of humility adopted by Gregory and transmitted to his successors in the Popedom.—Compare Gregory's character also with Cyril's λογίος τις και σωφρονος.

³ See this illustrated in my Vol. iii. p. 261.

the Church on earth ; and in this character claimed to himself, and received, the worship due to Christ, i. e. to God.¹

In concluding this Head, let me be permitted to express my deliberate conviction, with reference to the Futurists' view of Antichrist's religious or rather anti-religious profession, as if that of *an open avowed atheist*, that it is not merely unaccordant with the Apocalyptic and the other cognate prophecies of Antichrist, but that it is, even intellectually speaking, a mere rude and common-place conception of Satan's predicted master-piece of opposition to Christ, compared with what has been actually realized and exhibited in the Papacy. My opinion of the Pope's being Antichrist is not indeed *founded* on any

¹ Let me observe, with reference to another point in Antichrist's religious system, on which Mr. Maitland seems to me to have expressed a most inadequate judgment,—I mean the Pope's "forbidding to marry,"*—that in the view of *profest religion* being made effectual to subserve both *irreligion* and *worldly policy*, it was one of his measures the most characteristic, and most extraordinary. Extending not merely to the parochial clergy of Western Europe, but to the numberless communities of monks and nuns, its first effect was to consecrate, at the same time that with the strong arm of power it enforced upon them, that rule of celibacy which, under the semblance of purity and holiness, opened wide the way, and almost precipitated them into it, of licentiousness.† And when direct Papal rule was established over the convents (not now to speak of the priesthood), then in those innumerable monasteries, male and female,—containing within their walls members from most of the high and considerable families in the several Western kingdoms, and absorbing into their domains a small proportion of the national territory, the accumulated result, it was said, of the piety, but rather of the superstition of successive generations,—I say in these monasteries, thus *as an act of religion* endowed, and thus *as an act of religion* peopled with devotees, it was found that he had formed and held in his grasp, so many almost inexpugnable fortresses, filled with *hostages* for its fidelity, in the heart of each kingdom of Western Christendom.‡ Was there ever such a "forbidding to marry," in any other Church or Sect that Mr. M. has put forward for comparison on this head : And was it not then a fit subject for prominent specification (*especially in an Epistle*, like that to Timothy, *chiefly concerning ministers of the church*) among the predictive sketches of the Popedom ?

* Mr. Maitland speaks of celibacy under the Popedom as if, *first*, it extended only to the parochial Clergy, and affected one sex only ;— *secondly*, as if it was only enforced on the Clergy from the view (perhaps mistaken view, he says) of their so better performing their clerical functions. This is not the way Ranke speaks of it. See Vol. iii. p. 170. And assuredly it was not the master motive that induced the Pope's determinate enforcement of it at all hazards.

† See the historical illustrations given by me, Vol. ii. 12, 27.

‡ So Sir R. Baker, speaking of Henry VIIIth's dissolution of monasteries "Thinking the work not sufficiently done, so long as Abbeys and Priories kept their station ; which were as it were the *Pope's fortresses*. Quoted by Daubuz, p. 738."

such à priori notion of the thing ; but on the complete identification of the one and the other, after a rigid comparison of the Papal history, seat, character, doctrine, and doings with those of the Antichrist of prophecy. Having however shewn this, let me now explain and justify the *super-added* sentiment just exprest respecting the Papal system ; as being, beyond anything that the Futurists have imagined, or ever can imagine, the very perfection of anti-christianism. And I will do it by simply putting a case in point. Which then, I ask, Reader, would you view with the deeper amazement and abhorrence :—an *avowed open desperate enemy*, sworn against your life, family, friends, property :—or one that *while professing the utmost friendship*, were by some strange *impersonation of you*, in your absence, to insinuate himself into your place in the family, seduce your wife to be as his wife,¹ your children to look to him as their father ; then to make use of his opportunities to train them (both wife and children) into unfaithfulness and rebellion to all your most solemn and cherished wishes and commands ; falsifying your letters and forging your handwriting, in order the more effectually to carry out his plan ; and even at length framing an image, and breathing voice into it, and by magic art and strong delusion making men believe that it was your own self speaking, in expression of perfect approval of his proceedings, as those of your chief friend, plenipotentiary, and chosen substitute ?—Such is somewhat of the view of Antichrist, sketched in Scripture prophecy : such, what has been realized in the Popes and Popedom. And horrid as was the atheism of the French revolutionists, yet must I beg leave to doubt whether in God's view it was as horrid an abomination, even at its worst, as the blasphemous hypocrisies and betrayal of Christ in the polished Court and Church Councils of his usurping Vicar and impersonator Leo X. Sharp as were the thorns and nails and spear of the Pagan soldiery, they were surely less painful to the Saviour than the kiss of Judas.²

¹ See my Vol. ii. pp. 80, 81, and Vol. iii. p. 150.

² I have in this Paragraph quoted from my Reply to Mr. Arnold.

§ 4. EXAMINATION OF THE CHURCH-SCHEME OF THE SEALS.

THE *Church-scheme* of the Seals was made chiefly notable after the Reformation by Pareus' and Vitringa's adoption of it:¹ and it has been subsequently adopted, with various modifications, by Woodhouse, Cuninghame, Bickersteth, and other English expositors.²

With regard to *Vitringa* I must premise that perceiving the palpable fitness, for the most part, of the symbols of the first Seal to depict the state of *the Roman Empire*, from Nerva's accession, immediately after the Apocalyptic revelations, to that of Commodus,³ he would apparently at first fain have seen his way to some consistent continuous scheme of *Roman* interpretation, could he have done so. But having only *Mede's* scheme before him, which was indefensible, and perceiving no better, he settled on that counter-scheme that I have to review:—the grand characteristic of which is to view the Seals as a series of figurations detached and complete in themselves, symbolizing the phases and fortunes of the *Church*, from its early origin to the consummation.

¹ So far as regards its explanation of the *first* Seal with reference to the Church, it was a scheme, as we have seen, of early patristic origin. But after the first Seal, the idea of explaining the Apocalyptic *horses* to mean *the Church* was not received, I believe, or the Seals interpreted with reference to it, till Anselm of Havilburg in 1245. See p. 370 *suprà*.

² Dr. Keith can scarcely be counted in the number; his peculiarities of view being too considerable. For while supposing the *white horse* to figure the *Christian Church*, he explains the *red* of *Mahomedism*; the *black* of *Popery*; the *pale* of *Infidelity*.

³ "Sub bonis et laudatis principibus, à Nerva usque ad Commodum, facies Romani Imperii satis fuit æquabilis; et emblemata, non *rufi* [as Mede], sed *albi equi*, cum sessorio victorioso, figurari potuisset." p. 310.—And, on the general scheme; "Neque ego inficias eam, hanc interpretandi rationem" (viz. of applying the six first Seals as a prefiguration of the fortunes of the Roman Empire, up to the Revolution under Constantine) "magnâ se commendare specie." p. 306. He gives two additional reasons which much influenced him in its favour:—1. that, except on this scheme, the immensely important revolution under Constantine seemed left unprefigured in the seven Seals:—2. that if, instead of the Constantinian revolution, the sixth Seal was made to figure the revolution at the consummation of things, (the only conceivable alternative) then the seventh Seal would seem to have nothing of prefiguration attached to it.—He proposes to obviate the *latter* objection by making the *silence* at the opening of the seventh Seal (its whole subject, according to him) signify the *millennial rest*: the *former* by reference to the vision in the xiith Chapter (i. e. in another series of the Apocalyptic figurations) as supplying the defect, and prefiguring the Constantinian revolution. Thus he satisfied himself. But his followers, for the most part, are not satisfied with it; and offer consequently modifications of the scheme, some of which will be seen in what follows of this Appendix.

As Vitringa's scheme, though in this main point like the others, has yet differences sufficiently marked to render a distinct view of it desirable, a separate diagram of it is subjoined.¹

And there are three things to be particularly noted in his scheme, when considered in comparison with the others :—1st, that he insists, again and again, on the point that it is the *external state* of the Church, whether of the *Church visible* in the Roman world, or of the *true Church*, (for he makes the four first Seals figure the *Church visible*, the fifth the *true Church*) that is the subject of the symbolization :²—2. that he most strongly repudiates the idea of interpreting the *horse and his rider*, in each of the first four Seals, separately, and of making the *horse*, by itself, the representative of the *Church visible* : his judgment being that the *rider* and the *horse* should be taken (*centaur-like*) *together*, as a *composite symbol*, to represent the phases of the Church :³ and that whosoever attempted more, and explained the horse, as above-intimated, *by itself*, would, though he might do well enough in the *first Seal*, find himself inextricably ⁴ em-

¹ Vitringa's Scheme.

First Seal.	Second Seal.	Third Seal.	Fourth Seal.	Fifth Seal.	Sixth Seal.
White Horse.	Red Horse.	Black Horse.	Pale Horse.	Souls under the Altar.	Revolution.
—	—	—	—	—	—
The 150 years of comparative peace to the Church, from Nerva to Decius.	Persecutions of the Church from Decius to Diocletian, inclusive.	Mournful dissensions of the Ch., from 4th to 9th century : — also corruptions of essential evangelic doctrines, the <i>bread of life</i> , as by the Arians ; and of the doctrines of grace, the Christians' <i>wine & oil</i> , as by Pelagians ; —the Church Rulers and Councils holding the balance, and dispensing the true bread and wine.	Desolations of the <i>Church Visible</i> , or Greek Christendom, by the Saracens and Turks.	Persecutions and martyrdoms of Christ's <i>true Church</i> , i.e. of Waldenses, Bohemians, and early Reformers : continued from A.D. 1200 for 5 centuries ; nor yet ended. i.e. in 1700 A.D.	Final judgment on Christ's enemies, preservation of the elect, & last great tribulation.
A.D. 96—250.	250—310.				Seventh Seal.
					Silence in heaven : the millennial rest of the Church.

² “ Sigillis hiæ exteriorẽ ecclesiæ statum depingi jam sæpius monuimus.” p. 364. —He expressly makes the *true Church* the subject of the 5th Seal : saying that from the calamitous state of the Eastern Churches in the fourth Seal. St. John “transit ad statum externum *veræ ecclesiæ* in occidentali plagâ.” Ibid.

³ “ Perspexi equum non designare *subjectum rationale*, à *sessore equi* distinctum ; sed certa solummodo demonstrare *sessoris attributa et proprietates*.” As, for example, if the rider were to represent a minister of the Divine Providence, the *horse* would represent the quickness of his executing the divine commands ; its *colour* the character of the providential dispensations committed to him, p. 328.

⁴ “ Videbam interpretes, qui per *equum album* hic intelligunt *Ecclesiam Christi*, sive *apostolos* super quibus dici potest vehi, vehementer laborare in sequente emblemate rectè exponendo.” Ibid.

barrassed in those that followed :—3. that he includes in his first prophetic series the *seventh Seal*, as itself figurative of the Millennium ; whereas most Commentators of this Church-scheme of the Seals end their first series with the *sixth Seal*, and make the *seventh* to include the seven Trumpets, and so to constitute their second series.—I must say that his declaration as to the impracticability of explaining the *horse* separately, amounts very nearly, as it seems to me, to a confession that he was unable, on the principle of applying the Seals to *Church* history, to make out a fully satisfactory interpretation of them, or at least of the four first Seals. And enough will be stated of what is applicable to Vitringa’s scheme, in the examination now to be entered on, of that of the best known *living* commentators who have adopted an interpretation mainly similar, to confirm this view of its unsatisfactoriness.

I proceed to consider more particularly the schemes of *Messrs. Cuninghame* and *Bickersteth* :—schemes substantially the same with each other, and which alike take *Woodhouse* as their original ; being only somewhat more elaborated. The subjoined Diagram gives a general view of them.¹

¹ Schemes of Messrs. Cuninghame and Bickersteth.

B. First Seal.	Second Seal.	Third Seal.	Fourth Seal.	Fifth Seal.	Sixth Seal.
White Horse.	Red Horse.	Black Horse.	Pale Horse.	Souls under the Altar.	Earthquake.
—	—	—	—	—	—
Victories of Church visible and militant.	Discord of Ch. visible. (Sword sent. Matt. x. 34.)	Spiritual famine of Ch. visible. Papal yoke.	Spiritual desolation.	Cry of the Martyrs.	French Revolution.
A.D. 70—320.	324—530.	533—	1073—	1438.	1789.
—	—	—	—	—	—
Apostolic Church.	Nicene orthodox Church.	Superstitions.	Papal Church in the climax of corruption.	Height of Papal power before Reformation.	
On the horses of the first four Seals, see Zechariah vi. 1—5,					
C.					
White as in primitive purity. Crowns of spiritual and heavenly warriors. The riders the rulers or ministers of the Church.	Same.	Spiritual famine to the generality, and Scripture hid. But to the few real Christians abundance of comforting & sanctifying grace of Holy Spirit.	Bloody persecutions of true Christians in 13th century and four following. Sword kills the body. Famine, spiritual famine. Pestilence, pestilential doctrine, Wild beasts, wolves in sheep’s clothing.	Souls of slain martyrs cry for vengeance about A.D. 1500. White robes given them, about A.D. 1552.	Same.
	Begins				Begins
	about				1792.
	A.D. 319.	Begins about A.D. 509.	Begins about A.D. 1200.		
A.D. 33—312.					

Now by these commentators, notwithstanding Vitringa's warning, the *horse* is boldly taken as a separate symbol;—to figure throughout, they say, the *professing Church visible*:—at which preliminary point let me caution the reader always, when *the Church* is named, to mark distinctly *what Church* is meant, and in what point of view. And, to justify its symbolization as a *war-horse*, this *Church visible* is called also by them the *Church militant*; a confusion, I must say, of two things very different;¹—in the sense (a sense, we shall presently see, that will ill bear the testing) of its being “the Lord's instrument,” (so Mr. B. expresses it) through all the four Seals, “for subduing the kingdoms of the world to himself.”² As to the *riders*, they are, says Mr. Cuninghame, the *rulers or ministers of the Church* for the time being: says Mr. B. *the four Spirits of the heavens*, some bad, some good, noted in Zechariah;³ though surely the mere thought might have deterred Mr. B. from such a notion, that it makes Zechariah's fourth rider, or the fourth Spirit of the heavens, like the rider in the fourth Seal, to be *Death*.—Then the *colours* of the horse they expound to signify rather the *inward and spiritual state* of the Church visible, than its *earthly and external guise*, as Vitringa: though not so, if I rightly understand them, as altogether to exclude the latter sense also.—And thus, according to them, the *white horse* represents this Church in its *inward primitive purity* and *earthly course of conquest*, from Christ's ascension,⁴ or the fall of Jerusalem, to Con-

¹ So Mr. B. himself: “The Church” (*true Church*) “is a gathering of his people, not only out of the world, but also out of the visible Church; a gathering that has been going on in every age. Part of *this Church* is now with the Lord: part is *militant* here on earth.”—Homily Sermon, p. 27. *Militant*, I conceive, (said of the *Church*) means at war with sin, the flesh, the world, the devil, as Christ's faithful soldiers; and thus is only applicable to *true Christians*.

² “The *visible Church* in unbroken union we see existing in the first four Seals, as the Lord's instrument for subduing the kingdoms of the world to Himself.” Prayer Book and Homily Sermon, p. 28. Both Bickersteth on the Prophecies, p. 363, and Cuninghame, p. 5, speak of the *Horse* as the *Church militant*.

³ See the diagram—The passage in Zechariah vi. 1—5 referred to for the explanation of the *riders*, is as follows: “These are the four Spirits of the heavens which go forth from standing before the Lord of the whole earth;” and follows on a vision of four chariots with their respective pairs of horses,—*red, black, white, and grided and bay*: but without a word being said either of *riders* or *drivers*. In Zech. i. 8, however, there is a vision of a *red horse* with his *rider*, and of some others *speckled and white*.—Both prophecies are most obscure. And if the *riders* be explained from Zechariah's vision, should not the *horses* also?

⁴ For notwithstanding the chronological intimation by the revealing Angel, “I will

stantine's establishment of Christianity in the Roman Empire:—the *red horse* the visible professing Church in its *state of discord and feud* from Constantine to Justinian:—the *black horse* the visible professing Church (at least that part of it in Western Christendom), in its state of *spiritual famine* under the *Papal yoke* from Justinian, for some five centuries, to the time of Pope Gregory VII;—the *livid pale horse* the Church visible in its state of *spiritual desolation and corruption*, after the Popedom had attained its climax of corruption and of power, from about 1070 to 1400 or 1500;¹—while the vision of the fifth Seal, or of *the souls under the altar*, represents in its *first* part the cry of slaughtered martyrs, from Huss to the Reformation inclusive;² in its *second* part the vindication of the martyrs by the establishment of the Reformation.³—Finally, the *earthquake*, &c. of the sixth Seal they suppose to figure that of the French Revolution; and the *winds threatened* afterwards to indicate some final desolation and judgment on Christendom.

Now, ere we enter on the more particular historical examination of this scheme, let me just suggest, in passing, the general unfitness of the emblem of a *horse* to be the representative, so as they would have it, of the *Church visible*. Even as an emblem of the *Church* in its primary course of progress, during its *earlier* purer state, the symbol seems singular:—seeing that *Judah's victories*, when God makes it (to quote the text adduced as a parallel) “his goodly horse in battle,”⁴ are to be, as is generally supposed, victories obtained by actual force, and in a literal field of battle; whereas those of the earlier Church were obtained by the foolishness of preaching, and the force of its members' holy life, and patience in suffering. Much more how in *later* days the *Church visible* could be *God's horse* at all, “for subduing the kingdoms of the world to himself,”—I mean after its purity had altogether past away, and it had become (so as both Mr. C. and Mr. B. most truly, I believe, assert it to

show thee what is to happen *after these things*,” Mr. C. boldly thus antedates the prefigurations of the Apocalypse.—See Irenæus' decisive testimony on this point, as well as other evidence, in the Preliminary Critical Introduction to this work.

¹ In Mr. C.'s scheme the commencing date given is 1200, in Mr. B.'s 1673.

² Mr. Cuninghame's commencing date is about 1500, Mr. Bickersteth's 1438. But I conceive the latter at least includes Huss.

³ In explanation, with Vitringa, of the “white robes being given them.”

⁴ Zech. x. 3.

have become from Justinian's time) the Church of *Antichrist*, not Christ,—how, I say, it could thenceforward be God's horse at all for subduing the world to Himself, appears to me not only incomprehensible, but that the very idea savours of making God the associate of evil; and especially if the *rider* be supposed one of the delegated Spirits of his Divine Providence. I know nothing in Scripture to justify such a representation. Can the Devil's chosen instrument be God's chosen instrument? Can Christ have communion with Belial? or cast out devils by Beelzebub?

From this general view I pass on to consider their explanations more in detail. And here at once, as we enter on the *first* Seal, the fact (as well as reason for it) strikes us, of their giving to the symbols that characterize the Church and its state,¹ a meaning chiefly *spiritual*; though with a sufficient measure of the *earthly* and *visible* to introduce confusion. As what they call the conquests of the Church in the second and third centuries, confessedly *appeared* in the extension of its visible limits, and increase of its adherents and influence,—indeed was so palpably a *visible* and *earthly* success and advancement, that Gibbon's description of it is referred to by Mr. B. in illustration,²—it might surely be expected, that to the *crown*, given the rider of the horse of this Seal, there would be attached the sense of an *earthly* crown; and to the *white* of the horse, that of *earthly* triumph and joy. But not so. The *crown* is construed as half *earthly*, half *heavenly*; in designation of the horse and his rider being heavenly warriors, as well as of their gaining earthly triumphs:³ while the *white* of the horse is explained simply in a *spiritual* sense, as indicating the then inward and primitive purity of the Church. Why is this? Archdeacon Woodhouse had himself declared that the *white* was a symbol of “victory, peace, and happiness.”⁴ And, notwithstanding Mr. Cuninghame's disclaimer,⁵ the thing is noto-

¹ In direct contrast to Vitringa.

² Viz. Gibbon, chap. xv. On Prophecy, p. 373.

³ I will quote the sentence. “Being invested with the *crown* is the symbol of a *spiritual* or *heavenly* warrior. And the whole complex hieroglyphic denotes the *host of the Lord*, that is, his *Church militant*, going forth shining with its *primitive purity*, in a career of victory; and it marks the *triumphant progress* of the Gospel during the three first centuries.” p. 5.

⁴ p. 122, 2nd Ed. He shuns this meaning, however, like the rest, in his explanation.

⁵ “*White* is every where used as the symbol of *holiness*,” p. 4. I presume he means

rious. Again, the *crown* was as notoriously a badge of earthly conquest, and imperial supremacy. And, let me add, the circumstance of the crown in the vision being given to the rider forthwith upon his setting forth, and on the other hand of the *heavenly* crown being never spoken of in Scripture as given to the Christian warrior, or the true Christian Church collectively, till after death, or at Christ's coming, shows clearly enough that this *former*, not the *latter*, was meant.¹ But in truth these expositors must have known that the symbols, taken in this their more natural sense, would be utterly unfit to depict the *visible state* of the *Church* during the greater part of these two centuries. Let the accounts be read that have been given in a previous chapter of this work, and illustrated by extracts from eminent Christians of the time,²—and it will at once be seen,

in *Scripture* only. And even so, we might object the *white* of the *asses* of Jewish judges and governors, the *white* of Esther's royal robe; &c. But the main point here to be considered is, what authority has an expositor to exclude the *Roman* or *Greek* meaning of symbols; seeing that they are notoriously taken into account in Holy Scripture elsewhere?

¹ So Apoc. ii. 10; "Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life." Also 2 Tim. iv. 8; 1 Peter v. 4, &c. Similarly the crowns of the twenty-four presbyters, &c. seem to be those of departed saints.

² Part i, chap. v. See for example the quotation that I have given from Tertullian Vol. i. p. 194.

Let me illustrate this further by the subjoined inscription on a martyr that suffered under the second Antonine; the inscription being on a commemorative tablet in the catacombs of Rome, and given by Boldetti.

ALEXANDER MORTUUS NON EST, SED VIVIT SUPER ASTRA, ET CORPUS IN HOC TUMULO QUIESCIT. VITAM EXPLEVIT SUB ANTONINO IMP. QUI UBI MULTUM BENEFITII ANTEVENIRE PRÆVIDERET PRO GRATIA ODII REDDIDIT. GENUA ENIM FLECTENS VERO DEO SACRIFICATURUS AD SUPPLICIA DUCITUR. O TEMPORA INFAUSTA* QUIBUS INTER SACRA ET VOTA NE IN CAVERNIS QUIDEM* SALVARI POSSUMUS. QUID MISERIUS VITA. SED QUID MISERIUS IN MORTE. CUM AB AMICIS ET PARENTIBUS SEPELIRI NEQUEANT. TANDEM IN CÆLO CORUSCANT. PARUM VIXIT QUI VIXIT IN X. TEM.

This last clause is explained by Dr. Charles Maitland, to whom I am indebted for the inscription, as an abbreviation for, In Christianis temporibus. "He scarcely has lived who has lived in Christian times." If this may be considered doubtful, the *O tempora infausta!* and again the *Quid miserius vitæ*, admirably illustrate the un-

* Here stands the *monogram for Christ*, the same as on the *labarum*: to signify the devotion of the deceased to Christ.

* * Here a *palm-branch*; an emblem generally of *martyrdom*.

that to have applied the bright symbols of this first Seal in any *earthly* sense to them, amidst their bitter sufferings, mockeries, and often tears of blood, would have been felt as an act adding insult to injury. —At any rate we may require *consistency* in expositors. If the crown of the rider of the white horse be the *heavenly* crown, and the white that purity which is described as belonging, or attributed, to the saints and church collectively in the *heavenly* state, then let his conquests be consistently explained as those conquests over sin, the flesh, and the devil in the *inward* heart, to which that crown and robe of white are attached in Scripture. Alas! if they attempt this, the whole solution is found to crumble to pieces in their hands. For then the *white* and the *crown* would belong not to the *horse*,—the whole visible professing Church of the second and third centuries,—but to a part only (perhaps much the smaller part¹) out of it; and not to this small minority during the second and third centuries only, but just as much to the end of time.—In fact a *consistent* explanation of the *first* Seal on this theory *cannot* be given.

It will not need to say much of the *second* Seal, and its *red* horse, whose *rider* had a *great sword* given him “to take peace from the earth, and that they should kill one another:”—a symbolic picture which the expositors spoken of explain to signify the theological *dissensions and feuds of the Church visible*, from Constantine to Justinian. It may suffice to suggest two questions in reference to it. One is, on what authority do they apply our Lord’s language, “I am not come to send peace on the earth, but a *sword*,”² in explanation of this sword of the vision, to the feuds of the visible Church begun

suitableness of the application of the *white horse and his rider*, to *whom a crown was given, going forth conquering and to conquer*, to the Christian Church of the second and third centuries,

Let me add a brief descriptive clause of the sad state of the Christians in Clement’s of Rome’s time, immediately after St. John: Βίος ἡμῶν ἄλλο οὐδεν εἰ μὴ θάνατος’ also in the third century, as given by Celsus, viii. 418; φευγοντες και κρυπτομενοι, η αλικομενοι και απολλυμενοι.

¹ Notwithstanding the representation given of the Church as preserving its primitive purity through the three first centuries, the reader will see, on the testimony of the most eminent of the Christians themselves, that such was far from the case. See my Vol. i. p. 202; also Mosheim, and (though I think the work too severe on the early Church) Mr. Taylor’s “Ancient Christianity.”—Compare too the Epistles to the seven Churches.

² Matt. x. 35.

and following after the time of its establishment in the Roman Empire? It is usually explained, and I conceive beyond a question rightly, of the enmity that would be shown by the unbelieving members of each heathen and Jewish family into which the gospel might enter, towards such of its members as embraced the faith. And if so, Christ's saying about the sword sent, would rather apply to the times *before* the imperial establishment of Christianity than to those *after*; i. e. to the times of the *first* Seal, rather than of the *second*.¹—My other question is, how many thousands of Christians do Messrs. C. and B. suppose to have been killed by their brother Christians throughout the whole extent of the Roman Empire, during the two centuries alluded to; and what the population of the whole empire² (now christianized professedly) out of which that number was slain? I suspect that the numeral returns given would show clearly enough, by themselves, that the mutual slaughter of Christians which then occurred in a few places, (much the most in the single African province,³) was utterly insufficient to answer to the fearful symbol of the *blood-red horse* under the *great sword* of its rider, and the fateful sentence pronounced that its constituent members were then "to kill one another."⁴

I turn to the *third* Seal and its *black horse*, with a rider holding a *yoke*, (so they prefer to interpret the ζυγος,⁵) who had certain words addressed to him from the throne about corn, wine, and oil:—a symbol altogether, they say, of the *spiritual famine* of the visible Church, for some five centuries of the middle age, from Justinian till Gregory VII.—Of course, as the horse appears again in his integrity, we

¹ So Eusebius.

² Gibbon's second Chapter (Vol. i. 68) compared with his notices of the subsequent decrease of the population, will furnish data for this.

³ By the *Circumcelliones*, a band of ruffians hired by the Donatists.—Much more generally the war urged among them was one of the *tongues*: κατ' ἀλλήλους ἀντιδουρατὼν ἐκινουν τὰς γλῶσσας. Theodoret, i. 6.

⁴ It will be seen, on comparing Vitranga's scheme with the others, that as his second Seal is included in their first, so his third in their second.

⁵ Wrongly I am persuaded. See my Note, Vol. i. p. 150.—Vitranga considers, as I do, the concurrent mention of the *chaenix* to be a reason for understanding the word ζυγος in the sense of a *balance*. And the fact, if such it be, (and I believe it is) that such an emblem as a *yoke held in the hand* is *positively unknown in archaeology*, furnishes an argument pretty decisive of itself against the word having the meaning of a *yoke* here.

might expect the Church visible represented to be that of Roman Christendom, in the same full extent as before. But this, it seems, is not so. The rider's yoke being the *Papal*, the horse is to be understood of *Western* Christendom only; and the other half of the Church visible, at the pleasure of the expositors, excised,¹—Pass we this, however, to consider the *horse's colour*; which, being *black*, ought certainly, so as when applied elsewhere to pictures of famine, to signify the *distressed aspect*, and thus the *distress* itself, of the famished; then when the appetite craves, and there is nothing to satisfy it.² But how can this apply to the state of Christendom during the time spoken of? The ecclesiastical history of the times negatives the idea of any such *spiritual craving* on the part of the mass of the population. Not merely as seen by man, but (to adopt Mr. Bickersteth's way of putting the case) as seen by the Holy Ghost,³ there was then nothing, or almost nothing, of the distressed aspect of spiritual famine. The general case was that of Judah in Jeremiah's time; "The prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means, and *my people love to have it so.*"⁴

But it is the *address to the rider* about the corn, wine, and oil, that perhaps most curiously exhibits the difficulties and infelicity of this part of their interpretation. *The spiritual state of the Church visible* being the supposed subject of symbolization through the Seals, it is laid down by all who adopt it, (indeed by Vitringa, as well as Woodhouse, Cuninghame, Bickersteth, &c,) that the corn, wine, and oil are to have a *spiritual* signification:—though on the question, *what* precisely is the spiritual thing signified, there appears a certain diversity of opinion: some explaining those articles of food, all alike, of Church doctrines,⁵ Church ordinances, and the Bible itself; some

¹ Woodhouse indeed speaks of the yoke of superstition imposed upon the *Greek* Church, and even on *Mahomedans* also. But Mr. Cuninghame understands it distinctively of the Papal yoke: and so too, I suppose, Mr. Bickersteth; as his duration of the Seal, reaching from A.D. 533 to near 1073, his date of the next Seal,—is a period for the greater part of which nearly all communion between East and Western Christendom was cut off.

² So Lam. iv. 4; "The young children ask bread, and no man breaketh it unto them." After which comes the description of the aspect of famine, (ascribed to another cognate class of the sufferers;) "Their visage is blacker than a coal."

³ Prayer Book Sermon, p. 29.

⁴ Jer. v. 31.

⁵ So Vitringa, as illustrated in what follows; and, in part, Woodhouse and Bickersteth.

the oil and wine, at least, of the comforting, rejoicing, and sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit : ¹ which last surely ought not to be omitted.² But how reconcile the two clauses of the address, the first tantamount (on their view of the *choenix* intended ³) to, "Let the wheat and barley be at scarcity price,"—the second, "Hurt not the wine and oil,"—with each other, and with historic fact? Says *Vitringa* very fairly; "The first clause is rather a charge to moderate the scarcity of corn, than to *cause* it; and so in apposition, not contrast, with the second about the wine and oil." Agreeably with which explication of the symbol, he asserts that the councils and rulers of the Church, from the fourth to the ninth century, (in his view the *æra* intended) defined and preserved the true doctrines of religion, especially on the great contested questions of Arianism and Pelagianism. And so, very much, *Woodhouse* also. But, on consulting historic testimony, it will appear that, though on the two questions specially noted by him, the councils and rulers, at the beginning and end of the fourth century, did indeed define and assert the *truth*, yet at the same time they had even then begun, and in the four succeeding centuries went on, so to inculcate superstitious idolatry, and so to make void God's word by their traditions,⁴ (not to add, to teach a system of semi-Pelagianism also,⁶) as almost to cut off the people from all nourishment of the evangelic doctrine of God's word, and so from the grace and influence of Christ's Holy Spirit; in short, to introduce a spiritual famine. Really it is astonishing that by such a man there should have been propounded an ecclesiastical picture of the age referred to so incorrect.—But even this is not

¹ Compare, on the symbols of *corn and bread*, Psalm lxxii. 16, lxxxii. 16, Prov. ix. 5, Amos viii. 11, John vi. 35;—on the *wine*, Prov. ix. 2, Isa. xxv. 6, lv. 1;—on the *oil*, Psalm xxiii. 5, xlv. 7, Isa. lxi. 3, Matt. xxv. 3.

² *Woodhouse* explains the *wheat and barley* of the great *saving doctrines* of Christianity;—the *wine and oil* of the divine knowledge laid up in the Bible as a depository. which, he says, has been always accessible to *some persons*, (Qu. how many in the dark ages?) and handed down to us with its text uncorrupted.—*Cunningham* understands the *wheat and barley* of the *word and ordinances*, dispensed to *all* within the pale of the visible Church; the *wine and oil* of the *comforting and sanctifying influences* of the Spirit of God, imparted only to *true believers*. p. 12.

³ They consider it the *Attic choenix*. See my remarks, Vol. i. p. 150, &c.

⁴ See my sketch of the *æra*, Vol. i. pp. 379—388.

⁵ See my observations, Vol. ii. pp. 209, 210.

so marvellous as that which attaches to *Mr. Cuninghame's* and *Mr. Bickersteth's* exposition ; supposing, even, for argument's sake, that we were to admit the price specified of *barley* as well as of *wheat* to be, what we have long since seen it cannot be, a famine, or scarcity price. For Vitringa, in all he says, supposes the æra represented to be prior to that of the Apocalyptic Beast, or Antichrist.¹ But Messrs. B. and C. while supposing the æra to be that of the *Papal Antichrist*, and indeed most strongly and energetically insisting on the point, do yet, in their interpretation of this Seal, assert an authoritative charge to have been given to the then rulers of the Church visible, (whether the popes, or priesthood, or Spirit of superstition,²) not to injure the wine and the oil of spiritual grace and joy,³ at that very time when, according to their own exposition of other parts of the prophecy, Christ's *true Church* would be living in the barrenness of *the wilderness*,⁴ and the body of the *Church visible*, or constituency of the *black horse*, (which of course was as well to profit by the conservative charge about the wine and oil, as to suffer from the restrictive charge about the wheat and barley,) would be drugged,—universally and willingly drugged,—through the agency of these self-same rulers, with wine from the poison-cup of the fornication of the mystic Babylon ! !⁵

Nor does this interpretation succeed better in the *fourth* Seal, and its vision of *Death on the pale horse*, with *Hades* following, and all the destroying agencies in operation, in reference to “ the fourth part of the earth,” of the sword, famine, pestilence, and wild beasts. —Wherever Death is impersonated, it always, I believe,—and cer-

¹ Vitringa would prefer to regard the $3\frac{1}{2}$ years of the reign of the Papal Beast as meaning three and a half centuries. See his Commentary, p. 620.

² The latter, Mr. B's hypothesis, it will be remembered ; the former, Mr. C.'s.

³ See the abstract from Mr. C. in the Note on p. 544.

⁴ Apoc. xii. 7. See my Vol. iii. pp. 33, 34.

⁵ Apoc. xvii. 2, xviii. 3.—Mr. Cuninghame indeed would have the oil and wine, spared by the rider, to be set aside for Christ's true servants alone. But there is no distinction whatever in the words from the throne as to the parties to be affected respectively by the charges respecting the *wheat and barley* on the one hand, and the *oil and wine* on the other. And in either case it was evidently to be those that constituted the body of the *horse*.

tainly always when associated, as here, with Hades,¹—means the *King of terrors*, the destroyer of *natural* life. And Vitranga, sensible of this, as well as of the necessarily literal meaning of the *sword*, (of which more presently,) forms his interpretation accordingly; and explains the Seal of the dreadful destruction of life made in Christendom by the successive scourges of the Saracen and Turkish invaders:—though hinting, however, the *possibility* of the *spiritual* injury done by them to the Christian life and faith of the inhabitants being also intended. The other interpreters too, that I have spoken of, consider the rider Death to be an impersonator of the destroying powers of life *natural*, as well as life *spiritual*:² and, though explaining his weapons of *famine* and *pestilence* spiritually, viz. of the pestilential doctrines and famine of the sword and ordinances introduced by him, yet admit that the *sword* must mean literally that of persecution. It is another example of the sliding scale between things spiritual and temporal.—And who then the sufferers from this sword? Of course (according to the purport of the symbol) they that are represented by the *horse*;—i. e. the *Church visible* of the times. Yet, in the nature of things, could this be so? The ghastly and putrid colour of the horse, presignifying, it is said, the Church visible in its then climax of corruption and spiritual death,³ would indeed be of itself evidence of its having suffered from the spiritual *famine and pestilence*: and from the *wild Beasts of the earth*, too, if interpreted of false ministers “like wolves in sheep’s clothing,” so as Mr. Cuninghame somewhat curiously would explain the emblem.⁴ But this very putridity and moral corruption would be its safeguard from the rider’s *sword of persecution*. I say, from the very nature of the symbol, and character of the rider, as they themselves represent it, that sword could only be directed at individuals of spirit essentially and

¹ Compare Apoc. i. 18, “I have the keys of Hades and of Death;” xx. 13, “Death and Hades gave up the dead that were in them;” xx. 14, “Death and Hades were cast into the lake of fire.”

² So Woodhouse, Cuninghame, and I believe Bickersteth.

³ Bickersteth on Prophecy. p. 366, and Sermon for Prayer-Book and Homily Society, p. 29.

⁴ p. 19.—Bickersteth explains them of the *idolatrous secular empires*. “The effects” (of Death’s going forth) “were persecution, famine of the word, false doctrine full of deadly infection, and the *kingdoms of the Western Empire become earthly and idolatrous*.” Homily Sermon, p. 29.

altogether distinct from that of the *horse*:—individuals spiritually alive, not dead. Just agreeably with which view of the necessity of things, the *history* of the æra supposed to be represented, describes the subjects of the fierce Papal persecutions of those middle ages to have been persons solemnly *excommunicated and cut off from the body of the Church*;¹ nay more, depicts the members of the *Church visible*, of that æra,—in other words, the constituent body of the *pale horse*,—as the active energetic co-operators with their ecclesiastical superiors, or animating malignant Spirit, figured by the *rider*, in this persecution of the excommunicate Waldensian and other heretics. Turn it which way we may, this palpable inconsistency will be found essentially involved in the above scheme of interpretation of the 4th Apocalyptic Seal.—How far it accords with scriptural theology to represent *God* as commissioning a minister of his providence, and arming him with the sword of persecution, *against his own faithful servants*, is another and more serious question.² This, however, has been already hinted at. And I feel bound to repeat that I believe it directly contrary to all spiritual representations of the dealings of God.

Thus there remains only for consideration on this head the explanation offered in the scheme we speak of, of that *fourth part of the earth* on which the rider Death is presumed³ to have had to execute his commission. In regard of which, Dean Woodhouse by his generalism of explanation,⁴ and Mr. Cuninghame by his entire silence on it, alike confess by implication their inability to offer a satisfactory interpretation. Mr. Bickersteth, however, boldly meets the difficulty, by identifying this *fourth part of the earth* with *Daniel's fourth empire*.⁵—a parallelism and identification of *chronological order* with *geographical division* surely most extraordinary; and only to be jus-

¹ See my Vol. iii. p. 180, 200.

² When God's servants apostatize and are *unfaithful*, then God, as the God of justice, is frequently described as sending a sword against the people or land. In regard of the *faithful*, Satan sends the trial, as in Job's case; God permits and overrules it.

³ The reader may remember that the phrase admits of a very different explanation. See Vol. i. pp. 177—179.

⁴ "It may perhaps be found that the Christian countries which underwent the rage of this Seal bore this proportion (one-fourth) to the remainder." p. 140. The Dean uses the word *rage* in reference to the *sword of persecution*, which he seems to view as the main subject of this Seal.

⁵ So in his work *On Prophecy*, p. 365, and *Prayer-Book Sermon*, p. 22.

tified, even *prima facie*, on the hypotheses that Daniel's four great successive empires had each its peculiar and distinct territory, and that the territories of all four united together, reaching from the Atlantic to beyond the Indus, constituted the Apocalyptic earth. It scarcely needs to say that not only is there no evidence in favour of such hypotheses,¹ but abundant evidence against them. If we look but at the context, we shall find that both in the Seal next but one preceding, and in that too next following, "*the earth*," used *integrally*, means, according to Mr. B. himself, simply *Western Christendom*; that is to say, has the same sense that he now attaches to *the fourth part of the earth*. And as to *the third part*, no sooner has he laid it down as an *axiom* in his prophetic scheme that it always signifies (i.e. *territorially*) the *Greek*, or *third* of *Daniel's great empires*,² than he contradicts his own statement: explaining the judgment on *the third part of the sea*, figured under the second Trumpet, as "*the fall of the Latin Emperorship of Rome*."

After this it will not need, I am sure, that I enter at any length on their explanations of the other three Seals. Suffice it to say that they are all clogged with difficulties and inconsistencies, just like those before. For example, who can believe that the vision of *the souls under the altar* in the *fifth* Seal, crying for vengeance against the earth's inhabitants, and then having white robes given them, and being told to rest till other martyrs were slain like themselves, can be meant in its latter part as a picture of the *Reformation*:—that glorious event which was elsewhere partly prefigured, as we have seen, (and Mr. Bickersteth owns the correctness of that part of my exposition,³) by the *living* representative of *living* Christians *taking*

¹ 1st. I know not what territory could be assigned to the *Babylonian* empire, (except that of *North Africa*, of which Berosus speaks, reaching to the straits of Gades) that did not belong also as properly to the *Persian*: which latter empire *began* with, and dates from, its subjugation and incorporation of Babylon.

2nd. No evidence whatever exists of the Apocalyptic earth, in its original and largest extent, having reached beyond the Euphrates or Tigris; the limits of the old Roman Empire in the East.

² Axiom 52: "The *third part* denotes uniformly the *third* or *Eastern* empire."—Axiom 54: "The second Trumpet (i. e. 'The *third part* of the sea became blood, and the *third part* of the creatures which were in the sea, and had life, died,') relates to the fall of the *Latin* emperorship of *Rome*." Ibid. p. 365.

³ It having been communicated confidentially to Mr. B. So in the Sermon before the Homily Society, before quoted, p. 29; where he refers to it with entire approbation.

possession of that mystic altar-court, and casting out their enemies? Not to add that the enemies of the Reformation, occupying still nine-tenths of Roman Christendom, instead of thenceforth recognizing the earlier Protestant martyrs' innocence, (according to the import of the white robing in the symbol,) have ever since blasphemed them as much as before.—As to the *sixth* Seal, it is hard to see what its earthquake and revolutionary convulsion of earth, sun, and stars,—the prototype, they say, of the French Revolution,—had to do with the *spiritual state* of the Church visible; which spiritual state they affirm to be the great subject of the Seals:—not to add that, so far as we have yet seen, there has appeared nothing in the feelings of the nations judged under the French Revolution, to answer to that consciousness of suffering *under the wrath of the Lamb*, which was expressed by the parties judged under the Sixth Seal.

And then, as to the notable *sealing vision* which follows,—introduced by the Evangelist with the note of time, “*After these things I saw,*” and which consists of two contemporary and parallel parts, viz. Angels of the winds standing prepared to desolate the earth, but temporarily restrained from it, and the sealing of God's servants, as a safeguard from the winds, by God's seal-bearing Angel,—does it need my suggesting that it adds its own strong evidence, alike from either of its two great subjects of figuration, against the scheme in question? 1. With regard to the *tempest-angels*, if their *temporary restraining* was of importance such as to call for particular symbolization, (an importance strongly dwelt on by Messrs. C. and B.¹) much more must their *letting loose* the tempests have been of importance to call for it. Yet, in the scheme under review, the prophecy is made to pass at once from the vision of these tempest-angels' restraint, and the cotemporary sealing by the other Angel, to the palm-bearing vision figuring (they say) the Millennium, without the slightest

¹ Mr. C. Pref. p. x. (4th Ed.), speaks of this as *the key* to our present position in the prophecy: that is, on the understanding (in which Mr. B. agrees with him) of its signifying the restraining of the European nations from war since the Peace of 1815.—I must observe that, whereas in the vision *the sealing-angel* is plainly from the time of his rising the *restrainer*, and the *four tempest-angels* the prepared *inflictors* of the judgment, Mr. C. strangely makes these last the restrainers: applying it to the four allied powers, England, Austria, Russia, Prussia; and their endeavours, ever since 1815, to preserve the peace of Europe.—Vitringa makes the four angels the *desolators* of the earth, as I do.

figuration in vision of the outbursts of the tempests ; which, however, must notwithstanding necessarily have happened in the interval. —2. With regard to the *sealing* and the *sealed ones*, here first depicted to St. John in vision, there is a very observable notice in the figuration of the 5th Trumpet,¹ of a certain few then visible, or at least then existing, on the Apocalyptic scene, not only of the same general character as these sealed ones, but that bore, and were to be recognized by, the precise mark and stamp here described as impressed by the Angel : whence the natural, might I not say *necessary* inference, that the chronological æra of the 5th Trumpet-vision (just according to its position in the Apocalyptic record) is subsequently to that of this sealing vision. Whereas the Church-scheme of the Seals inverts this order ; making the date of what the sealing vision figures no less than 1200 years later than that which is figured under the fifth Trumpet ;—nor do either Messrs. B or C. seem to me to offer any explanation of the anachronism.

And thus at length, and through all these difficulties and inconsistencies, the interpreters in question come to the *seventh Seal* : which however they can ill agree what to do with. Mr. C. feeling justly that at any rate this Seal ought to contain *something*, and also that the palm-bearing vision, symbolizing the Millennium, is the fittest possible termination to his first prophetic series, makes it embrace the seven Trumpets, and so begin the figurations *de novo* ; with the same commencing chronology as the *first Seal*.² On the other hand, Mr. B. dissatisfied with this inversion of order, makes the seventh Seal the termination of his first series, like Vitringa before him ; and, like Vitringa, finding no other subject-matter for it (as it is not to contain the Trumpets) but the *half-hour's silence* before the Trumpets' preparation, is fain to make something sufficient out of *this* :

¹ Apoc. ix. 4.—I might refer too to the mention of the 144,000 sealed ones seen on Mount Zion with the Lamb, Apoc. xiv. 1 ; since, according to the most natural signification of that vision, it seems to be one in general opposition to that of the Beast's kingdom and followers, during the 1260 years. But Mr. C. makes its chronological position identical with that of the seventh Trumpet's sounding ; and is therefore not necessarily chargeable on this head of his scheme with inconsistency.

² See the Diagram prefixed to his Work :—a Diagram which (like the cycles and epicycles of the old astronomers) strikingly marks to the eye the want of simplicity, and consequently (I should say) of probability, in the scheme depicted.

and, after first supposing it identical with the pause on the restraining of the tempest-angels,¹ has finally (I have reason to know)² settled down into the view of its being some "*pause at the return of Christ*," as in Apoc. xix, xx; whether in Vitringa's sense of its figuring the millennial rest, or what else precisely, I do not understand. Now that one of the Seals should simply reveal *a pause*, seems to me very incredible; above all when the Scriptural evidence for such a pause existing is so wanting, that we are given the large margin of Apoc. xix, xx, in which to seek it.

Thus, on the whole, our full examination of the Scheme of the Seals has issued, I believe, in its full refutation. Its total failure seems evident, not as regards one Seal only, but every Seal; not as tried by one test only, but by multiplied tests: and, if I mistake not, without one single strong point of evidence appearing in its favour.

§ 5. EXAMINATION OF DR. ARNOLD'S INTERPRETATIVE PRINCIPLE.

In the foregoing four Sections I have, I believe, considered all the main counter-systems of Apocalyptic Interpretation that have been actually drawn out, and that have attached to them any considerable number of adherents. It only remains to add a word or two on a *fifth* and different view from any of these three, as well as from that given in the Horæ: a view not drawn out into detailed exposition, and which cannot consequently be said to advance pretensions to being regarded as an Apocalyptic system; but which, as directly affecting the most prominent point perhaps of all in the figurations of our prophecy, I mean *the Apocalyptic Beast and Babylon*, and as having had for its advocates names of no inconsiderable authority,—among others that of *Tholuck* in Germany,³ and in England, that of the late admirable though surely sometimes rash and

¹ So in his work on Prophecy, p. 363; "Seal vii, Apoc. viii. 1, Pause before judgment, A. D. 1815."

² So in a corrected copy of his scheme, communicated to me.

³ So Dr. Arnold, p. 8; referring to Tholuck's first Appendix to his Edition of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

speculative *Dr. Arnold*,¹—it might seem unwise and wrong to pass over altogether without notice.

The prophetic interpretative principle asserted by these writers, and the declared grounds of it, are, as expounded by Dr. Arnold, to the effect following:—that there attaches uniformly to Prophecy a lower *historical* sense, and a higher *spiritual* sense, the latter only being its full and adequate accomplishment;² insomuch that “it is a very misleading notion to regard Prophecy as an anticipation of History:”³—the *proof* of this arising out of the fact of many *prophecies of promise*, spoken in the first instance apparently of the national Israel, or of some one of its kings or prophets, as David, being in the New Testament appropriated to Christ and his believing people, as their truest and chief owners;⁴ also of certain *prophecies of judgment*, for example those on Amalek, Edom, Moab, and the Chaldean Babylon, appearing from history to have been but inadequately fulfilled in the fortunes of those nations:⁵ and the *reason* being that, whereas *history* deals with particular *nations* and *persons*, *prophecy* deals with the *idea* itself and *principle* of good and evil; which in either case is represented but imperfectly in any individual man or nation.⁶ Hence that, although a nation or individual man may be *imperfectly* the subject of prophetic promise or denunciation, as being imperfectly the representative of the *idea*, the only *adequate* fulfilment of *prophetic promise* is in *Christ*, who was the perfect personification of all good: (albeit embracing his true people, as being in Him, for his worthiness-sake, not their own;⁷) while the only full and adequate accomplishment of the threatened *judgments of prophecy* is to be in the final destruction of the world, as opposed to the Church: for “the utter extremity of suffering, which belongs to God’s enemy,

¹ I refer to his “Two Sermons on the Interpretation of Prophecy.” The references in the Notes that follow are to the Second Edition of the Pamphlet.

² So p. 7; “The general principle of interpretation here maintained, that of a uniform historical or lower, and also of a spiritual or higher sense,” &c.—where mark the word *uniform*. So again, pp. 42, 70, &c. At p. 31 he compares St. Peter’s declaration, 2 Pet. i. 20, 21, as probably of the same purport. “Knowing that all Scripture prophecy *ιδίαις επιλυσεως ε γινεται*, is not of *private* interpretation;” i.e. says he, not private, as if relating exclusively or principally to the *historic* subject; but of larger meaning, as referring mainly to that of which the historic subject was but the imperfect representative.

⁴ pp. 3, 22—28.

⁵ pp. 49—62.

⁷ *Ib.* pp. 27, 28.

³ p. 11.

⁶ pp. 12, 13, 19.

must be mitigated for those earthly evil doers, whom God till the last great day has not yet wholly ceased to regard as his creatures." ¹ — This interpretative principle embraces of course the Apocalypse, as well as other prophecy. And, with respect to *Papal Rome*, since its character is "not one of such unmixt and intense evil," Dr. A. considers, "as to answer to the features of the mystic Babylon of the Revelation," ² he concludes that, as the ancient Chaldean Babylon was only *partially* the subject of the anti-Babylonish Old Testament denunciations of prophecy in the first instance, so *Rome (Papal Rome)* is only *partially* the subject of the Apocalyptic in the second instance; "as other places may be, and I believe are," adds Dr. Arnold, "in the third instance:" "so that the prophecies will, as I believe, go on continually with a typical and imperfect fulfilment till the time of the end; when they will be fulfilled finally and completely in the destruction of the true prophetic Babylon, *the world* as opposed to the Church." ³

It is to be observed that this prophetic view is put forward, not as one true only in certain cases, and of which the application or non-application is to be decided in each instance by the particular circumstances of the case; but as the "uniform" ⁴ and only true general interpretative principle or "great law of prophecy:" ⁵ insomuch that (notwithstanding certain admissions made here and there which might seem somewhat inconsistent with the statement ⁶) Dr. Arnold declares "the tracing out of an historical fulfilment of the language of prophecy, with regard to various nations, to be a thing impossible;" ⁷ and argues from it, (as well as from the supposed reason of it,) even as from an undoubted and established principle, to prophecies such

¹ p. 14.

² pp. 21, 22.

³ p. 32.

⁴ See the extract Note ², p. 574.

⁵ So p. 79.

⁶ So p. 33; "I am by no means denying the literal and historical sense of the Prophecies relating to the different cities or nations, but only contending that the historical sense is not the highest sense: and that generally the language of the prophecy will be found to be hyperbolical as far as regards its historical subjects; and only corresponding with the truth exactly, if we substitute for the historical subject the idea of which it is the representative." Again, p. 51: "Nay if it be edifying to believe that they have in some instances their minute and literal, as well as their large and substantial fulfilment, this too I do not deny, but fully allow: only it seems to me dangerous to rest on them as on the great fulfilment of Prophecy." They are, he adds, to be regarded as fulfilments "*ex abundanti*." On which *ex abundanti* more presently.

⁷ Pp. 19, 20.

as that concerning the Apocalyptic Babylon, of the primary and national fulfilment of which the time is even yet future.—This premised, let us proceed to test the soundness of his general *prophetic law*, and of its *application*; its twofold application, 1st, to *prophecies of promise*; 2ndly, to *prophecies of judgment*: the one asserted *reason* for it being of course a prominent point for consideration; and then the bearing of the whole on the particular case in which we are ourselves immediately concerned, of the *Apocalyptic Babylon*.

And surely, with reference to his *prophetic law* or *principle*, it must already have occurred to the more considerate of my readers, that the data from which so important and large an induction has been drawn, are quite inadequate. In order to its justification, especially considering how startling its nature, and how contrary to many literal and apparently express declarations of Scripture, it were clearly requisite that the mass of Scripture prophecy, or at least of its national and personal predictions, should have been brought under review; and the supposed law of interpretation shown to apply to them all, or nearly all: also, in the cases of exception, the cause of exception in each case should be proved such as not to affect the law. Instead of which, we have scarce any prophecies of more general character set forth, but almost alone such as are more directly *prophecies of promise* or *of judgment*; and of the former, those only concerning Israel, David, or some other of the prophets, of the latter those respecting Amalek, Moab, Edom, Egypt, the Chaldean Babylon, and Jerusalem; examples of which I shall have to speak presently, as exhibiting on the whole much more, I think, of exception to Dr. Arnold's law, than of exemplification. As to more general prophecies about things, persons, or nations, let but the reader note down such as occur in most of the Books of Scripture,—for example those in Genesis or in Daniel,¹—and he will, I

¹ In *Genesis* I may specify the predictions to Noah, first of the flood; then, after the flood, of summer and winter, &c, being ever assured to man during the world's continuance, and no second destruction occurring by water; also his own predictions concerning Shem, Ham, and Japheth; the promise to Sarah of a son; and to Abraham of his natural seed, after 400 years of sojourning and suffering, being established in Canaan; the prophecies of Joseph about his parents and brethren bowing down to him, and about the seven successive years occurring of plenty, and then of famine; and, once more, those of Jacob respecting the twelve tribes. In *Daniel* there are the pro-

think, need nothing more to convince him that in the majority of examples the literal historical fulfilment, instead of being inadequate and partial, is the one and only fulfilment meant by the divine inditing Spirit ; and that that which disregards them can by no right be called a "*law of prophecy*," fit to be applied to the solution of predictions as yet confessedly and altogether unfulfilled.

But let us turn to those more direct *prophecies of promise*, or of *judgment*, to which Dr. A's theory chiefly refers.

And no doubt, as regards the *former*, in not a few instances where *Israel*, or *David*, or some *Old Testament saint* is the subject of prophetic promise, (whether promise simple and unmixt, or promise associated with the expression of the saints' present suffering or spiritual breathings,) in many such cases there is a higher as well as lower sense ; and with reference to some that would more adequately answer to the character of good than the nation Israel, or the individual David : yet not so, surely, as altogether to fall in with and exemplify his prophetic theory ; but rather with peculiarities such in his best examples, and exceptions otherwise so obvious, as to show that even here his supposed universal solvent fails, and that other principles of explanation are needed also. Take the case of prophecies that pass onward in their meaning from a prophet or saint like David to Christ. Very true, and very beautiful, is much that Dr. Arnold has written on this head.¹ But if, (to exemplify from the 23rd Psalm,) "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me," might be both primarily said in one of his distresses by David, and secondarily and more perfectly by him, the son of David,² who was a more perfect representative of human suffering,—if too in the same Psalm the hopeful cry, "I will declare thy name unto my bre-

phesies about the fated succession of four great earthly empires ; which, except as regards the concluding prediction of the destruction of the last of those empires in its last state, can scarcely be called either prophecies of *promise* or of *judgment*, but rather merely of fact.

¹ I gladly refer to the beautiful Note ² in his Pamphlet, pp. 37-41.

² This circumstance of Christ's relationship to David, as his father after the flesh, is scarce alluded to by Dr. Arnold ; but it ought never to be forgotten as one reason of David's so *Christologizing*, if I may use the word. So St. Peter, Acts ii. 30. Hence too, in Isaiah and other prophets who lived after David, Christ is sometimes prophesied of under the name of *David*. E. g. Isa. lv. 3, 4.

thren, for thou hast not despised the affliction of the afflicted, &c." might be the language of David in sure prophetic anticipation of his deliverance, as well as that of Christ afterwards,—yet what of the associated exclamations under suffering, "They pierced my hands and my feet, I may tell all my bones; they part my garments among them, and cast lots upon my vesture;" or the triumphant anticipation of "all the ends of the world turning to the Lord," as the result of the deliverance? It is of course admitted by Dr. A. that this, and yet more in the Psalm, so exclusively applies to Christ, that the Psalmist was "*in his words* by the power of God's Spirit enabled to be, so to speak, as *Christ himself*:"¹—that is, that there exist certain prophecies of the class now spoken of wherein the prophet is not the *imperfect type* of the perfect antitype, but his *impersonation*; prophecy to which the spiritual and higher meaning *alone* attaches, and which consequently is not embraced by his law. This exceptional class is one very important to observe: not merely from its having a somewhat wide range, and including prophecies in Isaiah and Zechariah,² as well as in David's Psalms; but yet more from its setting aside even here that essential point in Dr. Arnold's prophetic theory, that it is *because of his being but imperfectly the representative of the idea of good with which prophetic promise deals*, that the promise or prediction attaches but imperfectly to the historic type or person. The prophet, we see, is here *no historic type*: the promise or prediction no *extension* of what primarily and partially belonged to him; but applicable *in kind* solely and only to one greater: and the needlessness of Dr. A's singular suggestion as to the *ex abundanti* character of the most specific of the prophetic details³ made, I think, very evident.

Pass we now to the cases where *Israel* is the subject of Scripture

¹ p. 80.

² In Isaiah the many and large passages where the prophet speaks in *Messiah's* person, "The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me;" "I am found of them that sought me not;" &c. &c. In Zechariah, "And I said, if ye think good give me my price: and they weighed for my price thirty pieces of silver."

³ At p. 48 Dr. A. quotes the verse from Ps. xxii. "They parted my garments among them, &c." As an instance of the "*ex abundanti*" exactitude of fulfilment. "Because there were persons who would be more struck by such a minute fulfilment than by that general fulfilment which to us seems so far more satisfactory, therefore God was pleased they should have the satisfaction; and *over and above* the great and substantial fulfilment of the prophecy, provided also those instances of minute agreement."

promise. And here, as before said, we of course admit that there is often a higher sense in the promised blessing than ever attached to the ancient historic Israel. But wherefore? In great part no doubt, as says Dr. Arnold, to the fact of the ancient Israel having but very imperfectly answered to the *idea* which it should have represented, viz. of *the people of God*; and the fulness of the highest promise having reference to the spiritual blessings of those who (as accepted in the Beloved) more truly represented that idea, viz. God's spiritual and true Israel. This distinction indeed, as all know, is strongly laid down in Scripture. So in regard of the ancient Jews by St. Paul. So in regard of the Christian Church, (which under the New Testament dispensation very much took the place of the ancient Jewish people) in the Apocalypse.¹ Nor let it be forgotten that there seems to have been announced from the very first this double Abrahamic covenant, of higher and of lower blessing, the spiritual and the temporal, due to Abraham's spiritual and natural seed respectively; which centering both alike in his grandson Jacob, surnamed Israel, were through him transmitted, each and either, to the two lines of Israelites severally interested in them.² In the further prophetic development of which there is clear intimation, if I mistake not, of the ultimate and fullest fulfilment of both the one and the other chronologically coinciding together, as they also chronologically coincided in the date of their commencement.³ In which case the full specific national accomplishment taking place of the specific national promises to the national converted and restored Israel, all argument from Israel's case in favour of Dr. Arnold's "prophetic law" will be set aside:⁴ a law which lays down that

¹ I cannot but remark on the accordance of Dr. Arnold's language, as well as views, on this point with the Apocalyptic Sketch. It was the result, not of his prophetic theory, but of the spiritual discernment of his own spiritual mind. "Twice has God willed to mark out here the guests to the Lamb's marriage supper; that all who belonged to his Church on earth, all who were circumcised, all who were baptized, should be the heirs of the promises of Prophecy. But twice man's sin rendered this impossible. The seal of baptism has proved no surer a mark than the seal of circumcision: again have the people whom he brought out of Egypt corrupted themselves. Still there is, and ever has been a remnant; still there are those whom Christ owns now, and will own for ever. Theirs are the promises in all their fulness; not because their righteousness is proportioned to such blessings, but because they are Christ's, and Christ is God's." p. 27.

² See in this Volume pp. 198—209 *suprà*.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ "Take these promises (viz. of Deut. xxx.) in their historical sense, as addrest to

however specifically appropriate may be a prophetic promise to any nation or race, the fulfilment is not to be supposed tied down to that race or nation, but only to *the idea* which it very imperfectly typified. More especially in its application to scriptural *prophecies of judgment*, it is plain that the supposed law must be left to its own independent evidence in that application to bear it out; above all when applied to the exemption of *Papal Rome* from all proper and peculiar interest in the symbolization of, and the judgments denounced on, the *Apocalyptic Babylon*.

Pass we next then, as proposed, to this second class of prophecies, the *prophecies of judgment*.

And let me here first justify the passing opinion expressed under my former head, to the effect that the very cases selected by Dr. Arnold in proof of his prophetic theory, seem to me rather to disprove it. For, turning to the two most circumstantial of these prophecies, and those consequently which may best serve as tests, the prophecy concerning the *Chaldean Babylon's destruction*, and that concerning *Jerusalem's*, what find we? That the predicted circumstances concerning *Babylon's* fall were with most remarkable particularity historically and nationally accomplished:—her river dried up from its channel, to give the enemy entrance; her gates of brass opened; the time that of a festival night's carousal and drunkenness; the manner a surprise; the instruments the Medes and Persians; the period that of Israel's preparation for returning from captivity; the result, first Babylon's utter and final overthrow from her imperial supremacy, next that of her becoming a desolation, and heap, and burnt mountain, and the river-waters coming up and stagnating upon her, and wild beasts becoming her only inhabitants.¹ All which Dr. Arnold allows; though most strangely would he have us regard it as fulfilment altogether *ex abundanti*,² and which might have been dispensed the historical Israel. They are as yet, it is said, unfulfilled, but they will be fulfilled hereafter. But it seems to me that they have been fulfilled already, so far as it was possible that they could be fulfilled to the historical Israel." So p. 45. At p. 47 he adds, that "if any one urge a lower fulfilment again to the historic Israel on its turning to the Lord, he will not attempt to deny it; provided it be allowed that such a fulfilment is by no means necessary to the truth of the prophecy, but given *ex abundanti*."

¹ See especially Jer. li. 1; and Bishop Newton's historical explanation.

² p. 56.

with; the simple fact of Babylon's fall from supremacy being sufficient to satisfy the requirements of the prophecy. And against it all, what has he to except? Only this, that the fulfilment of the latter part of the prediction was delayed for centuries, after other races had mingled among her inhabitants,¹ though then at last accomplished: an exception in regard of which let it be remembered that the time of the *completeness* of Babylon's desolation was not a thing predicted.—And so too as to *Jerusalem's* predicted destruction, how striking the fulfilment! The Roman eagles gathered round her, as to the carcase of prey; the abomination of heathen idolatrous standards planted in her holy precincts; the trench cast about her; the fencing her in on every side; the fearful tribulation of the siege; the overthrow of the glorious temple, one stone not left upon another; the dispersion of the Jews into all nations; and Jerusalem having been subsequently (as Christ said it would be until the return of the Jewish captivity, an event as yet unaccomplished) *not* a desolation like Babylon, but a place trodden by Gentiles, a Gentile city. Against all which, if we ask again, what Dr. Arnold has to except?—the answer is, simply what Origen more early said;²—that there had appeared few false Christs up to his time, though some had, he admits; (and indeed the indisputable authority of Josephus assures us of the fact:³) that few false prophets had so far risen up in the Church; though the apostles assure us that many had even in their time:⁴ and that the gospel had not even then been preached in all the world; i. e. taking the word *world* in its largest sense: a sense by no means requisite; and in regard of which, construed as elsewhere to mean *the Roman world*, St. Paul is our witness⁵ that the prophecy had had its fulfilment even in his time, and so before the fall of Jerusalem. In a noble passage, which I take pleasure in subjoining, Dr. A. urges the fact of Christ's passing, from the particular prediction of the judgment on Jerusalem, into the prediction of the world's greater judgment.⁶ But, instead of this helping Dr. Arnold's prophetic theory,

¹ Ib. 54.² Ib. pp. 82, 83.³ See Bishop Newton generally.⁴ 1 John iv. 1.⁵ Col. i. 6.

⁶ "It cannot be doubted that it (the prophecy) proceeds from an immediate historical occasion; and speaks of the approaching siege and destruction of Jerusalem. Nor yet can it be doubted that it does not rest long within the narrow limits of its historical subject; that the language rises almost immediately, and the vision mag-

it needs, I think, but attention to two things, to see that it has no bearing whatever upon it. The *first* is the fact of a twofold question having been put to Christ by the disciples, as he sate with them on Mount Olivet overlooking Jerusalem: viz. 1. "When shall *these things* be?" 2. "What shall be the sign of *thy coming*, and of the *end of the world*?" Questions these about events which *they* supposed to synchronize, but which *Christ* knew to be separated by a large interval of time: though, for reasons elsewhere enlarged on by me,¹—he would not on this point undeceive them. The *second* is St. Luke's distinct separation of Christ's answers to the two questions;² by his statement of "Jerusalem's being trodden captive by the nations till the times of the Gentiles were fulfilled," as what would mark the interval between the judgment on *Jerusalem*, and that on *the world* at his second coming. Of course, if this be correct, and the two parts of the prophecy thus distinct, the case has no bearing on Dr. Arnold's prophetic theory: the essence of which consists in the supposition of *the same prediction* having a *lower* historical or national sense, and a *higher* spiritual one.

It is as being *imperfect representatives of certain ideas of evil*, says Dr. A., that the nation on whom judgments are denounced, are *imperfectly* and *partially* to suffer those judgments. Such is his assigned *reason* for their partial inclusion in the denunciations. Accordingly, let me observe in passing, he seeks out the *particular idea of evil* attaching to each of these nations; though not without difficulty, as might be expected. "In the case of Babylon," he says, "it is easy to perceive the *prophetical idea* of which the historical Babylon is made the representative."³ I presume he means that of the opposing and persecuting of the profest people of God. In the cases of Amalek and Edom he deems it to be that of offending one of Christ's little ones:⁴ in that of Egypt to be the idea of "the nifies; that the outward and historical framework bursts as it were, and perishes, while the living spirit which it contained alone supplies its place: that Jerusalem and the Romans become the whole human race, and God's true heavenly ministers of judgment; that the time fixed definitely for the fulfilment of the historical sense of the prophecy melts away, and becomes an ineffable mystery, when it would in fact be no other than the date of time's being swallowed up in eternity; that the coming of the Son of Man, imperfectly shadowed forth in the power which visited Jerusalem with destruction, is in its full verity the end of all prophecy, which can only find its accomplishment when prophecy shall cease." p. 82.

¹ Vol. iii. p. 231.² Luke xxi. 24.³ p. 32.⁴ pp. 32, 58.

world in a milder sense ; needing God's grace, but not resisting or opposing it." ¹ All which surely is very fanciful. — But I pass from it to something more important. It is because of the nations having so *imperfectly represented the idea of evil*, to which idea, pure and unmixt, the perfection of the judgments alone attaches, that Dr. Arnold judges an imperfect and mitigated national fulfilment of judgment to be in each case alone admissible : and for the same reason the notion to be inadmissible of any perpetual curse attaching to the *locality* and *soil* of the nation's habitation.² Let us then consider, what the bearing of this on the *past*, and what on the *future*.—And first the *past*. Man fell under Satan's strong temptations in Paradise ; and, we read, the ground was cursed for his sake. Would not Dr. A's theory require the fact of man's inexperience and strong temptation to be taken into account ? But perhaps, notwithstanding, he might say that there was here pure and unmixt evil. Let us then go on. Before the flood, man's wickedness was great. But was it pure and unmixt evil ? Was there at the time no admixture at all of servants of God ? nothing of the more amiable and kindly affections in any of the world's myriads ? nothing of any mitigating circumstance ? but evil only, and evil pure and unmixt, as in Satan's own breast ? I know not what Dr. A. would have replied. So it was, however, that there followed no *imperfect fulfilment* of the judgment predicted through Noah. The world, so soon as Noah and his family had been provided for, was overwhelmed with a flood of waters ; and the very earth's crust bears still over it the impress of the diluvial judgment. So yet again in the case of Sodom and the cities of the plain ; which one and all remain to this day covered by the sulphureous waters of the Dead Sea. Surely these past facts do raise no dubious voice of protest against the reasoning in Dr. Arnold's theory.—And then as regards the *future*. Says our Expositor ; "These several prophecies of judgment are to go on, meeting only a *typical* and *imperfect* fulfilment till the time of the end ; when they will be fulfilled finally and completely in the destruction of the true prophetic Babylon, (and true apostate Jerusalem also),³ the world as opposed to the Church."⁴ And will the world then, i. e. this our

¹ p. 59.² pp. 17, 49.³ p. 85.⁴ p. 32.

earth's inhabitants, be at that time of a character of evil altogether worse than that which any evil people have ever yet exhibited in the world ; so as to be no longer *imperfectly* the representatives of the idea of evil, but its representatives (even as Satan himself might be) *purely* and *perfectly* ? I know no scripture warrant for so supposing ; but the contrary.¹ And if mankind are likely to be then very much what we have already seen them in respect of their devotedness to evil, and moreover then as now to have a seed of true believers among them, it seems to me that they will still be *imperfectly* the representatives of the idea of evil, and by consequence such as should only *imperfectly* (according to Dr. A's theory) suffer God's judgment. A conclusion this which, it is evident from these very sermons, Dr. Arnold himself would have repudiated : and yet I know not how he could have escaped it, as a necessary inference from his prophetic theory.

After the observations just made on the *general theory*, it will not, I think, be deemed necessary that much should be added in refutation of his *particular application* of it to the case of *Papal Rome*, the *Apocalyptic Babylon*. " Grant that Rome is in some sense and in some degree the Babylon of Christ's prophecy, yet who that knows the history of the Roman Church can pretend that its character is of such unmixt or intense evil as to answer to the features of the mystic Babylon of the Revelation ? " ² So he concludes, as we saw long since, that Rome's part in the Apocalyptically-figured judgment is to be only a *partial*, *imperfect*, and *typical* one ; partial, because of other places as well as Rome, being equally included ; and typical, that is, of the final judgment.³ A word then on Papal Rome's asserted *mere partial* and *typical concern* in the judgment : a word too on the *reason* for it ; viz. its freedom from the *intense evil* which might alone justify the full judgment.

And 1st, let me observe, that, as if purposely to prevent the prophecy being applied to anything but Papal Rome, Rome is not itself exhibited, as if perhaps a *symbol of something else* : but *another symbol* exhibited, viz. a Woman sitting on a Beast ; and this expressly *explained* by the Angel to mean Rome only. So that Dr. A. has to deal not with a symbol, but with the Angel's explanation of a

¹ e. g. compare Matt. xxiv. 38, 39, xxv. 10.

² p. 21, 22.

³ p. 32.

symbol. And if the very thing that a prophetic symbol is explained by an Angel to mean, be itself expounded to mean, principally at least, something quite different, then there is really an end to all certainty, I might almost say to all truth, in Scripture. As well might it be said that the seven years of plenty and of famine, which the seven fat and lean kine seen by Pharaoh were declared to signify, was only the symbol's lowest sense, and that something quite different was chiefly meant by it; that the three baskets and three vine branches, seen by Pharaoh's butler and baker, meant mainly something altogether different from the explanation assigned to them by Joseph; and the golden head of the symbolic statue, in its highest sense, something quite other than what Daniel explained it to mean, viz. Nebuchadnezzar's empire of the Euphratean Babylon.

2dly, and with reference to the *ground* of Dr. Arnold's thus excepting Papal Rome from the curse assigned to the Apocalyptic Babylon, viz. that the *intense evil* attached to that Babylon, cannot be deemed to have attached to the Romish Church, the question must be asked, Does Dr. A. refer in this his plea of mitigation to *the system* as less evil in itself, or to there being *many individuals of a different spirit* from the system, professedly included in it? If to the *system*, I think I may say that I have shown from the recognized and most authoritative exponents of Papal doctrine,—its Papal Bulls, Canon Law, Decrees of Councils,—doctrine not proclaimed in idle theory only, but practically acted out, that the system is one marked, so as no other professedly religious system ever has been, by that which must needs be of all things the most hateful to God; I mean the commixture of the foulest corruption of Christ's religion, and blasphemy of Christ himself, with the most systematized hypocrisy.—If, on the other hand, it be because of *individuals* professedly belonging to antichristian Rome who yet partake not of an antichristian spirit, the very voice of the Angel, "Come out of her my people!" just before the destruction of the Apocalyptic Babylon, shows that up to the very eve of her destruction there would also be in what was meant by the Apocalyptic Babylon, just similarly, some of a different spirit, some of God's people. So that the characteristic is one to fit the symbol to Papal Rome, not to separate it.

No! the existence of some of his own people in a guilty nation

may make the Lord spare it for a while for their sake. But at length their very presence and protest, by life at least, if not profession, but all vainly, will be judged by Him to be only an aggravation. And while He will know how to deliver those godly ones from the judgment, yet will it not then any longer prevent the fate of the guilty people. So it was in the case of the old world, when the destroying flood came, as predicted. So in the case of Sodom and Gomorrah. So again in that of Jerusalem. And so too (may we not undoubtedly anticipate) will it be in the case yet future of Papal Rome, the antitype, the only proper antitype, to the Apocalyptic Babylon. For, as the *symbol* has been so tied to it by God's infinite wisdom, that no human ingenuity can ever put them asunder, so most assuredly the *fate* predicted on the same Apocalyptic Babylon, shall in Papal Rome have its fulfilment. Nor can I see any reason to alter my express conviction, that even when a better state of this earth shall have succeeded to the present, the ruined site of this antichristian city and empire will remain a monument to the future inhabitants of our planet of the most astonishing system of human ingratitude, and perversion of God's best gift, that the old world ever saw : the smoke of its burning going up for ever ; and its volcanic crust being like an ulcer, agreeably with Isaiah's awful prophecy, on the face of the new creation.¹

¹ See my Vol. iv. p. 247.

THE END.



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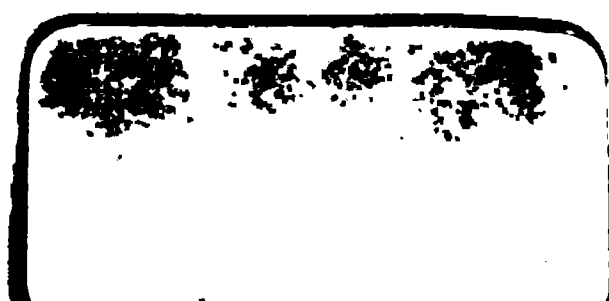
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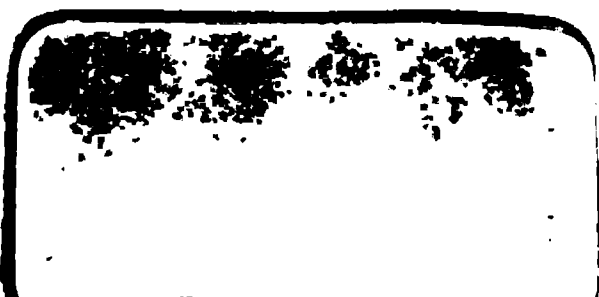


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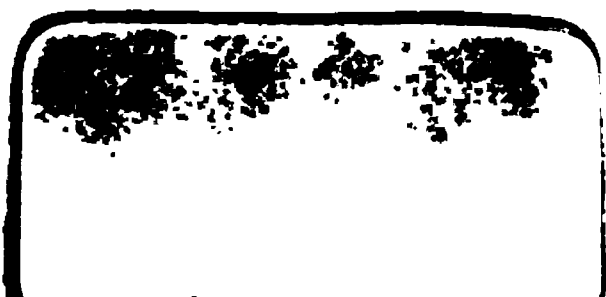


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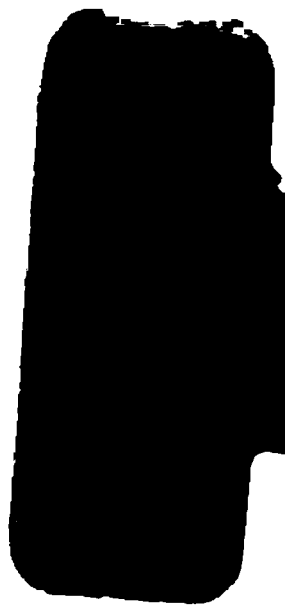


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